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Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 23 June 1992

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mardi 23 juin 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Tuesday 23 June 1992

The House met at 1333.

Prayers.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

RETAIL SALES TAX REBATES

Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau): I rise this afternoon on a matter of significant importance to the hard-hit retail sector in Ontario's tourism areas, especially those within close proximity to the US border. It is a fact that many retail operations do not have retail sales tax rebate forms readily available for their customers at the checkout counter, an incentive to purchase which is used in many European countries to great advantage.

Ontario has 28 million travellers per year, 24 million of whom are from out of the country. Of this number, the Ministry of Revenue only processes 180,000 retail sales tax rebate request forms. This is only 0.6%, less than 1%—opportunities lost, rights hidden.

I understand that the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation has the responsibility to promote this tax benefit for visitors. I ask, is there an initiative or an incentive to encourage Ontario retailers to participate? I urge this government to promote this program to help retailers, especially in border communities, to inform their customers to take advantage of Ontario's sales tax and accommodation tax rebate programs, which are now one of the province's best-kept secrets. Tax benefits for tourists are gold indeed.

MINISTRY OF NATURAL RESOURCES POLICIES

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): My statement is for the Minister of Natural Resources and it concerns the budget cuts he has imposed on Ontario's conservation officers.

A May 29th memo from the Owen Sound district fish and wildlife office indicates that, retroactive to April 1, the annual allotment per officer will be cut to \$5,000. That's supposed to cover mileage, travel expenses, equipment, uniform and cellular phones. Also, vehicle travel will be cut back to 20,000 kilometres per year. Your budget cuts will result in a 50% reduction in charges, contacts, convictions and warnings.

Minister, I really don't think you can justify putting your ministry's conservation officers' objectives at risk by imposing budget cuts that reduce conservation officers from being field specialists and front-line troops to the role of penny-pinched pencil pushers. Because of your massive cutbacks, especially in the field, highly dedicated field staff will be managing our national resources from an office. That means there will be no site visits for the forest health program, no dollars allocated for fencing and little or no management work in agreement forests. It also means there will be no maintenance of roads that service MNR facilities.

Minister, the people of Ontario are wondering what you are doing with the \$38 million in hunting and fishing licence revenue. You have an obligation to explain why you are unwilling, unable or uncaring about the stewardship of our natural resources.

MARY FRANCES RICHARDSON

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): I rise today to pay tribute to Professor Mary Frances Richardson, a chemistry professor at Brock University in St Catharines who has been named Canadian Professor of the Year. Professor Richardson was honoured with the award mainly for her commitment to getting students, especially female students, interested in chemistry.

The award, from the Washington-based Council for Advancement and Support of Education, is a fitting tribute to this outstanding educator, who has personally experienced much of the sexism she now fights to eliminate. Ironically, Professor Richardson was told early in her career that although she was a good student, she would never get hired because she was a woman. She was even refused a job at an American university because she was told it already had its token woman and didn't need another.

Now, years later, Professor Richardson is working to break down the barriers that have turned many young women away from careers in science. At Brock, she has been involved in establishing a women's studies program, revising the chemistry curriculum and has been actively recruiting at local high schools to get female students interested in science.

I hope all members of this House will join with me in congratulating Professor Mary Frances Richardson for this major achievement not only in her career but in the careers of many young women she has undoubtedly inspired and will hopefully inspire in the future.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): Recently I had the opportunity to meet with business people from my riding of Oriole to discuss the NDP government's proposals regarding the Ontario Labour Relations Act. These individuals in my community have worked hard to create and support companies in this province which provide employment for many Ontarians.

Having contributed so much to the province, they now feel betrayed and under siege from this NDP government. One businessman, Mr Elie Benatar, shared his thoughts with me on the government's proposals.

He stated: "I am a member of the Vaughan Manufacturers Association. They bitterly oppose this scummy piece of legislation as the most anti-worker legislation ever devised because it will create widespread unemployment."

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Mr Benatar continues: "Manufacturing is the employment engine of Ontario and a lot of firms will move to the

United States or Mexico. Since over 80% of Ontarians oppose this legislation, why don't the Liberals take action? Ask for the resignation of the present NDP government. Elections should take place before the legislation is approved, as the NDP does not have a mandate to make Ontario a desert."

My colleagues and I in the Liberal caucus urge the government to listen to the appeals of business people like Mr Benatar. The government's priority should be to work with business to lift Ontario out of the present recession, not expending its energies on arbitrary rule changes designed to silence the opposition in this Legislature.

DURHAM FURNITURE COMPANY

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): On February 10 of this year Kroehler Furniture, which owned plants in Toronto, Stratford, Edmonton, Wingham and Durham, went into receivership. Before this date, the plant in Durham was a viable, successful operation which employed close to 200 people, had a national sales force and a network of retailers.

When the company went under, three of the managers at the Durham operation, Orville Mead, Lloyd Love and Jack Lawrence, vowed to take action. Since the plant had been manufacturing case goods, or household furniture, and since Canadians had spent \$600 million on these items last year, they reasoned the market was still there.

The next step was to approach the community. As members may know, Durham is part of what was once known as the furniture capital of the province. Now, however, the market has fallen off and manufacturers are going out of business. The area could ill afford another bankruptcy. Losing Kroehler, Durham's largest employer, would have a major impact on the town. The community banded together to help, and with its moral and financial support, the officers were able to find an investment partner.

Yesterday, the new Durham Furniture company proudly and officially opened its doors. Credit for this must go to the Ontario Development Corp, which guaranteed a loan, the town of Durham, which made it happen, and Orville Mead, Lloyd Love and Jack Lawrence, who refused to let their dream die. I wish them all every success.

DEAF-BLIND AWARENESS WEEK

Mr Gary Malkowski (York East): This week, June 22 to 27, is Deaf-Blind Awareness Week in Canada. I had the pleasure of making this same announcement in the House last year and I would like to share with you some of the achievements that have been accomplished since that time.

Yesterday was the grand opening of an apartment complex with units for 16 independent deaf-blind adults, the first of its kind in North America. The Rotary Cheshire Homes and the Toronto-Don Valley Rotary Club worked for seven years to bring this project to its completion. Although this is a great achievement for the deaf-blind community, with 600 deaf-blind people living in Ontario we still have a long way to go.

Joyce Thompson, the executive director of the Rotary Cheshire apartments, is with us in the east gallery today. I

congratulate you and all those involved on your efforts and dedication to make this much-needed facility a reality.

Another milestone for deaf-blind people has been the establishment of a diploma course on intervening offered through George Brown College. Intervenorers are people who are specially trained to work with persons who are deaf-blind. Enough cannot be said to stress the importance of intervention for deaf-blind persons as a means to self-empowerment.

Deaf Blind Services of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind are hosting a number of activities and events this week to celebrate and promote public awareness and education of deaf-blindness.

Kerry Wadman, associate coordinator of Deaf Blind Services, along with other members of the deaf-blind community, are also in the gallery today. I wish you all the best of luck this week and throughout the year on your promotion of deaf-blind issues.

DRIVER EXAMINATIONS

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): My statement today is directed towards the Minister of Transportation. It concerns the long waiting time that drivers must wait to obtain a driver's examination. Let me give you some examples: In Belleville, an appointment for a driver's test cannot be obtained until October; in Trenton, October, in Picton, October, in Kingston, September. These are periods of over three months.

I understand that nearly all members of this Legislature are experiencing these same problems in their own ridings. As an example, the member for Pembroke tells me his people are also waiting for over three months.

Minister, the situation is now at a crisis stage. People needing licences for jobs—many of these students—are being turned away. I understand that Young Drivers of Canada has also brought this matter to your attention.

Minister, offices are being closed; in others no staff are available to give the tests. Lineups are stretching for miles. Minister, something has to be done within your ministry to correct this problem. There is disarray and confusion. Would you let the members of this Legislature and the people of the province know how you intend to remedy this situation?

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): In response to a question I asked on June 17 regarding the use of secret ballot votes for certification of unions, strikes and collective agreement ratification, the Minister of Labour responded by saying that he has not been approached by anyone requesting the use of the secret ballot.

I would like to point out to the minister that throughout his public consultation process he received many submissions from groups and individuals calling for a secret ballot vote. In fact, as a result of his answer last week I received a letter from the president of the Rubber Association of Canada indicating his surprise that the minister would imply no one had asked him to include a provision for a secret ballot.

In his letter he states that: "I was painfully amused to see that the comment from Bob Mackenzie is quoted as 'I haven't been asked' in regard to the suggestion that secret ballots should be a matter of law. I met with Bob Mackenzie as part of an all-business coalition team to discuss the new labour legislation on January 22. At that time I made exactly the same points to the minister about secret ballot and got exactly the same reply: 'I haven't been asked before.' My colleagues found his reply astonishing back in January since this has been a constant request...."

If the minister believes that no one in this province is calling for the use of a secret ballot vote, then clearly the minister was not listening during his so-called consultation process.

MEMBERS' PRIVILEGES

Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph): On June 17 the member for York Centre raised a lengthy point of privilege. He complained the government party "alleges that members of the Liberal caucus and members of the Progressive Conservative caucus are involved in what amounts to criminal activity."

The member complained about the following phrase used in a bulletin by the Ontario New Democratic Party: "The old élites, those big business leaders, who keep the Liberals and the Tories in their back pocket." He argued that the phrase "to keep someone in your back pocket" means to bribe them. He argued this suggests the Liberals and Tories were committing a criminal offence by receiving money to perform their public responsibilities. He said these allegations prohibit him from carrying on his responsibility as an elected member of this Legislature.

Let me quote from the May 27 Hansard, where the member for St Catharines, in response to the Minister of Energy, said, "why don't you get out of the back pocket of the oil companies in this province—a place where the NDP never thought it'd be, but it is."

I won't indulge myself and raise a point of privilege on the so-called allegation of criminal activity. My point is, the only criminal activity going on here is the mean-spirited, self-serving way the opposition and the third party are wasting taxpayers' money and the time and money in this House to score cheap points on the public record.

What's stopping the member for York Centre from performing his responsibilities is that he'd rather have the taxpayers fund his amateur theatrical performances. If the member and his caucus had any respect for the public interest they'd come down from their soapboxes, do an honest day's work as an opposition and let the government do its job.

ANNUAL REPORT, COMMISSION ON CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I beg to inform the House I have today laid upon the table the annual report of the Commission on Conflict of Interest for the period April 1, 1991, to March 31, 1992.

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STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

JOBS ONTARIO TRAINING FUND BOULOT ONTARIO FORMATION

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Skills Development): It gives me great pleasure to announce today the creation of 271 new jobs as a direct result of the Jobs Ontario Training fund program announced by the Treasurer seven weeks ago.

This morning, on behalf of the Ontario government I signed an agreement between the Jobs Ontario Training fund and our private sector partner, Linamar Machine Ltd of Guelph, Ontario.

Selon l'accord, Linamar, un manufacturier ontarien de pièces de haute précision pour les automobiles, créera à son usine de Traxle à Guelph, 271 emplois nécessitant des personnes très qualifiées.

For its part, this government will provide up to \$2.6 million for training for new employees hired under the program, as well as for Linamar's current employees. Linamar employs 1,100 people in Guelph and another 207 elsewhere in Ontario. Linamar currently spends between \$10,000 and \$15,000 on training for each of its workers through a comprehensive company program.

At Linamar this morning, the company's chief executive officer, Mr Frank Hasenfratz, said the Jobs Ontario Training fund had been a major factor in its decision to expand its workforce here in Ontario rather than in the United States.

We all know that unemployment is a human tragedy that saps the energy of the individuals affected as well as their families.

Le chômage est une tragédie humaine qui épuise l'énergie des individus ainsi que celle de leur famille.

High levels of unemployment also sap society's and government's resources, and Ontario can no longer afford this terrible waste of human potential.

The jobs I'm announcing today will be taken up by those hardest hit by the recession: people who must rely on social assistance and those whose unemployment insurance benefits have run out. Linamar's hiring practices will also respect equity goals.

The hardship of having to rely on social assistance is unacceptable to a government committed, as we are, to social justice, so we are working to ensure the jobs Linamar announced are only the beginning of the 100,000 new jobs we expect to stimulate over the next three years through the Jobs Ontario Training fund.

Yesterday the Treasurer announced that we shall be investing \$360 million in Ontario's physical infrastructure through the Jobs Ontario Capital fund.

Mon annonce d'aujourd'hui complémente l'annonce du Trésorier hier au sujet du boulot Ontario Capital. C'est un investissement dans le peuple de l'Ontario et dans leurs habiletés.

My announcement today complements that strategy. It is an investment in the people of Ontario and their skills.

We shall make available \$1.1 billion through the three years of this program for employment training and support, such as child care.

When employers buy into the Jobs Ontario Training fund they are eligible for a training credit of up to \$10,000 for each job created under the program. At least half of that money must be used to train the new employee, but the rest may be used to train the staff they already have.

Delivery of training and employment support services will be coordinated, in the main, by local brokers in partnership with their communities. I want to stress the word "partnership," because the Jobs Ontario Training fund is rooted in partnership, a partnership between government, employers, trainers, workers and communities in Ontario.

The Jobs Ontario Training fund is a winning proposition for everyone: for the long-term unemployed who get back to work and, at the same time, upgrade their skills; for employers like Linamar, which benefit from the training credit to sharpen their competitive edge; for the government, which has reduced social assistance costs as a result, and for the province of Ontario, which sees its economy regenerated.

Boulot Ontario Formation est une proposition gagnante pour tout le monde: pour les travailleurs, les travailleuses, les employeurs et les gouvernements.

The agreement I signed this morning is the first of many that will be signed with Ontario businesses, both large and small. The response to the Jobs Ontario Training fund has been keen and enthusiastic. It is an enlightened program based not on wage subsidies but on sheer good common sense.

RESPONSES

JOBS ONTARIO TRAINING FUND

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): I'm pleased to respond to the minister's statement on the job strategy and to say to him that I think the announcement indicates that the government doesn't understand the magnitude of the unemployment problem.

Certainly this move is fine and it's welcome. It's 271 jobs and we appreciate that, just as the Treasurer's announcement yesterday for the capital projects was important, although I would point out that yesterday's announcement does represent fewer dollars for jobs and capital this year than last year.

But with respect to the minister's announcement today on 271 jobs, I want to put it into perspective for him. I hope you realize that every single day that your government has been in power 435 more people have joined the unemployed ranks. Every single day, seven days a week, 365 days a year, the unemployment ranks have grown by 435 people. That's not to diminish the importance of 271 jobs, but I would say to the minister, you have to appreciate we're dealing with a huge problem here and you've got to get at solving it: 435 people every single day.

In terms of the impact, in the month of June we already know about 12 more plant closures—already announced, already published by the Minister of Labour. We know there are going to be 290 people at Certified Brakes laid off as a result of a plant closure; 296 people in Trenton,

Murata Erie North America; 335 people in Hamilton, Robinson's Department Stores. The point I'm making is that 271 jobs are important, but we're dealing here with a crisis. We're dealing with a need for a government to get on to tackle a major problem in employment in this province. Yesterday we had the Treasurer reannounce his budget announcement and that's fine, but it's fewer jobs than last year. We have 271 jobs today, which we welcome, but you've got to get on with your economic plan, and it is stalled, as far as we can see.

I'll quote the five elements in your economic renewal plan that the Premier announced. One that you have direct responsibility for is OTAB, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. You may remember, Minister, that the Premier, in the speech from the throne, promised as part of the big economic renewal plan this session, the one that will end in a few weeks, "We will introduce legislation that will make Ontario a leader in training with the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board." We haven't seen that legislation yet. Where is that legislation that you promised? Where is the legislation? We want to know how you're planning to set this up. Well, bring in the legislation if it's so important. We want to see that legislation.

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Skills Development): You're a great help, I've got to tell you. Wonderful, great assistance. Thank you very much.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Mr Phillips: The second element of the Premier's economic renewal plan was the worker ownership plan. The worker ownership plan is an extremely important bill, but here we find on the worker ownership, I might say, that the organizations that can manage the venture capital part are the unions, and that's fine. They're the ones that can manage it, but the major trade organization in the province of Ontario, the Ontario Federation of Labour, said it doesn't want to do it. So the second element of your economic renewal plan, the one that is going to solve the job problem, is not going to work. The OFL already said it doesn't want to be involved in it.

The other part of that is the worker buyout. The Steelworkers union said to the government: "You're wrong on it. Change it. You're going to be subject to all sorts of countervail. Change the legislation." We couldn't persuade the committee to change it, so Leo Gerard and the Steelworkers are going to be furious when they see what the government's done with that bill, because they say it will no doubt be subject to countervail by the US and make the bill essentially useless for their purposes.

The third element is the Ontario investment fund. Again, the Premier had said we would be seeing that, that it would be coming forward. Where is it?

The fourth element is the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, who promised us the industrial strategy, the blueprint that the government was going to follow for getting on with creating jobs. Where is it? Where is that industrial strategy?

The fifth element of the economic renewal plan the Premier promised was the Ontario Labour Relations Act amendments. We've seen those and they will be the subject

of some considerable debate, but I submit to the House that the bill and the debate that will take place will do more to slow down job creation in this province than virtually anything else we could consider.

So I say to the Minister, we welcome the 271 jobs, although 15 hours from now they will be gone if you keep up the pace of unemployment that you're creating in the province. But we still welcome that. I would say to the minister that we are looking for this government to get on with the real economic renewal plan that it promised and not to be tinkering with the economy in this province.

1400

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I want to first of all thank the Linamar company for its undertaking. I understand they spend between \$10,000 and \$15,000 on training, and I think that's admirable. I think everybody agrees that we need to have training. In fact, we called for that in New Directions on October 31 of last year. We said we need to link the provisions to jobs, retraining, training and apprenticeship programs. I'm glad to see that some things coming out of that program were taken advantage of.

The board of trade, however, in talking about your training programs, even today, when it talks about the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, says that the work you're doing with OTAB has been hastily pulled together, hastily thought out and mostly rammed through. So I would say to the minister who is here, while we are looking at some good programs, the people from the board of trade are saying very clearly that there are some problems, as has the chamber of commerce, which said of the OTAB process, "In our view, such decisions should not be taken until the province has had further province-wide consultation and has concluded and the views of all constituents are taken into consideration."

I want the minister to know very clearly that everybody agrees we need training. There are some very serious concerns with OTAB. I'm very pleased that we have companies that are going to invest in skills and training. I believe the standard of living of the next generation will be in direct proportion to the skills and training we give our people. But it was interesting to note that the only people who are investing in Ontario today are those who are getting some type of government handout. Nobody is coming to Ontario.

Yesterday the Treasurer came back from his whirlwind tour of the world. He didn't announce one, not one, international investment coming to the province, not one. On that entire trip, he didn't have anything invested by people coming from other jurisdictions. I submit to you the reason is your labour legislation; your regulation and all your overgovernance is driving businesses out. That's not the least of it. I hope some of the international people gave the Treasurer an earful on a lot of the taxes, which are 20% to 50% higher.

We all believe we need skills and training for the people of this province. It's fortunate we have companies like Linamar that represent some of that investment and are doing it on their own. The fact of the matter is, though, that since you've come to power we have lost 250,000 jobs in

the province. Today you announced 271. We will need thousands, literally thousands, more announcements like this today just to get back to where we were before you characters took over in Ontario. That is a problem, because investment is not coming here because of your policies.

We compliment the odd company out there, but we say to you that the only people coming to Ontario, the only people investing are those who get a handout from the government. If we are truly going to solve the problems of unemployment, we can't do it without a better investment climate.

I would say to the Treasurer, you took some of our points out of New Directions. Hopefully, you'll read it again and take some of the good things out of it because, if not, we're going to be in sad shape. We're going to need a thousand more announcements just to get back to where we are because, quite frankly, we have lost more jobs during this recession than any other province. This has been an Ontario-led recession. While we are happy for the people in Guelph, this won't solve the problems. As I've often said before, we are dealing with mice in the basement, while there are elephants on the roof.

ORAL QUESTIONS

LANDFILL SITES

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): In the absence of the Premier, I'll address my question to the Minister of the Environment. As I've indicated in the past, it's our intention to continue to ask questions of the Premier when he's present in the House about statements he has made, despite the fact that he keeps referring these questions to the minister. We intend to keep asking the questions until we feel we're getting a direct reply.

The Premier has made promises to the people of the greater Toronto area. He promised there would be no dump in the Rouge. Now the Rouge is a potential dump site. The Premier promised the people of this province that if there are going to be any new sites, they have to be subject to the fullest kind of environmental assessment and that environmental assessment has to be done on a basis that is seen by everyone to be fair.

It's quite obvious that the residents of York region, who have been protesting here today, do not perceive the process this government is now engaged in to be either full or fair. I would ask the minister why she and her government have retreated so completely from the promises that were made by their leader with respect to the fullest kind of environmental assessment on landfill sites in the GTA, and how will she respond to the concerns of the people of York region who were here today?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): I'll try to respond as directly as I can to the Leader of the Opposition but I want to assure her that it is a fair and open process to determine the best landfill sites for the greater Toronto area and it is a full environmental assessment.

All I can say to the people of York and the people of any other region that is attempting to locate a landfill site is that I recognize nobody is going to want one in his particular community, but the fact remains that we all create waste

and the most environmentally acceptable way of disposing of it is reducing it as much as possible—we're trying to do that—and then finding a landfill site within the area in which it was generated and that's the process the Interim Waste Authority Ltd is following.

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): I want to say to the minister first of all that the poison she planted in York region initiated this whole problem, when she made a decision, I guess with the assistance of the Premier and her parliamentary assistant, based not on environmental considerations but only on her own arbitrary assessment of the facts, that Metropolitan Toronto's garbage is going to go to York region.

I want to say to the minister that decision will not be accepted by the people of York region. I want to tell the minister there were some 200 people from the community of Georgina out in front of this parliamentary building today determined to make sure that decision she made arbitrarily will not hold.

But I want to ask the minister this question. Her parliamentary assistant, the member for Durham-York, was also at the rally today, but prior to today her parliamentary assistant, the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of the Environment, met with ratepayers in York region and said to the ratepayers of York region that as parliamentary assistant to the Minister of the Environment he would make sure there would never be a dump in Georgina. I want to ask the minister, how does that square with your commitment that the decision would not be made on a political basis?

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: I feel that my privilege as a member in this Legislature has come into question when I am being misquoted by the member for York Centre.

Mr Sorbara: I have witnesses, my friend.

Mr O'Connor: I never said that at any point in time at a public meeting in my constituency, if he's referring to a meeting that took place last Thursday night. I would ask him to withdraw it.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): To the member for Durham-York, while I appreciate the point of order he raises, it is clearly a difference of opinion between two members of the House or between two sides of the House. It's not the Speaker's position to determine the veracity of statements made in the House. The question has been asked of the Minister of the Environment for a response.

Hon Mrs Grier: First of all, the member for Durham-York is not my parliamentary assistant as Minister of the Environment; he's my parliamentary assistant as minister responsible for the greater Toronto area. That's the first fact that's wrong.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mrs Grier: Second, the member for York Centre was not present at the meeting where he is alleging statements were made by my parliamentary assistant for the office of the greater Toronto area. Third, the member for Durham-York is perfectly entitled, as a representative of

the citizens of York, to work with them, to participate in the process, to make sure that the process is open and fair, and that is exactly what the member for Durham-York told his constituents he was going to do.

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I want to ask the minister to look at the human dimension of what she has unleashed, not only on York region but throughout the greater Toronto area, because the people in York region do not feel that what is happening is fair.

If you go, Mr Speaker, to the many meetings that have been held now over the last several weeks and talk to the individuals who have come to those meetings, if you were out today in front of this Legislature talking in some cases to young farmers who are starting out with their farms, with their hopes and dreams in front of them, if you talk to older residents who have lived in a number of these areas, and not just in Georgina but in all of the other areas of York region where sites are being proposed, what you hear is people saying, "Why? Why? Why?"

My question to the minister is this: Seeing the reaction that is sweeping like a firestorm throughout the whole area, would the minister not agree that the best thing to do right now is to stop and to say that this policy where you declare arbitrarily that York region will take Metropolitan Toronto's garbage is unfair and unjust and you've got to go back to the drawing board? Will you do that, Minister?

1410

Hon Mrs Grier: Mr Speaker, let me say to the member that I know the human dimension and I recognize the pain and the fear and the apprehension of all the people in all the areas where landfill sites are being sought, whether they be the GTA or anywhere else across this province. I have met with those people. I met those people when I was in opposition; I have met with those people since I became the minister.

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): You made promises to them on the election platform. You met them all right.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mrs Grier: I met with them in Marmora. I met with people from Plympton. I met with people from the north. I met with people from Pickering—

Mr Scott: It's the biggest flip-flop we've ever seen.

The Speaker: Order, the member for St George-St David.

Hon Mrs Grier: —who said on the previous process, "Why my community?" I agreed with them. Just to pick an area and say arbitrarily, "That will be where the landfill will go," is most unfair and impossible to defend, which is why with the utmost conviction and care what we have constructed is an Interim Waste Authority with a mandate, with legislation that is charged with the responsibility of using the most open and fair process to find a site.

That's why, when the members opposite ask me to intervene at this point on behalf of one set of constituents as opposed to another set of constituents, I have to say that's precisely the kind of political interference in the environmental assessment process that has led us to the crisis

that this government is trying to solve in the fairest and most open way possible.

The Speaker: New question.

Mrs McLeod: Mr Speaker, we were aware that the Premier would not be here today, but we did expect the Minister of Labour to be here and, in the absence of the Premier, my second question was to be directed to the Minister of Labour. Is he still expected, or shall I stand down my question?

The Speaker: He is expected.

Mrs McLeod: May I stand down my question until he arrives then?

The Speaker: Yes.

Mrs McLeod: Thank you, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: The leader of the third party.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): Mr Speaker, my question is to the minister of dumps, who seems to be a very popular person today. Hundreds of people, Minister, stopped by today to dump all over the way you've been handling this search for garbage disposal. There are dozens of communities—

The Speaker: The Minister of Health is not present in the chamber.

Mr Harris: —whose futures have been put on hold. There are houses—

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): He did not refer to the Minister of Health, Mr Speaker. You might ask him to whom he referred.

The Speaker: I may be in error, but I thought I heard the leader of the third party place his question to the Minister of Health, who is not in the chamber.

Mr Harris: It was the minister of dumps, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: Which minister do you wish to address?

Mr Harris: If the Minister of Health claims jurisdiction over that, if she wishes to answer it, fine. But whoever would like to answer the question concerning environment is the one I'm directing it to.

The Speaker: I'm sorry. Would the leader take his seat. I would appreciate it if the leader could identify a minister of the crown who is seated in the chamber to whom he wishes to place his question.

Mr Harris: For the fifth time, the Minister of the Environment, responsible for dumps in the province. Mr Speaker, through you to the minister, hundreds of people stopped by today to dump all over the way you are looking to dump garbage in their backyards.

Their futures have been put on hold; 57 communities are now told by real estate agents that they must disclose before they can sell their home that their house is such-and-such a distance from a potential dump. Many can't figure out how on earth their community ever ended up on the list of 57 sites, given that it was not the intention of their council to have a dump in that particular location.

Minister, these people want to know—one of the things they want to know—are you satisfied that all 57 sites that were identified, where now homes cannot be sold, are viable

environmental options, or do you intend to delist some of those options before the process goes any further and, if so, why wouldn't you do that now so they can get on with their lives?

Hon Mrs Grier: I'd be very glad to explain to the leader of the third party the process that has been followed in arriving at the 57 candidate sites throughout the greater Toronto area.

The Interim Waste Authority began last summer to establish a set of criteria against which to evaluate potential sites for landfill. They consulted broadly and identified areas where waste landfill sites should not go. They then published a list of draft criteria. In response to the consultation process, they revised those criteria. Having determined what those criteria ought to be, they then applied those criteria in the regions of the greater Toronto area where they were seeking landfill sites, and as a result of the application of those criteria, 57 areas were determined to be candidate sites for landfill.

The movement from that list of candidate sites to a shorter list and finally to a preferred site will require much more extensive evaluation, testing and examination, and that's precisely what the Interim Waste Authority is presently engaged in doing.

Mr Harris: Minister, to many of these people, it jumps out at them so obviously that even sites that are not in their communities shouldn't have been on the list in the first place. They don't understand why you consider all 57 to be viable.

I suggest to you, not only should you consider removing many of these obviously sensitive sites from the list; you also should be adding another realistic option, that option being the Kirkland Lake option, or what has become known as the willing host option. Minister, you know the Kirkland Lake option desperately needs more garbage than it can generate from within its own region to get the hundreds of recycling jobs that will flow with that size of an operation. You are denying them that opportunity.

I would ask you, Minister: Do you not believe it is your responsibility, not only to come forward with those obvious sensitive sites that should be delisted today, but also that you should come forward and make sure all options are explored in order to find the most environmentally sound solution, ie, put the willing host, Kirkland Lake solution back on the table?

Hon Mrs Grier: There are almost two questions, and if I could say to the leader of the third party, I hope anyone who approaches him, as anybody who approaches us or the opposition, about the process and about the criteria will be directed to the criteria document of the Interim Waste Authority, because it's precisely the refining of those criteria, the participation in the arguments for and against those criteria, that I hope all the people here today and all the people in the greater Toronto area will do over the next few months to make sure that whatever ultimate site is selected is environmentally viable.

With respect to his question on Kirkland Lake, I find it remarkable that the leader of the third party doesn't

understand that the criterion of a happy host is not one that is found in the Environmental Assessment Act.

Interjection.

The Speaker: Member for Etobicoke West.

Hon Mrs Grier: But maybe it isn't so surprising, because after all, before the last election, this member recommended a class environmental assessment for waste management sites. He didn't even support a full environmental assessment of any waste management site.

The Speaker: New question.

Mr Harris: That's a lie, Madam Minister.

The Speaker: I ask the leader of the third party to quite seriously reconsider what he has just said. He knows it's unparliamentary.

Mr Harris: Mr Speaker, I will withdraw. I have no further questions of any minister who's going to stand in the House and lie to me. No further questions.

The Speaker: The leader of the third party, I realize that—

Interjections.

The Speaker: The member knows that he—

Mr Harris: I withdraw any comments that offend you. I have no further questions.

1420

AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I have a question for the Minister of Financial Institutions. Section 289 of the Liberal Bill 68 requires that an adequacy report on the no-fault benefits schedule of the Ontario motorist protection plan be filed within two years. The deadline for that report is June 30, next week.

The minister has not filed a report on adequacy. What he has filed is a letter, a letter that contains absolutely no analysis whatsoever of the existing benefits schedule. It is merely a four-paragraph letter. It's a collection of promotional material for his proposed legislation. In short, this report, which was filed while this House wasn't even sitting, is an absolute embarrassment. Mr Minister, the Insurance Act requires that an adequacy report be filed by June 30. Where is that report?

Hon Brian A. Charlton (Minister of Financial Institutions): The member is perfectly correct that this minister has tabled a letter dealing with the question of the adequacy of Bill 68. The member suggests that this is an inadequate response on the part of the minister.

Let me suggest to you that this minister tabled legislation in this House last December. Along with that legislation, he released a report, *The Road Ahead: Ontario's Strategy for Automobile Insurance Reform*, which defined the serious inadequacies of the existing legislation both in terms of the benefits package and in terms of a whole number of other issues which the legislation hasn't dealt with, such as the Facility Association.

We have sat down with the industry over the last 10 months and worked out a package which the industry passed a week and a half or two weeks ago and is proceeding now to submit to the Insurance Commission of On-

tario. Earlier this spring we released a most extensive package of draft regulations amending the legislation that currently is in place. I think the approach we've taken to proceeding with legislative reform is a particularly adequate response to the adequacy of the current legislation.

Mr Tilson: I think the meagre response is self-explanatory. *The Road Ahead* is not an adequacy report; it's a PR job. That's all it's doing. It's pushing a report that even you don't believe in. A year ago this past Christmas you supported a bill supporting returning to the tort system, and you're coming forward with this sort of thing. I believe the minister has seriously attempted to mislead us with this so-called report.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): To the member for Dufferin-Peel: The member should know that it is not parliamentary to suggest that another member of the House has misled you or misled the House, or anyone else for that matter. I would ask him to consider what I've just said and ask him to withdraw the remark which he made.

Mr Tilson: I don't want to breach the etiquette of this House, but I certainly think the minister has not filed what he is supposed to file, and that is an adequacy report. I will say that.

The Speaker: I'm sorry. The member needs to say those magic words, of which there are only two: "I withdraw." I would appreciate hearing those words right now from the member.

Mr Tilson: Mr Speaker, I will withdraw the remarks that have offended you.

This letter doesn't do what it's supposed to do. It hasn't talked about the decreased rates Bill 68 was supposed to bring forward. There have been statements made by the Insurance Bureau of Canada—and I know you're aware of them, Mr Minister—that under Bill 164 insurance rates will increase by a minimum of 20% and, in the cases of senior citizens, young people and new drivers of this province, they'll increase by as much as 50%. You have that information; the insurance industry has given that to you. Where is the minister's proof, other than this meaningless four-paragraph letter—

The Speaker: Would the member conclude his supplementary.

Mr Tilson: Where is the minister's proof that auto insurance premiums will go down?

Hon Mr Charlton: There are two things the member has raised in his question. In the preamble, he again talked about our need and my responsibility to comment on the adequacy of the existing legislation. Ministers who find legislation inadequate and table reports suggesting its inadequacy are in my view just stallers and ditherers. Ministers who find legislation inadequate and proceed to implement legislative reform are making comment on the inadequacy of existing legislation and proceeding to deal with that inadequacy. That's the approach this minister has taken.

The member also referred in his question to the IBC's comments about 20% and 50%. I should point out that the IBC—and he should read words carefully—has suggested that costs, not premiums, will increase and that the current

system is dramatically overpriced. This minister has actuarial studies, as the Insurance Bureau does, and we will be implementing this package without premium increase.

Mr Tilson: Stop dithering and release those reports. If you have information that costs are going up or rates are going up because of this terrible legislation, this House should see it. Your legislation will make it next to impossible for a company to get out of the auto insurance business or to leave this province because of this proposed legislation. If a company wants to do that, under your legislation it must pay a levy or a penalty, a penalty to simply leave the business. Is this what your government's new business strategy is to encourage people to get into this province?

Hon Mr Charlton: The withdrawal provisions in the legislation are not provisions that are designed to penalize honest, straightforward businesses. The member well knows that a company that goes out into the marketplace and sells insurance policies has an obligation to deliver what it has promised in that insurance policy.

The withdrawal provisions we're putting in this legislation are to deal with an inadequacy that has existed since the Tories were the government and an inadequacy in the legislation that was maintained under the Liberals, where they put in place no protection for the consumers of this province if a company went out and sold policies and then decided to exit the market without delivering the product.

The Speaker: The Leader of the Opposition with her second leadoff question.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I'll return to the Minister of Labour. It is a fact that since September 1990, 95,000 men and women have lost tourism-sector jobs. Destinations like Benmiller Inn near Goderich are in receivership, and Elgin House and Lakeside Lodge near Port Carling are closed. These are just representative of some of Ontario's finest tourist destinations. They just can't make it in this economic climate, and they need all the help they can get.

In our discussions with people in the tourism industry, they tell us they are very concerned about this minister's labour law reforms. I would ask the minister if he can tell us whether he is hearing the concerns of this particular industry, whether he's prepared to listen to those concerns and how he will respond to them.

1430

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): I think it's a legitimate question. I want the leader of the official opposition to understand that there are many groups that are involved in the tourism industry. Of the 334 groups that met with us in the course of the discussion process and paper we went through in Ontario, we have listened to them, as we have to all the groups, very intently. We have already made changes to the bill, as the member knows if she has taken a look at it, that reflect some of those discussions, and we certainly intend to continue listening to the various business groups in the province.

Mrs McLeod: I would stress to the minister that the concerns we're hearing are concerns that continue to exist

after people in the industry, as well as ourselves, have reviewed the specific proposals the minister has put before the House.

The province's restaurants are a very important component of the tourism sector, as the minister well knows. They are telling us that they expect to be particularly hard hit by the Labour Relations Act changes. They're saying that closing a restaurant for less than a week with a strike likely means bankruptcy for that company. The restaurant's cash runs out and its customers go away.

People in the restaurant industry know that the government is determined to proceed with the Ontario Labour Relations Act amendments. They don't like it and they're afraid of what its impact will be, but they are making proposals to try to minimize the damage to their particular sector. They have suggested a temporary ban on the replacement worker prohibition during strikes in their industry. That way they can stave off bankruptcy while labour negotiations continue.

I would ask the minister whether he would agree to consider an amendment to his Labour Relations Act legislation that would allow for a temporary ban on the prohibition of replacement workers in the restaurant industry, or whether he is prepared to consider some kind of amendment that would respond to the concerns of this sector.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I find it very difficult to understand how the restaurant industry itself is likely to be under much more pressure than it might be now, and I'm hoping that what the leader of the official opposition is saying is not that she just thinks that workers in that particular industry, if they should desire to organize, do not have the right. I think that would be a tragedy.

What will happen in terms of the further hearings with this bill before us we will find out at that point in time; we will listen to the arguments. But it would be very difficult, to be up front with the member as well, to pull out certain groups and exempt them from the provisions of the legislation.

Mrs McLeod: Surely the minister is not suggesting that people in that sector do not have the right to organize under existing legislation. I hope he will not take what he has considered to be a legitimate question and try to simplify it by reverting back to a response which simply isn't relevant to the real complications this legislation is now creating.

I raise the concern because we know that restaurant chains are losing money. Last year restaurants made an average profit of 3% before repaying their debt and this year is just as bad. Since 1990 the restaurant industry has been forced to cut 30% of its workforce because of tough economic times. This government's legislation will make things even tougher; yes, indeed, Mr Minister, even tougher for people in the restaurant sector. We all believe that the labour relations amendments will cost jobs in this province. We have been asking this minister and his government to carry out studies on the job loss impact of the legislative proposals, and the government has refused to do that.

If the minister will not undertake a study on the effects of the OLRA changes on the entire provincial economy, will he at least commit to completing a study on the effect of the labour law changes on Ontario's tourism and hospitality sectors?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: As I tried to indicate, I have met with the tourist industry and representatives from it and from the restaurant industry and talked to them extensively on this particular issue. I am not, at this point in time, going to suggest that we can exempt any particular group, but I think we will have another round of hearings on this particular piece of legislation. We are not trying to oversimplify anything that's in the OLRA amendments.

LANDFILL SITES

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): My question is to the Minister of the Environment. The minister has been trying to assure residents of the greater Toronto area that she is trying to site new landfill sites without any political interference. If that were only true in Windsor and Essex county. The minister received in September 1991 a then secret letter from the federal NDP member Steven Langdon.

Mr Langdon said, in his then secret letter: "Dear Ruth: "The Maidstone Against Dumping organization is an extremely effective and influential political action group in my constituency, with which I have worked very closely over a number of years." Then Mr Langdon goes on to list a number of reasons why the landfill should not be expanded or why there should be no landfill in his constituency. I want to know from the minister why she allows such unacceptable political interference.

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): I don't know whether a letter from a member of Parliament is any more political interference than a question from the member of the opposition. What matters is the response to the letter. When the member says that it was a secret letter, let me assure him that Mr Langdon's letters are never secret. There are in fact copies, I suspect, sent in many directions, and that particular letter has been in the public domain for quite some time.

I responded to Mr Langdon as I respond to anybody else who asks me about landfill siting, that in fact there is a process that has to be followed and that it will be followed. That was my reply.

Mr Mancini: The then secret letter was made public via a brown paper envelope which came from within the ministry. The issue at stake here—

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): Secret letter? Everybody already had it.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Mancini: Yes. I wonder if the NDP is going to call the OPP to investigate how that letter became public.

The issue at stake here is one of credibility and objectiveness in the environmental assessment process. Mr Langdon said in his then secret letter, "The school crisis in Essex county showed how determined and articulate groups could damage our government and party." That's

what Mr Langdon said. He further went on to say, "I urge you to look to Colchester North," which is a small municipality in another federal constituency.

I want to know from the Minister of the Environment how the people of Windsor and Essex county could have any faith whatsoever in you and in fairness in the system when we have secret letters like this floating around, when we know full well that Mr Langdon addresses you as "Dear Ruth," and he ends up by saying, "Please, keep in touch on this issue" and "Best personal regards"? How can we be assured that the landfill site in Windsor and Essex county will be sited based on only the best environmental assessment and information and not based on what's good for you, your government or your party?

Hon Mrs Grier: I think the member underestimates the efforts and the very hard work that has been undergone by the Essex-Windsor waste management committee. That committee has been struggling with a long-standing problem in that area. It has been working very hard to implement the 3Rs and it has been doing a very good job, and I have been meeting with it and attempting to move the process forward.

I have no control over people who write to me, but I can certainly give the member my complete assurance that letters I may receive, be they from federal members or from local members, asking me to interfere in the process will be ignored.

1440

RACE RELATIONS

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I have a question for the Solicitor General. My question involves the comments of the parliamentary assistant to the Premier that were made over the weekend. Many of the police in this province consider the comment, "No one seems to have a problem in identifying us when they want to shoot us," as a racist slur against police. Since that's the only word they've heard on this from the parliamentary assistant to the Premier—they've not heard anything from their representative in cabinet, the top cop, so to speak, the Solicitor General—I would ask you, as the representative of all police officers in this province, do you condone the statement that was made by the parliamentary assistant to the Premier?

Hon Allan Pilkey (Solicitor General): I can't pass judgement on comments of other members. I don't know the context in which they were made or even when they were made.

I can point out to the leader of the third party, however, that the Ministry of the Solicitor General has been absolutely in the forefront of developing and enhancing race relations in this province, whether it be through our own race relations and policing unit or whether it be through community policing and community programs by police detachments throughout this province. I think they have done a good job.

That is not to say there isn't a much greater job to be done, but we are all very active in the achievement of the goal to better serve our multicultural and multiracial society. I think we are making gains and we should continue to work

in a very positive way towards the achievement of those goals and directions.

Mr Harris: Would the Solicitor General not agree with me, with the police and with many of the outraged citizens of Ontario that the language in the quote is precisely the kind of inflammatory statement we are trying to avoid, that we are trying to discredit on all sides and indeed that we are certainly not wanting to legitimize? On that basis, Mr Solicitor General, would you not agree that the parliamentary assistant to the Premier should resign?

Hon Mr Pilkey: As I indicated, I'm not aware of the comments that were made or the context in which they were presented. I would rather confine my comments to the positive kind of orientation I indicated in the initial response.

INCINERATION

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): My question is to the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area and Minister of the Environment.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. Would the member take his seat. The member for Durham West.

Mr Wiseman: Over the past few weeks there have been many meetings throughout the GTA where communities have gathered to express their concerns about the identification of 57 candidate landfill sites. I believe these meetings are absolutely important for the residents of these communities.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Wiseman: Even though I believe in the democratic process, it seems that the opposition would rather shout me down than hear the question.

I attended a large number of these meetings when the Liberals were attempting to dump P1 down our throats in north Pickering when they were in power, so I know the importance of making sure that the information at these meetings is accurate, that everyone can work from the information and that they understand the process.

I am greatly concerned about the amount of information people need to know, so I have a question to the minister. Mr Speaker, I see you've become antsy in your chair. One of the questions that continues to arise and to be asked is about incineration and the option of incineration. I would like to ask the minister again, why has incineration been ruled out?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): I'm glad to answer that because I certainly don't believe that any of the citizens who are unhappy about the thought that there might be a landfill site in their community would be any happier if there was going to be an incinerator in their community, which is what the opposition seems to advocate.

Incineration is not an environmental solution to waste management. First of all, it does not contribute to waste reduction, waste reuse and waste recycling. The elements

that can best be recycled are in fact those that burn at the highest temperatures, and once you've built a very capital-intensive incinerator, you then have to continue to provide product for it to burn as opposed to trying to reduce the amount of that product. Second, the more effective the devices in the stack to prevent emissions, the more toxic the ash, and you still have to find a landfill site for that toxic ash. When you compare both the capital and the operating costs of an incinerator, they are far greater, more than 15 times greater, than those of a landfill.

Mr Wiseman: In your response you mentioned emissions. We all know air pollution is a major problem, and through the burning of waste, we know byproducts are created. In fact, we know it is such a major problem that the member for Markham just moved a motion a few weeks ago asking that the Minister of the Environment make stronger the air emission control standards and limits on acid rain. Could the minister explain to us what would be the result of these byproducts—the dioxins, furans and toxins—that would be created through the burning and incineration of waste?

Hon Mrs Grier: There is not an incinerator anywhere which burns municipal solid waste that does not have harmful emissions. The health effects of those emissions are becoming more apparent. I was reading just yesterday that in Florida the emissions of mercury from municipal solid waste incinerators are very high.

Our government has taken the position that as we strive to control pollution we have to take a multimedia approach, which means that it is not good enough merely to transfer the problem from the land to the air. We know that what goes into the air falls into the water and that airborne toxic chemicals are a major contributor to the degradation of the Great Lakes. Incinerators, in short, are not an environmental solution to waste management.

MORTGAGE BROKERS

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I have a question for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations.

When the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations proposes to revoke the licence of real estate or mortgage brokers who engage in unscrupulous practices, the broker whose licence is about to be revoked can appeal to the Commercial Registration Appeal Tribunal, and until the appeal tribunal has a hearing and makes a decision, that person can continue to practise. For example, when a mortgage broker is charged with defrauding investors and borrowers and the ministry gives notice that the broker's licence is about to be revoked, that broker may appeal the decision to the appeal tribunal. During that time, the ministry cannot act and the broker can continue to function until the decision is made by the tribunal.

With this being the process, does the minister not agree that it is in the best interests of the ministry that the appeal process take place as quickly as possible to ensure that bad operators are removed from the public scene and do not have the opportunity to defraud investors?

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): The process that's in place is

twofold. Partly it's to protect the consumer, as you suggested, but the aspect of the real estate agent being able to appeal his or her case is something that is important to the process, and to date, that is the way it has worked. If you have a particular case that you want to bring to my attention where there's a problem, then I'd be happy to look at this, but at this—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. Has the minister completed her response?

Hon Ms Churley: Mr Speaker, my answer is completed.
1450

Mr Kwinter: Just so the minister understands the question I asked, I want to know whether the minister feels this process is important. Obviously she does.

My supplementary is this: If indeed it is important that these appeals be heard and that they be heard expeditiously so that these bad apples, so to speak, can be removed from the commercial scene, why would the ministry shut down this tribunal for three months because it claims it didn't have any money? The whole system was closed down in December and did not open up until April 1 in the next fiscal period. During that time there were many members of the real estate, business broker and mortgage broker community who had their licences revoked, who launched appeals, but those appeals could not be heard because there was no appeal board. The appeal board was not functioning, and these people were allowed to be out in the community practising, the way they had practised in the past, and putting at risk members of this community who did not understand that these people were under the particular revocation of their licences.

Could you answer that for me, and could you also give me an assurance that it won't happen again?

Hon Ms Churley: Certainly I can answer that question for the member. There were problems at CRAT, and he's quite aware that there had been problems. I've been working with that administration for some time to try to streamline the operations, and we have, in fact, come up with a number of revisions to the way the cases are heard. We have made the—

Interjection.

Hon Ms Churley: Do you want to hear the answer or not? We have made the hearings more efficient than they ever have been in the past.

It is quite true there were problems for some time. In fact, if you will look at the situation now, it is greatly improved. I agree with you that there was a problem for a short time, and I wasn't happy about it. There has been vast improvement since the time I took over this office and decided to try to deal with the problems that have existed there for quite some time. In fact, I'm dealing with them right now and it has improved.

POLICE SERVICES

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): My question is for the Solicitor General. For several months now the Ontario Provincial Police have been seriously under-

staffed and underfunded because you won't provide them with the financial resources to hire and train new recruits.

Since last June when you imposed a hiring freeze for the OPP, a total of 83 officers have left the force through attrition. None of these officers has been replaced, and this staff shortage has resulted in more than 100 OPP detachments operating less than 24 hours a day.

Last week in your statement on the police use of force you told the House that "the government's objectives are public and officer safety," and that "the people of Ontario expect and deserve a high level of public safety and security."

Will the minister tell the House how he reconciles those statements with his refusal to hire new OPP recruits, why he hasn't approved these hirings, and does he think it's appropriate for more than 100 OPP detachments to be closed during the overnight period?

Hon Allan Pilkey (Solicitor General): First of all, it never was the case throughout Ontario that there was OPP coverage for 24 hours. There were always detachments that operated on the same basis as the situation we have now, though I must agree with the member opposite that there is a growing number now compared to previously.

I think it's fair to say as well that the police-to-population ratio with respect to the OPP is the same today as it was 10 years ago, and I think that fact should be noted.

I think it should be noted as well, in terms of the people who have retired or left the service of the OPP and have not been replaced as a result of a hiring freeze, that we are aware of that circumstance, although I think in fairness we must indicate that the estimates by the commissioner of the OPP of those who would retire in 1991 were not achieved. People did not leave as expected, and therefore in terms of those budget estimates we had, in fact, overhired for the 1991 year.

In terms of this year's estimates that have been approved, this fiscal year's hiring has not been accomplished to date. They are under review, and I hope to have some announcement with respect to the question of resourcing and staffing in the near future, which I hope will be welcome news to the member opposite.

Mr Runciman: The Solicitor General's ministry is currently involved in contract negotiations with the Ontario Provincial Police Association. I'm told that the ministry has \$7 million sitting in its budget which can be used to hire new OPP recruits, but this money is being held back as a bargaining chip in contract talks. This money would be adequate to recruit 125 urgently needed OPP recruits, yet no action has been taken. This bargaining chip is keeping more than 100 OPP detachments closed overnight, despite the fact that close to 15,000 Ontarians mailed coupons to the minister telling him that they want their detachments open on a 24-hour basis.

Minister, if you were to commit today to hiring 125 OPP recruits, because of the training requirements those recruits wouldn't be on the street to protect the public for another 14 months. The time to act is now.

Will the minister confirm that the money required for this hiring of recruits is in his budget; will he admit that he's holding it back as a bargaining chip with the OPP

association, and will he commit today to allocating these funds to immediately hire and train OPP recruits?

Hon Mr Pilkey: As the member opposite will recognize and obviously does recognize, the process of contract negotiations is not a subject matter I can discuss with him or anyone else in this public venue, but we are anxious for a very successful conclusion with respect to those negotiations. I hope and I feel relatively sure that they will end in a very positive vein and in a circumstance that will be pleasing to all those involved.

I will add, though, that through the budget process and other fiscal discussions the treasury board added \$10 million to the previously difficult budget circumstance of the OPP, which I think will be welcome news to all those involved, and in terms of those moneys that were approved in this fiscal year and in these estimates I'm sure the benefit of those additional dollars will be seen in the not-too-distant future as well.

CHARITABLE GAMING

Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex): My question is for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Minister, in my riding of Middlesex sports teams are starting to plan and fund-raise for the coming seasons. Many of these teams depend on the proceeds from bingos to remain viable. There's been a great deal of controversy recently over the licensing—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. The member for Middlesex.

Mrs Mathysen: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I'd like you to know that this is very important to my constituents and I would appreciate being able to ask this question of the minister.

Many of the groups I've described depend on proceeds from bingos to remain viable. There's been a great deal of controversy recently over the licensing, for example, of hockey teams to run bingos. I understand that some municipalities have been giving licences to individual teams while others are licensing only the associations and leagues. Now we hear that the government is cracking down and won't allow individual teams, like in Niagara, in rural Ontario, teams like the Strathroy Blades, to be licensed.

Minister, these are non-profit community organizations. Can you tell this House what you're going to do to give these groups the fund-raising tools they rely on so much to do the good work they do in our communities for kids who play hockey, soccer and softball?

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): There certainly has been a lot of misunderstanding in the House around sports organizations' eligibility. I understand that, and members from all sides of the House have brought it to my attention, and I would say that thanks to all of those members I was able to work with the sports organizations and come up with a solution.

Part of the problem is that under the Criminal Code they're only considered charitable if they happen to be non-profit, non-professional, youth-oriented leagues and

associations, and that's created some problems for the teams in that they needed flexibility for the individual teams to raise their funds.

We've revised our licensing policy so that individual teams still apply for a lottery licence through their association or their league, but they have more flexibility now to run as many lotteries and bingos as they need to in order to be able to remain viable. Municipalities have been informed of this new policy change.

1500

ALTERNATIVE FUELS

Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall): It is with much interest that I have noted ethanol fuel making headlines in Ontario. All the members are aware that the production of ethanol-blended fuel requires the fermentation of corn. The use of ethanol fuel will not only conserve our non-renewable natural resources; it will also reduce toxic emissions, all the while increasing a market for our farm produce. On this basis alone, creating a viable ethanol fuel industry in Ontario should be on top of everyone's priorities.

Even more exciting, however, is a joint proposal between the Seaway Valley Farmers Energy Cooperative and Queen's University, using exclusive new technology which will only be available until July 1. Ontario farmers have the opportunity to increase production of ethanol fuel by almost three times and reduce the cost from the standard method.

My question today was going to be to the Premier, because I think the Minister of Agriculture and Food has been having a hard time getting the cooperation of the Premier. But I see that the minister of agriculture is here, so I'm going to ask him the question.

I have stood right here in the Legislature several times before, stressing the July 1 deadline. I have also sent numerous letters and shared several conversations. Minister, will you be responding to the needs of the Ontario agricultural community by assisting the Seaway Valley Farmers by the July 1 deadline?

Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food): I appreciate the member for Cornwall's question. He has been a proponent for some time of the Seaway Valley Farmers Energy Cooperative proposal to produce ethanol in eastern Ontario. I support the proposal as well. However, there's a lot of interest in the province at this point in time in the production of ethanol, and a number of different proposals have come to us both from cooperatives and from private enterprise.

As there was so much interest, an interministerial committee was set up to examine many of the proposals, and they had two days of hearings at the end of April. The Seaway Valley Farmers Energy Cooperative was at those hearings, and we listened to its proposal. From that, the interministerial committee is currently drafting a response, a discussion paper, which will suggest which of the proposals would receive or might receive support from the government.

It's unfortunate that this proposal has a July 1 deadline attached to it due to the technology from Queen's University, but I would ask the farmers in the co-op to possibly

look for an extension, because I do not feel we can respond by July 1. It's a little tight for us to respond by that deadline.

Mr Cleary: Minister, I know you're trying, but while the NDP government continues to berate everyone else for causing Ontario's industry to leave the province, they should take a look in the mirror and see who is really to blame.

By not responding to the July 1 deadline, the minister is well aware that the proposal may drift outside the province. Not only will the leading edge of the ethanol technology relocate; the Minister of Agriculture and Food will have a further role, and that will be to deal with the farm industry.

I ask again: Will the minister be responding by July 1?

Hon Mr Buchanan: Nothing would make me more happy than to be able to respond by the July 1 deadline, but the interministerial committee is giving a report based on the 12 or 13 proposals; we can respond to one by July 1 and the rest of them on July 15. It's unfortunate, and again I would ask the Seaway Valley Farmers to ask Queen's University for an extension of that deadline so it meets the deadline I'm currently living with. I think then we could have a successful conclusion to this project.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The time for oral questions has expired. Point of privilege, the member for Simcoe East.

MEMBERS' PRIVILEGES

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: standing order 21(a), privileges in this Legislature. Last night at about 12:10, when this House adjourned, there was a vote taken with regard to debate on the rules. I'd like to know what rules there are that permit people to not vote in this Legislature. I'd also like to know what the duty of the Speaker is to allow members to not vote before you adjourn the House. I'd like your ruling on that, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: To the member for Simcoe East, last evening was indeed an unusual situation. The members should know that the motion that was placed before the House was to adjourn the House. The vote that was taken was at a time past our normal adjournment. Thus, regardless of the outcome of the vote, the House was to adjourn.

It is absolutely right that there is a rule that says all members who are in the chamber have an obligation to vote either for or against. We do not have, as they do in some jurisdictions, the ability of members to abstain actively within the House. Under the circumstances, it appeared to be the most prudent thing to simply adjourn, since that was going to be the ultimate effect of voting, in any event. Had the vote not carried, this place would have been automatically adjourned.

While I recognize the member's point with respect to the procedure, I say two things, under the circumstances: (1) it was the most appropriate thing for the Chair to do at that point, and (2) no member should construe that as some kind of precedent. It was an unusual situation. I reiterate that the clock had already expired and this House was going to adjourn in any event.

I appreciate the member's bringing it to my attention.

INCINERATION

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): Under standing order 32(a) of our rules: "Questions on matters of urgent public importance may be addressed to ministers of the crown but the Speaker shall disallow any question which he or she does not consider urgent or of public importance."

Mr Speaker, as you know, yesterday in the debate on the rules I spoke about wanting discretion in the hands of the Speaker with regard to supplementary questions. Today the member for Durham West rose in this Legislature to ask the Minister of the Environment about the use of incinerators in this province.

I'm reading Hansard from last Wednesday, June 17, at page 1410. The same member asked the Minister of the Environment, the same minister: "There seems to be the belief out there that state-of-the-art incinerators are clean and environmentally friendly and that it would be much easier to site an incinerator than it would be to site a landfill. Would the minister care to comment on this? My constituents would like to know."

I don't care whether it's a member of the government or a member of the opposition, but the question he asked today was identical to the question he asked last Wednesday. I would like to know whether or not the Speaker feels he has powers under standing order 32(a) to disallow such a question if he was aware and could remember in fact that the question was an exact repeat of another day.

The Speaker: The member for Carleton indeed brings forward an interesting proposal. I would hazard a guess that over many decades there have been questions that have been repeated in the chamber by the same member on different occasions. I think the test that the member asks for is very clear in the standing orders: Is the question urgent and/or of public importance?

There is nothing in the standing orders that indicates that because a question has been asked on one occasion it may not be asked on another occasion. To finish it off, perhaps the member might determine that on the first occasion he did not get a satisfactory reply and, hence, on another day he would wish to pose the same question again in the hope that he might get a more favourable response.

I'm afraid I cannot help the member with his point of privilege.

Motions? Petitions?

Interjection.

The Speaker: I'm sorry. Motions?

Interjection: No, that's a bill.

The Speaker: A modest amount of confusion and we're back to petitions.

1510

PETITIONS

LANDFILL SITES

Mr Charles Beer (York North): Thank you, very much, Mr Speaker. You can appreciate that after a day like today, there are many petitions. I have one here signed by some 400 people in York region which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, oppose the provincial government's proposal to take prime agricultural land in King township and turn it into Metro and York region's megadump."

I have signed this petition, Mr Speaker. Thank you.

REVENUE FROM GAMING

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I am pleased to table a petition signed by concerned members of Knox Presbyterian Church in my riding of Oakville South, which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario not to legalize casino gambling in Ontario to increase provincial revenue."

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex): Mr Speaker, I have a petition here signed by 50 residents of Middlesex. This petition was circulated and sponsored by municipal councils in the county of Middlesex, and has been signed by residents of Kirkwood, Mount Bridges and Lambeth who request a reduced annexation in the county of Middlesex by the city of London, the preservation of agricultural land and the preservation of our rural way of life.

I have signed my name to this petition.

NIAGARA DETENTION CENTRE

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): Mr Speaker, I have a petition signed by just one person.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas since 1988 the Ministry of Correctional Services has failed to adequately supervise and oversee the operations and administration of the Niagara Detention Centre, the ministry has failed to adequately implement the findings of the final report of the operational review of the Niagara Detention Centre submitted to the deputy minister by the operational review audit and investigation branch, dated January 11, 1988;

"Whereas the Ministry and the Niagara Detention Centre have failed to adequately respond to and formally investigate complaints from members of the public and inmates (past and present), especially those dealing with such serious and sensitive allegations of verbal harassment, intimidation, verbal and psychological abuse including that which involves racial and/or ethnic slurs, as well as non-compliance with ministry policies and procedures, detention centre standing orders and regulations of the Ministry of Correctional Services act;

"I, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"To direct an appropriate standing and/or select committee of the Legislature (ie, general government) to report on all matters relating to the mandate, management, organization and operation of the Ministry of Correctional Services and specifically the Niagara Detention Centre."

It is signed by one constituent, David Rabinovitch, and I've affixed my signature to the document.

LANDFILL SITES

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, from 199 people from Newmarket, Keswick and Sutton:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has released a list of 57 potential sites in the greater Toronto area as possible candidates for landfill;

"Whereas the decision to prohibit the regions of the greater Toronto area from searching for landfill sites beyond their boundaries is contrary to the intent of the Environmental Assessment Act, section 5(3);

"Whereas the willing host communities such as Kirkland Lake will not be allowed a proper hearing to consider the Adams mine site as a possible solution to the greater Toronto area garbage issue;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario repeal Bill 143 in its entirety and allow a more democratic process for the consideration of future disposal options for the greater Toronto area waste, particularly the consideration of sites beyond the boundaries of the greater Toronto area, where a willing host community exists who is interested in developing new disposal systems for the greater Toronto waste."

I have signed that petition.

I have another petition from people in Mississauga.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has released a list of 21 proposed sites in the region of Peel as possible candidates for landfill;

"Whereas the decision to prohibit the regions of the greater Toronto area from searching for landfill beyond their boundaries is contrary to the intent of the Environmental Assessment Act, section 5(3);

"Whereas the willing host communities such as Kirkland Lake will not be allowed a proper hearing to consider the Adams mine site;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario repeal Bill 143 in its entirety and allow a more democratic process for the consideration of future options for the disposal of greater Toronto area waste, particularly the consideration of disposal sites beyond the boundaries of the greater Toronto area where a willing host community exists who is interested in developing new disposal systems for the greater Toronto area waste."

So submitted and signed by me.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls): I have a petition here from the people of Niagara Falls, signed by 94 of the residents.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We request of you who administer the affairs of this province to make available every opportunity for the people to see and understand fully what the new Constitution and/or any amendments thereto will mean to each of us,

and then make provision for a final say for the people of Ontario by way of a binding referendum."

I submit it.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have 11 identical petitions signed by 279 residents of Middlesex county petitioning the Legislature to "reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

I've affixed my signature to the petitions.

REVENUE FROM GAMING

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have another petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, signed by 32 residents of Brant-Haldimand riding.

"Whereas the Ontario government has indicated it has plans to open gambling establishments in Niagara and other locations in Ontario,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"To abandon such plans for legalized gambling."

I have affixed my signature to the petitions.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): "To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas independent and non-partisan economic studies have concluded that the proposed changes to Ontario labour legislation will increase job losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery and the maintenance of a sound economic environment in the province;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the Ontario government declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to the labour legislation in the best interests of the people of Ontario."

I'm happy to sign it.

MUNICIPAL PLANNING

Mr Robert Frankford (Scarborough East): I'm pleased to introduce a petition signed by about 60 members of my riding.

"Whereas the lack of development of urban lands in the Galloway Road area of Scarborough is causing a loss of enjoyment of life, produces concerns by parents about the security of their children and is resulting in deterioration of the physical environment; and

"Employment and economic development are the most important priority for the residents of the area, businesses and governments,

"We call upon the government and its ministries in cooperation with the federal and municipal levels of government to investigate and report on the area with a view to urban renewal and economic development, including the Ministry of the Environment to investigate illegal

dumping in the area, the Ministry of Revenue to investigate for illegal and unlicensed businesses, the Ministry of Housing to advise on the construction and financing of new housing, the Ministry of Transportation to investigate and advise on environmentally appropriate transportation needs, the Ministry of Health to report on special social needs, the Ministry of Tourism to study the creation of new and socially accepted tourist services."

COURT RULING

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, in support of the mother of Debra Pauline Williams Ellul, draw to the attention of the House the following:

"That the right to appeal the decision made in Debra Williams Ellul's murder acquitting Guy Ellul of all charges be granted based on the fact that the decision not to allow the appeal does not accurately reflect the public's abhorrence and unacceptability of the outcome of this trial."

I've affixed my signature to this petition.

1520

FRENCH-LANGUAGE SERVICES

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): I have petitions with over 6,000 names affixed to them, a petition begun by the member for Burlington South, Mr Jackson, with I think a total of over 140,000 signatures.

"Whereas the province of Ontario is experiencing a severe economic recession;

"Whereas the placement of bilingual signs on Ontario's highways without consultation and at a cost of more than \$4 million represents a blatant misdirection of taxpayers' dollars which should be used to address the current pressing economic and employment needs of Ontario citizens;

"Whereas citizens of Ontario are increasingly being denied essential services, such as medical treatment, for lack of adequate funding;

"Whereas Bill 8, the French Language Services Act, does not mandate bilingual highway signs, leaving interpretation to the discretion of the Ontario Transportation minister, who, as the minister responsible for francophone affairs, is empowered to grant exemptions under the act;

"We, the undersigned, do petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that the Ontario Transportation minister's directive to replace existing highway signs in Ontario with bilingual signs at a cost to taxpayers of more than \$4 million be revoked immediately."

I've affixed my signature.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Petitions, the member for Eglinton.

REAL ESTATE GAINS

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): Thank you, Mr Speaker. I appreciate this opportunity to read this petition. I think it's the first opportunity I've had since last Tuesday. This is a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the government of Ontario has promised to introduce a new tax on real estate gains; and

"Whereas there is simply no evidence to suggest that real estate gains taxes either contribute to lower land and housing prices or raise significant revenue for the government; and

"Whereas in some cases a new tax on real estate gains may even raise prices by reducing supply; and

"Whereas the tax as proposed in the NDP's Agenda for People will adversely affect the entire real estate market in our community; and

"Whereas real estate gains are already subject to heavy taxation from federal and provincial governments;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to urge the Honourable Floyd Laughren, Treasurer of Ontario, not to proceed with an additional tax on real estate gains."

I have attached my signature to the petition.

SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): I have a petition here that's signed by 12 students in Waterloo and that was given to me by a former page, Joshua Patterson.

"Whereas the Ministry of Education is planning to amalgamate certain art-related courses at the year one secondary school level into one course in a proposed program called the Transition Years; and

"Whereas we, the undersigned residents of Ontario, including secondary school students of the aforementioned courses, feel that this decision is unacceptable on the ground that it eliminates the in-depth study of the affected courses; and

"Whereas we understand that the aforementioned decision was taken in recognition of the difficulties faced by some students during their transition from elementary to secondary school but affirm that this plan is the incorrect one; and

"Whereas we believe that this decision jeopardizes the value of all of the above programs to future students in the first year and later years of secondary school;

"We petition Her Majesty's Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the Ministry of Education reconsider the aforementioned decision so that first-year secondary school students in Ontario may continue to enjoy the level of instruction that they receive in the affected art-related courses for many years to come."

I am pleased to affix my signature hereto.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Bernard Grandmaitre (Ottawa East): I have a petition against the greater London annexation plot. It's signed by 54 people from the greater London area and is addressed to the Legislature of Ontario.

"That the Legislature of Ontario reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

I have signed the petition.

SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): I have a petition. It's addressed to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario and all honourable members of Her Majesty's Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the Ministry of Education is planning to amalgamate certain art-related courses at the year one secondary school level into one course in a proposed program called the Transition Years; and

"Whereas we, the undersigned residents of Ontario, including secondary school students of the aforementioned courses, feel that this decision is unacceptable on the grounds that it eliminates the in-depth study of the affected courses; and

"Whereas we understand that the aforementioned decision was taken in recognition of the difficulties faced by some students during their transition from elementary to secondary school but reaffirm that this plan is the incorrect one; and

"Whereas we believe that this decision jeopardizes the value of all of the above programs to future students in the first year and later years of secondary school;

"We petition Her Majesty's Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the Ministry of Education reconsider the aforementioned decision so that first-year secondary school students in Ontario may continue to enjoy the level of instruction that they receive in the affected art-related courses for many years to come."

This is signed by several students from Waterloo, and I affixed my signature.

REVENUE FROM GAMING

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario signed by many residents from my area. I'm certainly pleased to be able to get it on after many days of not being able to do so.

"Whereas it is against United Church of Canada policy to indulge in any type of gambling—

Interjection: Poor little boy.

Mr Murdoch: Some people may think this is funny, but this is important to many people in my riding.

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): Get it together.

Mr Murdoch: Maybe other people would like to read it for me.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Perhaps the member could simply read the petition.

Mr Murdoch: I understand that, Mr Speaker, but we like to let everybody have his chance.

"Gambling casinos bring crime to the community;

"Not everyone has self-control to limit their betting;

"Low-income people will suffer from unwise use of their resources;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Be it resolved that the Toronto Conference United Church Women do strongly object to the Ontario

government's proposed legislation to promote offtrack betting, sports lotteries and gambling casinos."

MEMBER'S MAILING

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Several times in the past I've brought to the attention of the House situations where a householder by a member was used inappropriately, either that it contained misleading information or it was of a partisan nature and therefore should not have been paid for with public tax dollars.

I have here a communication sent throughout her riding by the Honourable Elaine Ziemba, the Minister for Citizenship. Attached to this communication was a survey which had return postage on it and asked two questions:

First, "I feel that the New Democratic government is doing a good job, creating jobs, maintaining services, controlling the deficit and other."

Second, "Given that this is the worst recession since the 1930s, I think Bob Rae and the New Democratic government are doing as good a job as can be expected. Agree. Disagree."

That is the total sum of the survey, and the only purpose for this has to be to get a list of NDP voters. I would ask you for a ruling that this is inappropriate, that it is partisan in nature and that public dollars are being wasted on this trash.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): To the member for Eglinton, I don't know if she has completed the survey or not, but if she would be kind enough to send the material to me, indeed I will be pleased to take a look at it. If it is of a partisan nature, then of course it would be forwarded to the Board of Internal Economy for its appropriate look to determine what course of action is necessary.

REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

STANDING COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Mr Runciman from the standing committee on government agencies presented the committee's seventh report.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Pursuant to standing order 104(g)(11), the report is deemed to be adopted by the House.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON REGULATIONS AND PRIVATE BILLS

Mr White from the standing committee on regulations and private bills presented the committee's report and moved its adoption:

The committee begs to report the following bills without amendment:

Bill Pr29, An Act respecting the City of Cornwall;

Bill Pr39, An Act to revive the Dutch Canadian Alliance of Ontario, Inc;

Bill Pr47, An Act respecting Arnprior-Nepean Railway Company.

Your committee begs to report the following bill, as amended:

Bill Pr34, An Act respecting the City of Ottawa.

Motion agreed to.

1530

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

SPRING GREEN CO-OPERATIVE ACT, 1992

Mr Marchese moved, on behalf of Ms Swarbrick, first reading of Bill Pr37, An Act to revive Spring Green Co-operative.

Motion agreed to.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for Carleton. I'm sorry, my error. The member for Fort York had two bills to introduce.

SILVERBIRCH CO-OPERATIVE INC ACT, 1992

Mr Marchese moved, on behalf of Ms Swarbrick, first reading of Bill Pr38, An Act to revive Silverbirch Co-operative Inc.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): On a brief point of order, Mr Speaker: I do believe it's customary to rotate even though a member is introducing two bills. In other words, you normally have to wait until the rotation comes around to introduce your second bill. It's not a big point.

LYTTLE INVESTMENTS LIMITED ACT, 1992

Mr Sterling moved first reading of Bill Pr53, An Act to revive Lyttle Investments Limited.

Motion agreed to.

ARTS COUNCIL AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR LE CONSEIL DES ARTS

Mrs Haslam moved first reading of Bill 72, An Act to amend the Arts Council Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur le Conseil des arts.

Motion agreed to.

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): The province of Ontario council for the arts, which is the Ontario Arts Council, is a schedule 3 agency of the province established under the Arts Council Act in 1963. The Ontario Arts Council supports and promotes the study and enjoyment and production of the arts in this province. The OAC serves as a vehicle for a majority of the province's funding to Ontario's professional arts community. The bill I am introducing today is designed to provide greater administrative efficiency for the council and to improve its ability to serve the artistic and cultural needs of the province.

WASTE MANAGEMENT STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LES LOIS CONCERNANT LA GESTION DES DÉCHETS

Mr Cousens moved first reading of Bill 73, An Act to repeal the Waste Management Act, 1992, and to amend the Environmental Protection Act / Loi abrogeant la Loi de 1992 sur la gestion des déchets et modifiant la Loi sur la protection de l'environnement.

Motion agreed to.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): This bill will be the rallying point for the people within York region, Durham and Peel and the greater Toronto area to fight the government on its Bill 143. It will be a number that people will look to and which we will try to bring into the House to see that Bill 143 is reversed. That's the intent of this bill, and this bill will go a long way to cleaning up the miserable deeds done by the New Democrats.

LONDON-MIDDLESEX ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 SUR LONDON ET MIDDLESEX

Mr Cooke moved first reading of Bill 75, An Act respecting Annexations to the City of London and to certain municipalities in the County of Middlesex / Loi concernant les annexations faites à la cité de London et à certaines municipalités du comté de Middlesex.

Motion agreed to.

TOWN OF MATTAWA AND
TOWNSHIP OF MATTAWAN ACT
(OTTO HOLDEN DAM BYPASS), 1992

Mr Eves moved first reading of Bill Pr50, An Act regarding the Town of Mattawa and the Township of Mattawan.

Motion agreed to.

LABOUR RELATIONS AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI
SUR LES RELATIONS DE TRAVAIL

Mrs Witmer moved first reading of Bill 76, An Act to amend the Labour Relations Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur les relations de travail.

Motion agreed to.

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): This bill will introduce secret ballot votes for certification and for ratification of collective agreements and strikes. I strongly believe that if we are to have fairness and equality, as the Minister of Labour has indicated he desires, all workers in this province should have the right to a free and democratic vote.

1540

ORDERS OF THE DAY

MUNICIPAL STATUTE LAW
AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS
CONCERNANT LES MUNICIPALITÉS

Mr Mills, on behalf of Mr Cooke, moved second reading of Bill 165, An Act to amend certain Acts related to Municipalities / Loi modifiant certaines lois relatives aux municipalités.

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): This bill proposes a number of amendments to the municipal, consolidated regional, metropolitan, district municipality of Muskoka and the county of Oxford acts. The major items in the bill relate to the municipal borrowing and investment powers. I should emphasize that most of the amendments have been requested by municipalities and the investment commu-

nity. A total of 18 specific amendments to the borrowing and investment powers of municipalities are proposed.

The amendments fall into five categories: capital approval process, short-term borrowing and interim financing, debt issuance, investments and housekeeping.

The existing approval process for capital undertakings and other long-term financial obligations will be streamlined. The approval of the Ontario Municipal Board would no longer be required provided the undertakings do not exceed the limits and conditions set by the province. It should be stressed that the projects which would exceed the limits would continue to require the approval of the board. The new process would come into effect at the beginning of 1993 to allow for a smooth transition from the existing system.

Existing short-term borrowing and interim financing restrictions will be clarified and simplified by changing the interim financing limit for capital projects to the total cost of the projects and changing the short-term borrowing limit for operating purposes from 70% of uncollected revenues to 50% of the total budgeted revenue from January 1 to September 30, and to 25% of total budgeted revenue from October 1 to December 31.

The power of municipalities to issue debt will be updated, including the power to issue debt in foreign currencies in addition to the US dollar and the British pound sterling. The foreign currencies and the municipalities that may issue such debentures will be specified in the regulations.

Municipalities will be permitted to protect themselves from the risks associated with borrowing in foreign currencies as a result of interest and foreign exchange fluctuations by allowing them to enter into interest and foreign exchange agreements and other agreements. The type of agreements and arrangements that municipalities will be able to enter into would also be specified in the regulations.

The investment powers of municipalities would also be updated by permitting participation in investment pools with other municipalities and by permitting the collective investment of general, reserve and capital funds, including the allocation of the investment income earned.

Finally, a number of administrative provisions will be brought up to date to allow municipalities to take advantage of technological innovations, including electronic record-keeping, electronic transfers of funds and the mechanical reproduction of signatures.

Two of the other changes would apply to all municipalities: the determination of municipal election campaign surplus and clear legislative authority for municipalities to implement and operate emergency response systems such as 911. In the first case, the calculation of surplus municipal campaign funds would be redefined to include additional election-related expenses such as auditing fees and revenues and informal collections of money. These items would have to be included in calculating the surplus, which must be placed in trust with the municipal clerk.

The remaining items are in response to requests for changes by municipalities and/or local boards, and are housekeeping or minor policy matters.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Questions and/or comments?

Mr Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa East): I understand these amendments are relatively minor, but I want to remind the parliamentary assistant that what we're seeing today is not the real McCoy, if I can use those words, for the simple reason that what's behind all those amendments is the disentanglement program, and you've already started this disentanglement.

Mr Parliamentary Assistant, I want to remind you that most of the amendments are acceptable, but we would like you to be much more open than you are today, introducing amendments before we get into the real disentanglement of services offered or being provided to municipalities.

I'll let the amendments speak for themselves. We might support the bill. For the time being, I want to listen to what you have to say, but I want to remind you that you have to be much more open with your disentanglement program and be up front, and who knows, we might support Bill 165.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I'm particularly interested in this bill and I'm pleased to see it's before the House to be debated and hopefully passed.

I think one of the most important aspects of this bill is in explanatory note 9. This is particularly important to the residents of all the counties in Ontario, and therefore most of the local municipalities, because it provides for the implementation of a 911 emergency telephone system. As we know, some of the municipalities in Ontario are fortunate enough to have such systems but there are very vast areas that do not have them, and I don't think anyone would disagree with the point that nothing is more important these days than for all citizens to be able to reach emergency services. Indeed it's an injustice and a wrong that so many of our people cannot. Many of the counties in Ontario are looking at such a system and this amendment will be particularly helpful and I'm pleased to see it there.

The other item I'd like to comment on just briefly is explanatory note 4, where counties are finally given the same powers as local municipalities have to issue debentures. There is a section of the Municipal Act that allows for counties to issue debentures, when requested, for and on behalf of local municipalities within the particular county. However, the counties have not had the authority to issue various types of debentures or have a choice of issuing, other than the simple serial debentures, since the time this authority was given to local municipalities in the 1950s.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): Just to follow up with 911, I know there are areas in my riding that are having difficulties in receiving the 911. It's a lot to do with the cost of the system. I wonder, since this is questions, if the parliamentary assistant has any idea if there's going to be some funding for this system for people in rural Ontario who definitely need this, but because of the distance and the amount of area in rural Ontario, the money is the problem. Is there going to be any assistance, now that we're clean-

ing up the bills, to allow this to happen? Will you have any money to help us out on that?

That's one thing, and the other one I think I'll talk more about. It is a good idea that finally we're letting the upper tier, the counties, obtain financing, but I have some problems with that, because you call it debt funding but it sounds a lot like deficit funding to me, and of course I'm opposed to that. We'll talk a bit more about that when we continue the debate. Maybe the parliamentary assistant could answer me if there's going to be some funding put forward for our 911 systems.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): I'd just like to make a few comments about the bill that is before us today, Bill 165, which is going to help a number of rural areas in dealing with the municipalities dealing with their debt issue.

As we find out, a lot of our infrastructure in rural Ontario is starting to deteriorate because of the lack of maintenance. It's important for our municipalities to try to come up with some ways to meet the needs of our citizens in rural Ontario.

Also, dealing with the powers of 911, I remember that a gentleman, at the age of 93 years young, has indicated the wish that 911 be implemented in Kent county. I think this is one part of a reality of making 911 that much closer to our Kent county and making sure that at the age of 93, he will see it become a reality during his lifetime.

I also know that during the debt issue around municipalities—I have a number of major concerns in my municipality dealing with the infrastructure that has been deteriorating. I think it's very important that the municipalities understand their own communities. As we deal with water rates and that, there is the debt issue that's being put to them. But unfortunately the user fees are paying themselves off; it's not through municipal tax purposes. They need somewhere to make sure they can pay these debts off, because as we find out, as provincial government revenues and federal government revenues start to deteriorate, municipalities are having a harder time meeting the needs of their citizens.

I look forward to these amendments and I'm hoping the two oppositions—I thank my colleague for the introduction of this and for bringing it before us. Hopefully it will be done before we recess this year to make sure that a lot of municipalities can start setting themselves to making sure that come their next budgets, they're fiscally responsible in making sure they achieve the goals of our constituents both here at Queen's Park and there in the municipalities.

1550

The Acting Speaker: In response, the parliamentary assistant.

Mr Mills: I've listened with great interest to the concerns of the member for Ottawa East and also the member for Brant-Haldimand, both of whom I know to have been experienced municipal politicians in their past lives. I've also listened to the member for Grey's comments. All I can tell you this afternoon, particularly to the member for Grey, is that Bill 165 is not about funding for 911.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Grandmaître: As I pointed out—and I think the member for Durham East has recognized what I've meant by it—this is the start of disentanglement; this is what it's all about. I can see that some of the amendments have been worked on and approved and accepted by AMO. It all started under our government and now, some two and a half years after this program was started, amendments are being introduced.

If you look at the first amendment, computerization of municipal debentures, currently municipalities are required to manually record their outstanding debentures in a ledger and now they'll be able to do them by computer. It's a very simple amendment.

On the second amendment, the increased debenture authority for counties, as my colleague the member for Brant-Haldimand pointed out, now a county is defined or recognized as a municipality and it can now deal with debentures, whereas it wasn't possible before this amendment.

The third amendment, the longer amortization period for capital projects changes from 20 to 30 years; now, if I'm not mistaken, municipalities will be able to borrow up to 40 years. This is where I have some kind of hangup, Mr Speaker, for the simple reason that here we are and it means the provincial government will be downloading more services and more responsibilities on municipalities. I can give you examples: for roads and even for bridges. Naturally when you debenture for a bridge, you're looking at a 50-year infrastructure.

Municipalities at the present time, with a maximum 20- or 30-year debenture, couldn't do this type of debenture, but now with the disentanglement or the dumping of more responsibilities or more services on municipalities, they will have to debenture for a longer period.

I'm concerned about the longer period for most of our municipalities. I know transfer payments to our municipalities have been very meagre for the last three years, and I can see that in the future these transfer payments will remain very, very limited. That means municipalities will have to borrow more money, and more interest is being paid to service that debenture. It means a larger tax bill and this is what really concerns me.

I also realize that AMO, the Association of Municipalities of Ontario, is in favour of such extension or such an amendment, but I'm still concerned that down the road, five, six or 10 years from now, municipalities will be crying foul. I just want to remind AMO that it should maybe be more serious when it looks at disentanglement and the amendments being brought under Bill 165.

Allowing for debentures to mature sooner than five years I think is very reasonable. It speaks for itself. Greater flexibility in extending the term of existing debentures I think speaks for itself. This is understandable. Allowing for prescribed foreign currency debentures in other currencies beside the Canadian dollar, US dollar and British pound: It seems that AMO and the rest of our municipalities that have asked for this kind of amendment are willing and ready to go to Japan and look for yens for debentures.

Again I must emphasize the fact that I like this bill, but at the present time I'm reminded of disentanglement. I

think we should be looking at disentanglement before this bill, but it's introduced and I'm not going to adjourn this House and have the bells ring for the next couple of days. I realize that for some municipalities it is very important.

The eighth amendment, establishing a borrowing limit for municipalities: I suppose municipalities will be establishing a line of credit and at the same time it will encourage municipalities to borrow more money. This concerns me for a number of reasons because of what I see happening in the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and the restructuring of our regional governments right across this province and the attitude of the present minister. I'll give you a perfect example in the greater London area. An arbitrator—not the Municipal Boundary Negotiations Act but an arbitrator—rectified the situation and this concerns me.

In other words, what the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and the minister is saying and doing is: "I'll send in an arbitrator. Never mind the Municipal Boundary Negotiations Act; never mind. If you can't agree, well, this arbitrator, this hatchet man will do the job for me." I think the minister or the ministry should be honest enough to say: "Look, the Municipal Boundary Negotiations Act is not working. Let's amend it." But this is not what's being done.

It's not only happening in the London area. I can see the very same process being used in Ottawa-Carleton. At the present time very few people in Ottawa-Carleton have requested the minister or the Ministry of Municipal Affairs to look at one-tier government. But arbitrarily again the minister is imposing his will and saying, "We will look at one-tier government."

I've spoken to every mayor in the Ottawa-Carleton area and to most politicians in Ottawa-Carleton, and I'll be very honest with you: It's a waste of money. I'm told the study will cost \$175,000 to have the provincial government look at a one-tier system. Even the commissioner is saying, "Hey, it won't work." There's still time for the minister to prevent this kind of waste in Ottawa-Carleton, but the minister is determined to go ahead.

I'm concerned about the future and the outcome of our local government in Ontario. I think the minister has a responsibility in this House and in every municipality, village and county he visits to sell local government. Local government, Mr Speaker, I don't have to tell you, is the government closest to the hearts of municipal taxpayers. It's a perfect avenue for them to vent their frustration, to talk about potholes and garbage; you name it. It's an avenue that's needed.

1600

What the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and this present minister are doing, I think, is destroying the local option or local government. If we destroy local government we prevent people, municipal taxpayers, from having a say in the final decision-making process of this House. If we carry on with the kind of policies and legislation that've been introduced, we won't need a local government week or a government pride week, whatever you want to call it, because most of our municipalities will disappear, be annexed or amalgamated and form a larger government. There is a tendency in the ministry at present to think that

bigger is better, but at the same time it costs much more money.

We will support Bill 165 reluctantly. I want to remind the parliamentary assistant that in five years from now municipalities and AMO agreeing with this Bill 165 will be crying and coming back to the ministry wanting more money. You might as well warn your Treasurer to get ready, because transfer payments of 1% will not be enough.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments? Since there are no questions or comments, further debate. The honourable member for Grey.

Mr Murdoch: Thank you, Mr Speaker.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): About to be Grey-Owen Sound.

Mr Murdoch: Right. The member for Bruce realizes the new name change, if we can get it brought back to the assembly when the House leaders meet. I know the member for Bruce is the House leader, so I'm sure he'll work to bring that bill back, won't he?

I really have no problem with most of this bill. A lot of it is just cleaning up issues that a lot of municipalities would like to have looked after. But there is one problem; there is one part of the bill I have some problem with. It seems to be that since this new government has taken over, deficit funding has become a phrase they use quite a bit. I'm afraid that if this bill is passed in its present form we may get into this type of funding with our municipalities. Now it's called debt funding, but I don't see a lot of difference between deficit funding and debt funding.

When I met with the ministry staff—I am pleased they have met with me a couple of times and certainly they have been helpful in understanding this bill because of all the different things involved in it—I mentioned that maybe they could pull out the part of the bill that allows the municipalities to debt-fund without going through the OMB.

Originally, when we talked about this bill some time ago, I really didn't have a lot of concern with it, other than the OMB. I have a lot of concern with the OMB and now, with the OMB under Municipal Affairs, I have even more concern about it. We need some checks and balances, I think, because our municipalities have had an excellent record. Because of the rules, they don't end up in debt. A lot of times, if they want to borrow more than they can absorb in their term, they have been allowed to do so but with scrutiny from the OMB. I'm afraid, if we get into this, we're going to have problems and some of our municipalities may be into problems.

We've seen this government now in the past couple of years cut back on moneys to our municipalities, and this is a big concern. Now if we're going to let the municipalities borrow, I can see this government today not even allowing more money to flow to our municipalities. They could say to the municipalities: "Oh, well, you have borrowing power now. You don't have to go to the OMB and you can go in debt." Then they'll be in as big a mess as the province and our federal government are. We certainly don't

want that happening to our municipalities because they've kept their record clear.

I would certainly have liked to have seen this one area of the bill taken out. If it had been withdrawn from the bill, then I could have supported it, because the rest of the items in the bill, as my friend Ben from Ottawa mentioned, are all okay. But this one part in it doesn't allow me to vote for this bill. I can't see this. If we're going to start letting the municipalities borrow, then I think we're in real trouble.

The government will say AMO agrees. I don't know whether AMO does agree. As I said, this bill was brought forward some time ago, and I've gone out on the road and asked the counties, the smaller places, the smaller areas, and they don't really want this. They have the pressure put on them.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): They don't have to use it.

Mr Murdoch: The Minister of Housing says, "They don't have to use it." This is true. But when the pressure comes on them from the people of the riding, they come and say: "You can get this money now. You can go out and borrow it. The government has allowed you to go out and borrow this money now. You can do this."

Mr Elston: Or the government says: "We don't have the money. You can get it."

Mr Murdoch: That's right. My friend the member for Bruce says it's like we just mentioned. "We don't have the money any more," the province will say, "so now we've allowed you to borrow. You can be as fiscally poor as we are." This is just a start.

Again as my friend Ben mentioned, disentanglement is all coming in here and we have to be very careful. A lot of these other rules could have been implemented, and I'm sure they will be. You have the power over there to pass this bill, and I'm sure you will. But in its present form I cannot support it, and I don't think my colleagues can just because of this deficit funding. You call it debt funding, but I don't see the difference unfortunately. I must say again, though, your staff tried to point that out to me, but maybe I just don't understand the reasoning behind the two words.

I know the way the bill right now sits it requires the municipalities to obtain project-by-project approval. Maybe some of that needs streamlining. We'll take the Kitchener Rangers, the junior A hockey team. We also have the Owen Sound Platers, a junior A hockey team in our area. It was pointed out to me that if they wanted to give a lease to one of these junior A hockey teams for more than the term of the office for the municipal politicians, they would have to go through the OMB. It's a lengthy process. Sometimes these junior A hockey teams want to make sure they're going to be able to have a place for six years or nine years, and it's a process that maybe could be streamlined—things like that. But that could have been handled in a bill by itself.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): That's a revenue.

Mr Murdoch: It's in the same bill, though. It could have been handled. It's not a revenue in some cases.

Some municipalities make a long-term commitment to these junior A teams to allow them to use their arenas and places like that. I think we have a new triple A ball team coming into Ottawa, and it could be the same thing. In those kinds of cases it makes sense to streamline it, but it should have come through as a separate bill. Again it forces me to vote against a bill and most of the bill I agree with. I think it's good of the government to bring in things like this and to fix up some of the problems the municipalities had.

To me this bill also leans towards the larger municipalities, the municipalities of maybe Toronto, Windsor, some of the bigger places that seem to want a deficit fund. They want to get in the game with the province and the feds. I think this is the reason AMO is agreeing with this bill. I'm afraid AMO is being taken over by the large urban centres. This is a dangerous thing to happen to AMO. I don't think they're listening to the rural municipalities. If they were, this wouldn't be hailed as such a great thing. The rest of the things, okay, fine, but this deficit funding, or debt funding as it's called, is really a dangerous thing to get into.

I just want to put back in the record that we could have voted for most of this bill, but with this part in it we will not be able to support it over here, and that's unfortunate. I know the government of the day will pass it and we'll see what happens. I just want to put it in the record. I want to warn you that this is only a start.

The next time one of the municipalities comes to the government and says, "Look, we can't afford to build this. Can you help us out?" it's going to get back the answer: "Look, we don't have any money either, but now you can deficit-fund it the same as we can, so you go out and borrow the money. You have better borrowing powers than we do." They'll probably have a triple A rating in the municipalities, where you're down to the double A, I believe—minus, something like that.

1610

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): The best in Canada still.

Mr Murdoch: Maybe the best in Canada, but it's going down. So you want to put this back on to the municipalities, and this is really a problem. This is the main reason, Mr Speaker, that I have a problem with this bill. It would be nice to see the rest of the things cleared up, and I'm really disappointed that they didn't decide to bring it in in two bills.

Rather than prolong a debate, I will sit down. We have some more speakers to speak on this and we'll listen to see what they have to say. Thank you, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Elston: Mr Speaker, just very, very briefly, because I don't want to go on too long, I think the member for Grey has hit upon the issue which is really the most difficult for politicians to deal with. The issue is, how far is the provincial government, which is really the governing body for municipalities, in the end going to take the pressure on forcing local municipalities to borrow to their entire

limit to fund local municipal projects before the province kicks in its funding arrangements?

Everybody here who is a member has rightfully noted that there are certain percentages of contribution from the Ministry of the Environment. We know there is no money in most of their programs. There are certain percentages of contributions for programs to municipalities, to allow the disabled to access special loan programs through municipalities which are not being funded. All those issues and others in terms of highways, bridge work and whatever else is now going to fall prey to this suggestion that the local municipalities borrow to their very limit against their tax base before the province kicks in capital funding are a concern of all of us.

I'm not sure how much more time I have. For me, Mr Speaker, there is one issue around that item which I'm not as concerned about: the issue of whether or not municipal politicians will well understand their duty to their ratepayers, to the people who elected them. The issue of whether they are sophisticated enough to decide whether they are in a position to borrow money in trust in their municipality is not an issue for me. In most cases this has been raised as an issue: Are these people able to do the business of the place? That is not a concern for me. My view is that the local ratepayers, the local electors, will make sure a justification is arrived at before a council will, willy-nilly, go out and borrow beyond its means.

My big concern, and it has nothing to do with current administration or otherwise, is that a lot of provincially and federally funded programs in capital works will disappear on the basis that this power is given and that there is a forced borrowing required before people can have access to provincial and federal programming. If we heard from the parliamentary assistant that this was not to occur I might be somewhat happier at this particular juncture in the debate, but I sense it will become the way of the world in terms of funding a lot of capital projects.

In my part of the country—I shouldn't speak for yours, Mr Speaker, but in Victoria-Haliburton too—I dare say the thinness of our assessment base is such that there are tremendous pressures put on the resources to fund programs, let alone more capital funding requests going directly to the municipalities. I'm concerned about it. I raise it not only to say we won't support this issue; it is, in my view, the really nasty part of the business that lies unspoken in the debate.

The Acting Speaker: Further comments and/or questions? The honourable member for Durham East.

Mr Mills: I would like to make a couple of comments in my two minutes, and I'd like to talk about the borrowing amendments of the bill. They will, of course, reduce the borrowing cost by allowing municipalities to use different terms, to use different borrowing instruments and different currencies. The larger municipalities have requested these changes, and I think that by doing this we will save all Ontarians quite a bit of money.

I'd like to close with a comment about downloading. The government, of course, is very aware of downloading. It's a fact that we have not downloaded on the municipalities.

We have an example of that with court security. We realize what happened there.

Maybe AMO has recognized that it can trust this government and that we are not downloading. Maybe it's because they are now prepared to operate in good faith with the government and negotiate roles and further responsibilities with us.

With that, I would just conclude by saying that it's an entirely different set of circumstances than it was in 1986-87 as we deal with municipalities.

The Acting Speaker: Further comments and/or questions? If there are none, then the honourable member for Grey has two minutes to respond.

Mr Murdoch: I find it very odd that the parliamentary assistant could say that this government did not download on the municipalities. I believe there was this big announcement that everybody only got 1%, but I didn't see any announcement that any of the programs they have to initiate were lifted. So if you don't call that downloading, I think there's something wrong with the speaker over there. He's obviously fabricating something in his mind so that he can get through the day and get this bill passed. I guess that's what he's up to.

The whole thing relates to what is going to happen to municipalities. As I said, we're going to have the chance now for municipalities to start deficit funding. This is just the opening up of it. We can't allow that. I guess the government of the day wants to do that because it'll be able to download even more on the municipalities when it can tell them, "You can borrow the money better than we can."

This is the start, and I'm very afraid of the kind of stuff that's happening. I know some of the bigger municipalities would like to do that, but there still was a check and balance with them having to go to the Ontario Municipal Board. I think we have to have something in there if they're going to extend their debt beyond their term. We're getting ourselves into a position that we'll never be able to get out of. It's going to be bad enough for the province and the federal government to get out of deficit funding. We don't need our municipalities doing this.

1620

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I'd like to take a very few moments this afternoon to make some comments with respect to Bill 165. I appreciate what the parliamentary assistant has said. I'm struck by the debate here this afternoon by people who know municipal matters better than I.

I must say, looking at the provisions of the legislation, I'm struck by the fact that in a number of key areas there is a clear relaxation of borrowing powers afforded to local governments, both at the ground tier and at the upper tier. One looks at legislation like this and asks oneself the questions, "Why?" and "What else is occurring in municipal-provincial relationships to which some of this might attach?" It has been observed by just about every speaker, I think, that we are on the verge of a significant provincial government initiative in respect of disentanglement.

I love that word, because of course it has the felicitous appeal of all bureaucratese. To the informed insider, it can mean a lot of things, and most of all it tells the outside person that the inside person is very au courant with the debate.

But I have the feeling, as someone who represents a county of some 36 municipalities, that the rubber is about to hit the road on disentanglement and that Bill 165 is part of the rubber.

I'm not going to get into a debate this afternoon about downloading. I suppose in a sense we've all done it. I look at this particular bill and I see some issues that are fundamental to intergovernmental relationships both in the province and outside of the province, the relationships between municipalities and the centre and the relationship between provinces and the Dominion government.

Someone said—I forget who it was, perhaps my friend the member for Bruce—that if one is a well-to-do municipality one looks at Bill 165 and one is very pleased, because there is, as we all know, a very substantial variability in local wealth across the province and across the nation. One of the enduring memories I will have as Minister of Education is just how endlessly bedevilling that reality was to good public policy in the province. I don't think we've really begun to address some of the problems and we probably never will, because the politics are just so inherently unattractive and, more important, people just won't or don't understand. I live within the shadow of the national capital region. I rest my case with that example and I need none other.

I want to say to the parliamentary assistant that I look at this and I say to myself, "What is it preparing the province for?" I think in part it is preparing the province for the 1993 launch of the first stage of disentanglement. I want to say, for everyone in this assembly, that 1993, if that target is to be kept, is going to be a very, very memorable year for some of us. I'm now beginning to hear from a number of my municipal governments in Renfrew county. They're beginning to see; the mist is just beginning to lift. There is now something of an outline of what is to come, and if you think the debates around this place, those horrible Grit days in 1989 when that rotten Nixon had the nerve to flat-line unconditional grants, excited some interest, you ain't seen nothing yet. When the mist rises even further and people begin to understand why it is some of the enabling provisions of Bill 165 were required, I tell you, we're going to remember the day June 23, 1992.

Again, on a process level, this is my favourite kind of legislation, and I've done it, so I know when it's being done to me. You get this kind of omnibus bill, tidying up the loose ends. In the old Department of Education this is what they used to call the doily legislation, you know, just tidying up the business, dusting off some of the corners.

The Legislature is going to pass this bill today or tomorrow, and most of the Legislature won't have a clue what it has passed, but a very small group of people who need to know will know what has been done and what is now enabled to and for municipalities which was not there before. I ask and my friend the member for Grey and others ask—I know the member from Etobicoke is going

to speak—the question, “Why would it be necessary for counties, for example, to have the same powers with respect to borrowing that lower-tier municipalities within the region might have?”

Mr Stockwell: Bridges and roads.

Mr Conway: My friend the member for Etobicoke West says “bridges and roads,” and he’s absolutely right; at this point, you see, just a theoretical possibility, but my learned friends underneath the press gallery from the Ministry of Municipal Affairs may know more than any of us here. I respect them. They are very capable people.

In Haliburton and elsewhere, about eight months from now, I can assure you, at a time when the Legislature’s not sitting, it won’t make any difference because—get ready—1993 is a year when disentanglement is going to cease being a debate among insiders about a variety of theological possibilities. It is going to become a very fixed discussion around what one is going to get municipally for the province relieving the townships of Brougham and Wilberforce, in my county, of the burdens of social welfare assistance.

But for that trade, I suspect the townships and the county in my area of Renfrew are going to be given the honour and privilege of taking over some of the hard services like roads and bridges. I can assure my honourable friends that to do that in a county like Renfrew, the county is going to need some borrowing powers it does not now have.

Mr Elston: Water and sewers.

Mr Conway: My friend the member for Bruce says, as well, “water and sewers.” I just want to make the point that if anyone here thinks we are passing today or tomorrow a neutral bit of tidying up with Bill 165, she or he is making a very grave mistake. In this happy little package of amendments is a Trojan Horse that is going to contain a lot of the guts that will enable disentanglement to take effect within a year. If anyone here thinks we are dealing with anything else then I’m telling you, to quote the late, great Senator Forsey, that person is dreaming in Technicolor.

As we engage this week about the need for rule changes and making this place more relevant, Bill 165 at a certain level just points magnificently to the utter irrelevance of this place, because we are going to pass legislation the import of which most of us do not comprehend.

Speaking for most governments—and I don’t mean this as a criticism of the current government—it is going to be the hope and expectation of any government that no Legislature will ever awaken to what is contained in this kind of legislation, because the point, the tactic, is to get the enabling provisions passed before a specific debate begins. At the point of the specific debate being engaged, people in Haliburton, Renfrew and Kent are going to say, “Well, let’s talk about the principle that allows this to happen.” Some honourable member is going to stand up and say—probably the Minister of Municipal Affairs—“Oh, but didn’t you understand that we passed that bill, the enabling legislation, on June 23, 1992?”

Mr Stockwell: Bill 143 all over again.

Mr Conway: I wasn’t as close to 143 as others, but I just want to say again that we have in rural Ontario right now a raging debate launched by the Ministry of Natural Resources over the innocuous paper around the Trees Act. Again, I just say to my friends who keep saying, “Well, there’s nothing to it,” just read the paper. We haven’t seen the legislation, but if one were an ordinary citizen in Gooderham, Haliburton county, and read it—and I quite frankly share the objectives this government and, I suspect, other governments have had about better management of trees on private property. But I have to tell you: The paper that has been dropped by the department of lands and forests, as we like to say in Renfrew, has all kinds of nice little expectations that I expect are going to be translated into statute.

From Thunder Bay to Toronto harbour—I shouldn’t use that example, it’s probably not a big issue in Toronto—but in most of rural Ontario, people are ticked right off with what they think is the Trojan Horse in that particular paper.

1630

I want to say to my friend from Orono that this province will very shortly be engaged in a major debate about what Ms Boyd and others have been working at and about very diligently over the last number of months. I know it’s not easy; it wouldn’t be easy for any government. I just simply want to observe, as we deal with second reading of Bill 165, that in my view this is legislation that will enable in significant measure the first and subsequent stages of disentanglement to occur. We now provide local governments with a substantially increased borrowing power and other related powers.

I don’t think we are doing it just because some of the better-off municipalities have asked for it. There is another agenda here. In a more ideal world we would have a more honest debate about how this legislation is going to tie into what I suspect has now been decided in principle at the cabinet table. It would have to be. I saw the other day in Ottawa where the Minister of Community and Social Services, in I think quite an able presentation, indicated that from her point of view she expects January 1, 1993, to be the date at which the province assumes full responsibility for social assistance.

Mr Elston: Remember when we used to talk about sharing the wealth? This is sharing the debt. This is a sharing government.

Mr Conway: I’m not prepared to get into that, because quite frankly I’ve dealt with some local governments that have complained bitterly about what the province has done to them over the years. I think the complaints in some respects were not as substantial as people would have you believe.

But I’m going to tell you that if we start, as the government has indicated, with the absorption of the social welfare cost by the province, that is going to be one of the most significant changes in public policy and financial arrangements this province will have seen in decades. It is going to be accompanied by very significant collateral action.

That collateral action is going to involve and has to involve hard services like roads and bridges, just to name two.

In the district of Muskoka or in the county of Renfrew, I am going to tell you it's going to capture people's attention in a real and immediate way. I simply want to say again that my rural municipalities are starting to see the outline of the hills behind the mist and they are getting very concerned. Disentanglement is a tradeoff. If anybody thinks you can find a felicitous phrase to soften some of the attendant pain that adjustment is going to invite, and I sometimes think there are people around the provincial government and AMO who think you can come up with some nice jargon and somehow the pain is going to go away—well, I'm one of the 130 people who's going to get the pain.

You see, this is again an old-fashioned notion I have. I'm just one of these dumb clowns who, as members, think they have some responsibilities for decisions taken here in their names. But at the end of the day the electors of Renfrew are going to say: "Conway, we pay you to go to Queen's Park. Aren't these decisions in which you had a part?" I think that's not a bad attitude. I don't expect to hide behind Howard Moscoe or Ben Grandmaître or anyone else, because I know what's coming in my county. I know exactly what's coming.

As I say, my experience as Minister of Education dealing with the equalization formulas we have in that department is that they are not as sensitive and satisfactory as I'd like them to be, because some communities have infinitely more local wealth than others and, if allowed to borrow on the basis of that local wealth, they could offer a range of programs that people in Paincourt, Kent county, could only dream about.

Mr Hope: They're waiting for this stuff.

Mr Conway: My friend says, "They're waiting for this stuff," and maybe they are. I'm not going to stand here as some kind of caterwauling oppositionist in saying it's all bad and it's all wrong. The reality is that we have some very tough, painful decisions to make, and I expect just about everybody to be angry before this is over.

I say again that this, in my view, is the first legislative stage to allow the disentanglement process to begin, and people in Renfrew county should know that this is the bill that's going to allow the provincial government to say in a few months' time, "We've taken the 20% away from the municipalities for purposes of paying for social assistance, but for that we are now transferring to you the full responsibility, or a much greater level of responsibility, for things like roads and bridges," some of which roads and bridges have long been part of the provincial system. When they find that out in Paincourt or in Orono or in Walkerton or in Mount St Patrick, Broome township, they are going to be very interested and they're going to be able to look at specific provisions.

I've said enough. I say it again: Anyone who thinks this is just a happy, incidental bit of legislative neutrality doesn't understand what is contained in Bill 165, and I was a bit surprised, quite frankly, that my honourable friend,

the always helpful parliamentary assistant to the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, didn't perhaps take the opportunity today to at least touch the controversial hem of the main question that is involved with Bill 165.

The Acting Speaker: Questions or comments? The honourable member for Grey.

Mr Murdoch: It's our turn. I just want to point out that the remarks from the honourable member for Renfrew North again point out that if this bill had been split, we could have had a good debate on the borrowing and the debt part of it, but you wanted to stick it in together with all these other things that are just cleaning up, and it puts us in like a blackmail position. You don't help out these other municipalities that need a few things that cleared up some areas the Municipal Act didn't allow them to do, which just made common sense that it would have been cleared up; you added this little one hitch to this bill just so you can push it through too.

The whole thing is, he's right on. It's the start of disentanglement, it's the start of municipalities being able to go into debt—it's called debt funding or deficit funding—and it's just a sad day that the people on the other side would not have split this bill. I think that's been unfair to both the opposition parties and probably to some of your members. You have a lot of rural members in there.

The member for Huron just sat down. We were just talking about this. Some of his rural municipalities are going to be talking to him about this and saying, "You know, this puts pressure on us from the ratepayers now to come in and say, 'Hey, you can borrow this money; you can go ahead.'" Before, they had a cushion. They had someone, another place, a check and balance, that could have helped them out. But now you're just going to put them in the same mess the province is in and the federal government's in.

It's really unfortunate, and as you could see, most of his debate was on this one issue. There are no other issues in the bill. It's just one major issue, and it's really unfortunate that you couldn't have split the bill and allowed us to debate it.

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The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): I listened with great interest to the member for Renfrew North. It's interesting that he brought in the disentanglement process, because in the last month or so I have had a couple of views from different lower-tier municipalities in my own riding, one starting to express some concerns and another one saying it is very supportive and wants it to go forward.

It is interesting though how some views have changed. Through AMO, many other municipalities have been looking to see the disentanglement process continue and go through. In the long run that would give them more control over what would be going on in their own area and they would also be able to control some of the rates at which taxation may occur at a local level—more local control. It will be interesting to see how the debate goes forward, but I do think many people want to have more local control in

terms of what types of decisions will be made. We'll see how it all comes out in the long run.

Mr Paul Klopp (Huron): If I could finish the debate that my colleague—

The Acting Speaker: No, I am afraid not.

Questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Bruce.

Mr Elston: I think the other issue which hasn't been touched upon here by the member for Renfrew North is that in a way the movement of this bill to provide for borrowing by local municipalities doesn't really indicate that the provincial government, let alone the federal government, has recognized the fact that we as a society cannot afford to buy everything for everybody. All we are doing by putting this piece of legislation into play, as I said before, is sharing the debt instead of sharing the wealth.

My concern is that there will be a continuing or lingering sense that one level of government, either federal, provincial or now local, will be able to borrow enough money to give to whoever needs it some prize for their efforts. We are now at a stage, in my view, of having to sort out in this nation not only our constitutional priorities but the priorities for funding programs and the very essential services we must have if we are to continue to be competitive in any part of this international world of ours.

What this particular piece of legislation doesn't face or confront is the fact that we cannot have everything and give everything to everybody by borrowing against our current assets and in fact our future assets for our convenience.

Mr Sutherland: No kidding.

Mr Elston: The member for Oxford is yipping "No kidding."

This doesn't reflect a sense that we have to come to grips with those priorities. It effectively allows the provincial government and the federal government to say to municipalities: "You want it; you borrow. You pledge your current assets and your future assets to do whatever." In the end, that is going to throw an awful lot of us into some very difficult times.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): I welcome this opportunity to say a few words relative to this bill. As a representative of a riding made up of a number of small municipalities and county governments, I can tell you this should not be referred to as disentanglement. This should be referred to as the shifting of responsibilities from this level of government to the lower levels of government, which I refer to in my riding as county and municipal.

When you look around—and I'm sure you've done this—cities like Toronto and Ottawa and even towns in my riding such as the six major towns outside of the other 21 municipalities have done a very good job, in my opinion, at managing their financial affairs. But when you look at the provincial government and the federal government, they're bankrupt.

I can see where this is leading, with this shifting of responsibilities. They say that before we shift the responsibilities we must give them room to borrow. We must give

them room to get into the same mess that we're in, because that's really what will happen. You can say that's not necessarily going to happen, but we have to face reality. If we're going to take on roads, bridges and the general responsibilities that have been shared on a provincial basis, we are going to have to borrow money, we are going to be in debt and we are going to have, once again, a great inequality among small municipalities.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Renfrew North has two minutes for a response.

Mr Conway: I want to thank my friends for their various and sundry observations. Let me just conclude by asking you to think about my county, Renfrew county: some 85,000 people living over some 3,000 square miles in some 35 or 36 municipalities, many of those municipalities very rural with large territories where things like roads and bridges are everywhere, where there is a very fragile local tax base.

I think Chris Stockwell made the point: This is not so much offloading as trading, that's what we have to understand it as being—

Mr Jordan: Shifting.

Mr Conway: It may be shifting, but I think it's more fairly presented as trading. I just think this bill allows us an opportunity today to start to think as a Legislature, because we're the ones who are going to be responsible for passing this bill and all of the policy that attaches to it. People had better understand what this is all about. It is a significant debate, and I think it's going to be very, very lively.

If I can leave any impression here today, it is simply this: A growing number of the rural municipalities in my county are now expressing more and more concern about what they think are going to be the very real and significant impacts on local taxes as a result of disentanglement. The idea that we are going to, in this legislation, provide a substantially enhanced borrowing power to municipalities, both at the regional and local level, is not going to alter the fact that Ontario, like the Dominion itself, is a jurisdiction of very substantially differing local economic bases.

My friends, it's going to be one hell of an interesting debate before it's all over. We will be back to some of the discussions of this legislation in the not-too-distant future.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate? The honourable member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Stockwell: This is very interesting. It's typical of some debates that I've seen here for the last couple of years. The OMERS debate was rather interesting—teachers' pension funds and so on. I would submit to this House that a lot of these debates aren't measured very highly on the importance scale. I don't believe they are. You can tell by the lacklustre approach and the lack of interest offered up by all sides of the House. I certainly don't condemn one party on this.

These are probably the most fundamentally important debates that we enter into—fundamentally important because what these kinds of decisions affect are not just decisions of the day that the people of Ontario must live with; these are decisions that Ontarians will live with for decades.

I imagine that the first day deficit financing—or debt—was debated in this House it was probably unheralded and was one of those things that everyone else was doing, so a government adopted it, much like income tax was a temporary measure. Of course we all know how temporary income tax became.

I will say categorically that I have been personally responsible, I suppose to some degree, for holding up the passage of this particular piece of legislation, and I admit it full well. I think it's rather unfortunate that the government should lump such an important piece of legislation in with what is considered to be housekeeping.

I read in explanatory note 15 that, "The amendments to the Municipal Elections Act modify the definitions of 'contributions' and 'campaign expenses' for the purposes of calculating the surplus which must be paid over to the clerk," and that would happen in Muskoka, I believe. Okay, I can understand that. That's housekeeping.

I also read, "The District Municipality of Muskoka Act is amended to provide that the chair shall be elected at the first or inaugural meeting of the district council, consistent with other regional legislation." That's housekeeping.

1650

To push forward legislation which extends the amount of money that can be debentured to municipalities is not housekeeping. My friends opposite, to push forward debenturing dates from some 25 years to 40 years, thereby increasing the capacity for debt of local municipalities—I would submit to you, Mr Speaker—is not housekeeping. That's a very definitive action taken by this government and, I would submit again, part of a broader, long-range plan.

This is something I would like to see debated in the local town halls across this province. I wish the member for Chatham-Kent were here. He's heralding this as frontier thinking, as the new way to go. Debt is a very precious commodity and debt should never be abused by any level of government. Debt can be as easily taken back as it can be given.

I think both federal and provincial governments in this country have abused their power to borrow, and abused it in the most nonsensical, unacceptable way as to hold for ransom future generations. I believe that in my heart of hearts. I don't have any debate about that. Debt has been abused by government in this country like nothing else has been abused.

Interjection: Ontario Hydro.

Mr Stockwell: In Ontario Hydro it has been abused as well. I will say that on the record.

Any recommendation brought forward by any level of government, be it federal, be it provincial or be it municipal, to expand the powers of any government to acquire more, greater and longer debt, I am going to take a very long, hard look at.

What this legislation does is, in my opinion, very coy, very premature. It's allowing to pre-empt a debate that I believe is long overdue, and that debate is disentanglement. You hear that word quite often around this province. I often call it a weasel word. It's a weasel word because it

doesn't really deal with the issue. The issue is trading responsibilities, and the trade comes from the local governments—municipal, regional and elected councils—and provincial governments. Disentanglement to me is a bit of a weasel word. It's something some bureaucrat came up with in the backroom that really your rank-and-file voters don't understand. If they did understand, they may well have a very different view of the word and the approach.

Let me explain why this is taking place. Why is it that the OMB can't possibly hear the number of cases it needs to hear on debenturing? Why can't the OMB continue to carry out the function that, I submit, it was originally established to do? It wasn't meant to be hearing about Sunday shopping laws or Sunday shopping appeals. The OMB wasn't, I submit, put in place to hear about small garage additions on streets in cities right around the province. It wasn't to deal with the number of backlog cases it now deals with.

What does this government think we should do about clearing up the backlog at the OMB? Their suggestion is, "Don't hear any more cases about municipal governments' capacity to borrow," maybe the most fundamental reason why the OMB was put in place. The argument from across the floor will come: "But municipalities have the capacity and the understanding and the knowledge and the expertise to deficit-finance, to buy debt. They don't need the OMB for approval." I say to them, they've not checked the record lately.

On a number of occasions in the past the OMB has in fact turned down requests to debenture and to acquire debt from local municipalities for any number of reasons. The most obvious case that springs to mind is within driving distance of this Legislature itself. I'm certain most members in this House would—walking distance; driving distance. Most people in this House, I think, would have attended a ball game or a function of some kind at the SkyDome. I'm quite certain most have.

Do you realize, Mr Speaker, that when the money granted by the Metro council went to the OMB to be debentured, the OMB turned that down? That decision wasn't allowed and Metro wasn't allowed to debenture that grant. They carried on what I considered to be a very important and responsible job. That was \$30 million; \$30 million they would not let Metro grant as a debenture. Their decision was: It's a grant, not a debenture. You can't debenture a grant. Thirty million dollars is more, I would suggest, than lots of municipalities in this province have for entire operating budgets.

Mr Speaker, you're not going to get a lot of flowery speeches today on this piece of legislation. You probably won't even get a lot of interest from the press gallery. You won't get any interest from the local governments. You can't even keep the attention of the members opposite, with the exception of a few, because they don't believe it's significant. In my opinion, it's one of the most significant pieces of legislation they're bringing forward that will affect local government.

Let's talk about debt. Let's talk about the capacity to borrow and let's talk about how well politicians have handled that job in the past. You have to look no further than across

the floor to find a government that is totally and completely beholden to borrowing. This government couldn't function if it couldn't borrow. This government couldn't meet its payroll if it couldn't borrow. This government couldn't open the front doors of this building if it couldn't borrow. This government couldn't pay our salaries or the salaries of the employees across this province if it didn't borrow. This government is totally beholden to borrowed money. The federal government, I'm sorry to say, is worse.

So now we have before us on our plate today a piece of legislation that will allow municipal governments to get into the same situation. I know full well the last cycle of municipal budgets that took place in Metropolitan Toronto was a sorry state. I only speak to Metropolitan Toronto council itself. They passed on a 15 point something per cent increase to the taxpayers in Metro Toronto. That's a really astounding number, a 15% increase in local government taxes, probably due to the 1% the provincial government passed on.

If this government at the municipal level had been allowed to borrow money to decrease the increase it was passing on to the taxpayers to save its hide, do you think it would have? Darn right it would have. Can you count the number of local municipal governments that during an election year have stolen money from the reserve accounts and used an artificially low number for their tax hikes to guarantee themselves re-election that year?

It happens all the time, and if any member across the floor has been a municipal councillor, you know the rule of thumb. In the third year you rob from reserves to make sure you get yourself another term. That's the way municipal government works. I will say this: They take from money they've put in the bank. In my opinion we're going down the road that will allow them to borrow money to guarantee their re-election, and that will be dangerous, very dangerous.

1700

I know the debate will come to this House, and the debate that will arise is much like Bill 143. It was another two-stage attack. The two-stage attack on the landfill sites was to put all the processes in place to do what they're doing today but don't do it, and then make the announcement that there are 57 dump sites in Metropolitan Toronto and the Minister of the Environment had nothing to do with it. The Minister of the Environment had nothing to do with the sites. She has nothing to do with pulling any off the table or putting any on. You pass this responsibility off to a nameless, faceless bureaucrat who has absolutely no responsibility to the electorate that they ran in.

This Minister of the Environment is now giving the Municipal Affairs minister some lessons in how to two-stage an attack that usurps our capacity to debate disentanglement, because this bill will have been passed today, and I submit, as I submitted on Bill 143, that the members opposite didn't have any idea what they were voting for. When they announced the 57 sites, you saw them dancing up and down asking questions in the House today that prove categorically they didn't understand what they were voting for in Bill 143, and when the debate comes about disentanglement, the same group from across the floor will

stand up, just like on the landfill issue, and they'll cry and wail about the problems and concerns with disentanglement, but they've cast their votes some 12 months previously. That's the question we have to debate today.

The question is—and I didn't hear the parliamentary assistant speak to this at all: Why is it this government feels it necessary to push the debenturing term out for municipal governments from 25 to 40 years? Why is that necessary? I can't recall any municipal official coming to me and saying, "Gee, Chris, what we need in our local government is 40-year debentures."

Why? I know why. Maybe the parliamentary assistant doesn't know why. I know why.

Mr Mills: Tell us.

Mr Stockwell: Do tell. Because the responsibility for building the bridges and roads in this province—

Mr Mills: Hypothetically.

Mr Stockwell: Of course it's hypothetical, but without a concrete, rational reason as to why you're extending the debenture term from 25 to 40 years, what else do we have to go on? You offer no rationale. You offer no reason. You offer nothing. It just was a whim, a fancy, a backroom decision.

Mr Jordan: Faceless bureaucrat.

Mr Stockwell: Made by a nameless, faceless bureaucrat with absolutely no reason.

There's a reason. They know in Metro what the reason is. The CAOs in all the local municipalities know what the reason is. I know the member for Brant-Haldimand was recently at a meeting of the CAOs. What came up from the chief administrative officers from all around the province? They believe the disentanglement argument is here, the debate is happening and this is a precursor to that debate, and the debate is, "We want you to take over roads and bridges and we'll take over social services." That's the debate.

[Applause]

Mr Stockwell: There may be applause. The member for Hamilton Mountain, the Minister of Financial Institutions, applauds. More power to you. I agree. If that's what you fundamentally agree and that's what you think should happen, good. Let's debate it. But don't back-door legislation like this. Don't sneak this in the downstairs window when everyone's having a meeting in the parlour. Don't try and convince me that this legislation here has nothing to do with disentanglement. Stand up and defend your argument. Stand up and defend your position, because I know there are people out there who agree with you.

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): We're not that well organized.

Mr Stockwell: They're not that well organized.

I don't think for a moment that you disagree with disentanglement. All I ask the minister to do is be forthright. Be up front. If that is what is necessary for disentanglement, let's have the debate, and let's have the debate in this House and allow the local municipalities to be given an opportunity to enter into the debate. But this is a back-door approach, and the same approach was used on Bill 143.

I might add—and I speak directly to the cabinet—eventually, I will say to this cabinet, if you keep operating in this fashion, you're going to very seriously undermine your caucus, because you have left the members in Durham with egg all over their faces and political careers in tatters on Bill 143. If you choose the same approach on disentanglement, my friend the member for Chatham-Kent, who swears this is a good idea, may find himself whistling a different tune come 12 months later.

Mr Murdoch: Wait till your municipalities get you.

Mr Stockwell: So be it.

Let's talk about AMO. Why does AMO support this? I don't take what AMO says as the rank and file approach for what municipalities believe.

Mr Murdoch: Not any more. It used to be.

Mr Stockwell: I don't believe that. I think AMO is predominantly made up, from the Metro region at least, of NDPers. There's no doubt in my mind that the members who operate in AMO and are elected from Metro council are in fact members of the NDP party, and I will point to them. They are card-carrying, active members.

Let's not waste time in suggesting AMO is in full support of this. I don't think AMO speaks for the municipalities of Ontario. I don't believe it. I think the mayors in municipalities of Ontario can speak for themselves. I think there are some very good, hardworking and honest people involved in AMO, but I think if they understood the local importance of this legislation they would have some sober second thoughts. If you were up front and told them this is a precursor to disentanglement, I think they would also have some second thoughts. If you told them you were passing on to local municipalities the capacity to borrow because we don't have the capacity any more, they'd also have some second thoughts.

The crunch of the issue is this: Why does the province want disentanglement? Why does the NDP want disentanglement? The simple fact is that this government hasn't got any more capacity to borrow—none, zero, zip. Its credit rating drops on a yearly basis. They've borrowed themselves to the eyes. They can't afford the interest payments and now they look, salivating, to the local municipalities—salivating, I'm certain, in cabinet—and see the capacity that the local municipalities have to borrow. They are suggesting that, "The best way for us to borrow more money is to tell the local municipalities to do it for us."

Why do the municipalities have the capacity to borrow and provincial and federal governments don't? Because they've never had the legislation pass or the capacity to borrow. They had to pay as they go. It's created a very solid, financially sound municipal structure in Ontario.

Therefore this government is looking now to local municipalities to attempt to match its capacity to borrow. You want them to be as badly in debt as you are. It's kind of sad in a lot of ways, if it weren't so true. It's sad that the best this government can do today is to look to local municipalities to begin borrowing on its behalf because you haven't got any capacity left to borrow. You've blown it;

you've used it all up: \$11 billion last year, \$15 billion this year, \$26 billion over two years—you've used up your capacity to borrow.

Mr Kormos: What happens next year?

Mr Stockwell: What happens next year is a very interesting argument.

The argument will be made from across the floor that we need to disentangle the issues of provincial and municipal spending. In my opinion the argument makes sense on some points. I believe there can be a degree of disentanglement. I think it's crazy that you have four levels of government performing the same functions in a lot of respects. I agree with that. I think there can be disentanglement and there should be disentanglement and that local municipalities will buy into disentanglement, but I don't think you should predetermine the debate by passing this legislation. I don't think you should be giving them the capacity to borrow before you ask their opinion. I don't think you should be increasing their exposure on the open markets before you have the debate.

1710

I see the people from Municipal Affairs below there. I'm certain they are learned people. I don't know any of them, but I'm quite sure they understand this issue and I'm quite certain they've fully briefed the minister. If the municipalities would like this, then why not present it? Why do we have to give them the capacity to borrow before we hear what the deal is?

Having spent some eight years on local council in Etobicoke and Metropolitan Toronto—

Mr Conway: That long?

Mr Stockwell: Eight years; I know. I've learned a few things. Some of them are applicable and some of them are less so up here. One thing I have learned is that the only way you can stop politicians from spending money is by not giving it to them. The difficulty now is you don't even have to give them the money any more, they just go out and borrow on your behalf. In the end, this piece of legislation has been written and designed to allow local municipal governments to borrow more money.

I said before, if a politician is faced with a tough decision or no decision—and borrowing money is a non-decision—if he or she is faced with a tough decision about a program or to borrow money, he or she will borrow money every time. I disagree with the member for Bruce on that point where he suggests that the local municipalities will do it. Local politicians are no different than you and I. Local politicians are no different than the federal government. Local politicians are that: They're politicians. When politicians are faced with a difficult decision, they pick the easiest route out. A living example is across the floor. When tough decisions were faced, they chose the easy route out and borrowed money.

Mr Murdoch: Deficit financing.

Mr Stockwell: Deficit financing.

In the end, we're going to have a debate a year from now on disentanglement and the Minister of Municipal Affairs, if it's the same as it is today, will stand up and say on that date in June, "We passed Bill 165 and you gave me

the capacity and gave municipalities the capacity to take over responsibilities that were of the provincial purview in the past."

I want to go on record and, in closing, I want to be very clear. This is a mistake. Any government that is looking today at further debt and capacity to borrow more money is making a mistake. In the end it's much like the debates we had on pension improvements, wage settlements and so on. The general electorate doesn't understand it, so they don't call you. But those are the times when a politician has to understand what's best for his community, what's best for his taxpayers and what's best for the future of Ontarians.

Right now at this time there is nothing that could convince me it's for the benefit of Ontario taxpayers to find new and inventive ways to borrow money, because fundamentally the federal government is broke, the provincial government is broke and the only reason municipal governments aren't broke is they were never allowed to go broke. If you allow them to go broke, they'll be following you down that path, which means financial hardship, debt, debt servicing and borrowing. The only reason they all have triple A credit ratings is they couldn't borrow.

Mark my words across the floor: If you approve this, if you approve disentanglement, you will have inside of two decades municipalities appearing before committees of this House crying poor and begging for money because they won't be able to meet their payrolls, just like the position you'd be in today if you couldn't go out and borrow.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Questions or comments?

Mr Mills: I'm going to say a few things in my allocated time for wrapup. But in this two minutes I'd just like to take the member for Etobicoke West up on a couple of things. He keeps on about the borrowing and it wasn't AMO. But it's my understanding that your friend or former friend, Frank Miller, when Premier of Ontario, pressed for this borrowing. So you might spend a little time talking to Frank.

I want to talk briefly too about the 40-year term of borrowing the member for Etobicoke West brought up. The 40-year term is a maximum that will apply to projects with a lifespan of more than 40 years. A 40-year term is the currently accepted term for amortizing debt relating to long-term capital projects. I'm going to reserve all my other comments to my wrapup portion.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions or comments?

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I only want to speak to one part of this bill and that's the item that eliminates the need for OMB approval. If one looks back at the history of municipalities, I think during the days of the Honourable Wilf Spooner, municipalities had gotten themselves into just exactly what the member for Etobicoke West had said.

Interjection: Deep trouble.

Mr Callahan: Deep trouble, financial disaster. The OMB was brought forward to assist and monitor the borrowing of municipalities. I can see where AMO is proba-

bly very much in favour of this entire process because it gives it an opportunity to have much more money to deal with as it sees fit. I have great reserves about the OMB being removed because we are now in the same economic crisis as municipalities that went down the tube in the days of the Honourable Wilf Spooner when, I believe, historically the OMB was brought in as a sort of Senate, as it were, a—what do they call the Senate?

Mr Stockwell: The chamber of sober second thought.

Mr Callahan: Chamber of sober second thought. I can see this as just being the start. There will be further suggestions by school boards and so on. The Minister of Education will be looking to give them those rights. It may be a very good idea on the surface but I think, in a very real way, the statements made by the member for Etobicoke West make sense. If we put municipalities in that position, particularly when we recognize that there are large municipalities and small municipalities throughout this province, we may very well be putting them in a position we will regret. Even though it's there, taking away the OMB approval for certain debt, I think it's a mistake and we'll rue the day we did it.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Jordan: I want to bring to the attention of the House the fact that there is a good reason for the government bringing in a bill to extend the borrowing power of the municipalities and the counties. Of course, as the members have previously pointed out, to give the borrowing power to the counties is really like a double take, if you will, because who do you think the county is going to get its money from to pay the interest on the loan? You have the municipality with increased borrowing powers and then you have the county council, which represents the municipalities and is really not directly answerable to the voters, borrowing money. You have a very cancerous situation that just grows and grows.

I think the other point is, why are we doing this? As the member has previously pointed out, he hasn't heard anyone coming forward asking the Ontario government to give them this power. The municipalities I'm in contact with are telling the government: "Leave the decision-making with us as to the needs of our municipalities. Don't dictate programs to us and fund them for a short time and then withdraw the finances and leave us with a legislated program."

That's what's causing the problem in the municipalities. As far as administering them and financing them is concerned, we're quite capable. But to give us the responsibility for roads and they take social services, maybe it should be the reverse. At least we in the municipality would find work for the people on welfare.

1720

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Sutherland: The comments by the member for Etobicoke West have been interesting, but I do think you tend to take on a little bit of a paternalistic tone, in the

sense that really what is being said is that since we here do not trust municipalities to make their own decisions and to be accountable to their own taxpayers, we have to take a fatherly approach and guide them and say what they can and can't do.

I'm sure all of us have had times in the municipalities we represent when we have not agreed with the decisions local municipalities have taken. But part of the disentanglement process is also so the taxpayer can understand who is accountable for what services and they will be able to track it and the common thing we like to do in terms of passing the buck for responsibility, local municipalities passing the buck to us and us sometimes trying to pass the buck back to them, will not be able to occur.

I think it's a maturing process of understanding that municipalities have developed. They have developed in their internal structures at all kinds of different levels, and they should have the right to do that. All local municipal politicians face the consequences of their actions once every three years in the municipal elections. In other words, what it will ultimately mean is more accountability on those issues which they can control.

As the member for Lanark-Renfrew said, they want to be able to make the decisions. What this will mean is that they will have control over some of the funding and financing for their decisions as well. To me, that seems like a much better process and seems like a much better sense of accountability to the local property taxpayers, and I think all of the people in the province of Ontario are asking for more accountability.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Etobicoke West has two minutes in response.

Mr Stockwell: Quickly, I'll just start with Frank Miller. Frank Miller likes this. Well, that's interesting. Mel Swart wants publicly run auto insurance.

To the next: The question that's put forward to this House from the member for Oxford is that it's a maturing on the municipalities' part. They're maturing. They can handle more debt now because they're mature.

Why can't you allow them the opportunity to develop their own property in their regions? Why can't they annex or not annex areas in their own regions and cities? Why is it they can't develop their own waterfronts without you declaring provincial interests? Why can't they deal with their own garbage problem without you sticking your big nose into the issue?

It seems to me this government chooses to believe municipal governments are responsible when they want them to be responsible but not so when they don't. I think that argument holds not much water, about as much as a colander.

To move on, we talk about debt. I think who has come in here is a member who has proven that politicians don't handle deficit financing very well; it's the Treasurer of Ontario. In two short years, he has acquired more debt than the entire history of this province in the first 125. In two you've acquired \$25 billion. In the first terms when the Conservatives were kicked out they had \$25 billion—excluding the Liberals, pardon me—\$25 billion from day one to 1985, and in two years you acquired \$25 billion.

This man is living proof why deficit financing doesn't work, and don't give politicians money, because they only spend it. I beg you, don't allow municipalities to deficit-finance. They'll end up in the same shape you are, which is horrible.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate? The honourable member for Brampton South.

Mr Callahan: In the two minutes you're given—

Interjection: No, it's the speech.

Mr Callahan: I realize that, but in the two minutes I was given I really didn't have an opportunity to speak on this. I just want to refer to one item, the power for "the purpose of counteracting fluctuations in foreign interest rates and the Canadian dollar," and so on, that is given to these municipalities under this act.

It seems to me that in the United States they have a very significant process tax-wise. They allow debentures of municipalities to be issued at 3% because they're tax-exempt. I think that's something that should be looked at by our federal government in terms of assisting municipalities under this bill to be able to market their debentures effectively. It's interesting that municipalities in the US have a very effective way of marketing their debentures for that reason.

It has not been a matter that has really been looked at. I can remember that when I was on municipal council, debentures were issued at a very much higher rate. Of course that all becomes a burden in terms of the totality of the taxation of the people of that municipality.

That's just the brief comment I want to make in being able to speak on this. It may be food for thought in any discussions that go on between the Minister of Municipal Affairs or the Treasurer and his counterpart in Ottawa. He may very well want to look at that aspect in terms of, if we give municipalities much greater control over their future financially, we should look at giving that extra perk to be able to market their debentures.

I kind of thought that clause was put in there because some municipalities may very well market their debentures in the United States. They certainly become a very attractive investment in the United States for that reason. They're bought up by large foundations. They're bought up by people who are in a higher wealth category. They're considered to be a very worthy investment, and in fact what happens—I guess in a sense Ottawa is subsidizing it by allowing that, but in essence the municipalities have a very much more attractive debenture to be issued.

The Acting Speaker: Question and/or comments?

Mr Conway: I want to say two things, one in response to the member who just spoke and one to the former speaker, the member for Etobicoke West. I thought the discourse around deficit financing was really interesting. I'll say in his absence what I said to him just a moment ago. I suppose in part, if Main Street, Canada, were the Kingsway in Etobicoke, we probably would have a different kind of debate. I can well imagine that if I represented a community like the western part of the city of Etobicoke, I might have a set of views on these matters that would put

me at some considerable variance with someone who might represent rural Glengarry.

I say to my friend the member for Brampton South that one of the problems we've got to face in this, as we proceed through disentanglement, is that the question I want somebody to start addressing is, how are we going to address the variable financial capacity of municipalities across the province?

One of the things about Dominion-provincial relations is that in Newfoundland you've got the right to have a retail sales tax about twice what it is anywhere else in the country simply because there is very limited local wealth in Newfoundland.

There are going to be a number of municipalities in this province, when they see what the real cost, 100% or nearly 100% costing of things like roads and bridges, is going to be—I'm glad the Treasurer is here, because he's very knowledgeable and very sympathetic to many of those assessment-poor, tax-poor municipalities in northern, eastern and southwestern Ontario. When they get the happy responsibility that disentanglement is going to give them, I suspect there are going to be local tax adjustments that are going to be the biggest news many of those communities will have seen in many a year.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions or comments? Seeing none, the honourable member for Brampton South has two minutes in response.

Mr Callahan: I really only wanted to rise on that one point. I really have no reply since there has been only one question asked and that was by my colleague the member for Renfrew North, so I will end it that way.

1730

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I too wish to express my concern on the matter the member for Brampton North had raised—that is, the ability of municipalities to finance themselves essentially through deficit financing, where previously to do that type of financing they had to receive consent from the Ontario Municipal Board.

I can tell you, Mr Speaker, I have expressed that concern to municipalities in my riding, and every municipality I've spoken to on this subject, which is all of them, has confirmed that same concern—that is, the fear that the taxpayers are fed up. That's the expression that has been put around this province: that property taxes are going up and more and more municipalities are so close to the line in so many areas they can't afford the roads and they can't afford the minimum services. It's going to be very tempting for them now to simply say: "Oh well, we don't need to go to the OMB. All we have to do is deficit finance."

We've seen what deficit financing has done in the federal government. Essentially, because deficit financing has got so out of hand, that's why this dreaded goods and services tax has developed, which we are all opposed to. If you extend the argument further, the fear we have is that that is going to happen in this place: The deficit in this place at the provincial level will get so out of hand, and how in the world are we going to pay it back, how are we going to maintain the interest, and are the same arguments

that the federal people used going to be used by the provincial people? I have an aversion towards deficit financing. I believe many people in my constituency have that same aversion. If you can't afford it, you shouldn't be doing it.

Hon Mr Wildman: How do they buy their houses?

Mr Tilson: You're right. They do buy their houses with mortgage financing, but not to the degree that they can't afford to pay them back.

Somewhere along the line you have to realize that you can't spend any more. The provincial government is in debt to the hilt. The federal government is in debt to the hilt. That's obviously why this legislation is being put forward. There's one more area that we're not in debt to the hilt, and that is in the municipal level. I believe that's one of the major thoughts that this particular section is being put forward. This is the major opposition we have in our caucus; it is to this particular section. I think it's a shame they can't split the bill, because that is our major concern.

Certainly there is going to be no one now to independently stop municipalities when the pressure is being put on them to spend. Presently now, whether it's a road, whether it's a bridge, whether it's an arena or whether it's any other type of financial spending—perhaps even salaries—when you look at the overall package of expenditures required in a municipality, you have to go to the OMB. The answer of course that's given by administrators to their councillors is, "Well, you can't do that because that's going beyond the level that we're allowed and we have to go to the OMB to receive that approval."

They're discouraged from doing it. They are. They don't go ahead. That's a reasonable position. "We've reached our limit." Now the limit has been made higher and the property taxpayers, the people who are paying property taxes and who are complaining to all of us around this province, are going to have one more fear because there's going to be interest on this deficit. There are going to be additional expenditures made that normally wouldn't be made, because the heat will be on.

A comment has been made with respect to the subject of downloading and the whole subject of disentanglement and all of that business. This is probably the start of many bills which will continue to pass on the burden of our problems to the municipalities. It's not disentanglement; it's entanglement. In fact, I believe with grants and other financial assistance that perhaps might normally come from the province they might say: "You've got another source of income now. Perhaps we don't need to do that." I don't think that would be done directly, but it would cross their mind that: "There are other sources of income you can use. You don't need our grants." Hence the municipalities will be put more and more in debt.

I'm not going to go on and on about this subject other than simply to express my objection to it. I think the member for Etobicoke West summed it up in the concluding remarks of his speech when he said the only way you can stop politicians from spending is to prohibit them from spending and borrowing. That's what we have now: a prohibition to stop municipal politicians from spending.

We have too much government, too much spending, too much taxation going on now. In fact, it's been suggested in many circles that perhaps a similar restriction should be put on our provincial and federal politicians. That's a whole different story, but it's something I hear more and more: "How high will the deficits go? How much debt will our country go into? How much debt will our province receive? How much debt will our municipalities receive?"

We hear horror stories of American cities going into debt, specifically New York. They literally go bankrupt and there's no more money. I hope that's not where we're going and I hope members of the government who are putting this particular provision forward have thought that out, because I believe, as does the member for Etobicoke West, that in a decade that situation could occur in Ontario.

The Acting Speaker: Questions or comments? Seeing none, further debate? Would the honourable parliamentary assistant want to wind up second reading of Bill 165?

Mr Mills: I'd just like a couple of minutes to say a few things. I'm not standing here this afternoon at this stage of the game to upset anybody or make them excited, but you really should have listened to what I said in the beginning. When I made my opening statement, I said the existing approval process for capital undertakings would be streamlined. That's what this bill is all about—it streamlines.

We agreed that the approval of the Ontario Municipal Board would no longer be required provided the undertakings do not exceed the limits and conditions set by the province. Nowhere in this bill does it extend the amount that can be borrowed; nowhere, nohow. That is contrary to the position that has been put here this afternoon that somehow or other, magically, municipalities can go into debt miles over their heads. That just isn't the case. It misreads the bill and it's not correct.

One of the members—I believe it was the member for Etobicoke West—spoke about borrowing to offset operating costs. The 15% increase in Metro's costs was not driven by capital costs but by operating costs. This bill will not allow any short-term operating costs to be met with long-term debts.

In conclusion, to this date municipalities can and do borrow, they debenture, and this bill doesn't alter that at all.

I just wanted to correct those few things, and with that, we'll move on.

The Acting Speaker: Mr Mills has moved second reading of Bill 165. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the ayes have it.

Motion agreed to.

The Acting Speaker: Shall the bill be ordered for third reading?

Hon Shelley Martel (Minister of Northern Development and Mines): I understand there was an agreement among the House leaders earlier today to do third reading

this afternoon, so I would ask for unanimous consent to proceed to that now.

1740

The Acting Speaker: Do we have unanimous consent for third reading of Bill 165? Agreed? Agreed.

Mr Mills, on behalf of Mr Cooke, moved third reading of Bill 165, An Act to amend certain Acts related to Municipalities.

The Acting Speaker: Does the parliamentary assistant have opening remarks?

Mr Mills: No, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: Debate on third reading? Seeing none, is it the pleasure of the House that third reading of Bill 165 occur?

Motion agreed to.

CO-OPERATIVE CORPORATIONS STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOCIÉTÉS COOPÉRATIVES

Mr Owens, on behalf of Mr Charlton, moved second reading of Bill 166, An Act to amend the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act with respect to Co-operatives / Loi modifiant la Loi sur les sociétés coopératives et la Loi sur la location immobilière en ce qui concerne les coopératives.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Does the honourable parliamentary assistant have some opening remarks?

Mr Stephen Owens (Scarborough Centre): The amendments to the Co-operative Corporations Act are designed to encourage the development of more cooperatives in Ontario, especially housing and worker cooperatives. The bill also enhances the role these community-based, democratic institutions can play in rebuilding our economy, creating jobs and positioning Ontario for the future.

In particular, the amendments simplify the incorporation and operation of worker co-ops as businesses owned and operated by workers. In addition, the bill enables co-operatives to operate with the same powers as other corporations registered under the Ontario Business Corporations Act.

To preserve affordable housing, the bill would prevent housing co-ops from converting to profit-making corporations. During the past decade, increased real estate values have led to the concern that non-profit housing cooperatives could be sold or turned into profit-making businesses.

At the same time, these amendments maintain the distinct characteristics of this type of housing and member control. This bill also allows for greater flexibility in setting the rate of return on capital raised by co-ops. In addition, it eases the financial burden of the cost of annual audits for smaller co-ops by allowing the exemption if members agree.

These amendments are the result of extensive consultations with interest groups over a number of months. In particular, discussions were undertaken with the Canadian Co-operative Association, the Ontario Worker Co-op

Association and the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario. Individual co-ops were consulted as well. During these consultations, the cooperative movement was extremely supportive of the changes reflected in these amendments and enthusiastic about the new legislative environment they will create.

We see the cooperative movement as a front-line tool of economic policy and service to people. We believe co-operatives can offer unique solutions to many of our social and economic problems. These amendments will allow co-operatives to move ahead with their important work and better use the unique contribution they can make to our economy.

The cooperative movement is the best self-help tool we know and we've used it well in Ontario for more than 100 years. It's been effectively used for housing, a trend that we hope continues, despite the federal government's recent cutbacks in the co-op housing program.

As well, across the province, we have good examples of worker co-ops and other innovative uses of the cooperative structure as an organizational tool, but we certainly need more.

When we think of the kinds of social and economic problems that have emerged over the past 20 years, we find responses to these problems haven't looked often enough to mechanisms like cooperative organizations as a self-help tool. For the most part, groups responding to emerging social and economic problems have relied on a tax base or charitable approach to their operation but, as we have seen, those sectors that have adopted the co-op movement have benefited from an organizational structure that promotes sound and economically responsible approaches to basic community economic development.

This government has developed legislation which assists the movement in becoming a more important part of the way we do business as residents in our communities. Cooperatives have served especially well with smaller players within the economic structure. For example, credit unions and caisses populaires have provided financial support to small businesses that don't fulfil the requirements of larger financial institutions.

Housing co-ops provide affordable accommodation in areas major developers ignore. As a result, growing numbers of individual Ontarians are finding a comfortable philosophic home within the cooperative movement. They are finding comfort in business environments dedicated to the common good.

People are joining cooperatives today for the same reasons they have joined since the movement began in Canada over 100 years ago: because they appreciate the fundamental operating principle of democratic ownership and because they are well served by the diverse character of individual cooperatives, a diversity that provides unique invaluable services tailored to members' needs.

Cooperative members are attracted today, as they always have been, by a history of innovation in providing goods and services, by principles of mutual help and cooperation and by the bonds members create in communities rather than institutions. This understanding of both personal and social value in co-ops, owned and controlled by

the people they serve, has created a powerful economic force in Ontario, a force that draws its strength from like-minded individuals banding together to improve the economic and social health of their communities.

Right now, Ontario needs to harness the power the cooperative movement can provide, perhaps more than we have needed at any other point in our history. Economic renewal is a goal government alone cannot achieve. Business can't do it alone; labour can't do it alone. We know that each sector, and for that matter each individual, has a significant role to play.

The government has significant expectations about the role people together in creative, cooperative action can play. The cooperative movement has demonstrated a commitment to strong local economies reflecting social justice, wide opportunity for community involvement and support for individual initiative and participation.

The ministry staff worked extensively with members of the cooperative movement. Their joint effort was important to the development of these amendments that recognize and protect the distinctive nature of the cooperative sector. Significant and supportive contributions to the statute were also made by the ministries of the Attorney General, Housing and Agriculture and Food.

Widespread support for the amendments in this bill was reflected throughout the consultation process. In view of that, we hope we can look forward to the support of all members to assist in speedy passage of these important amendments. We believe cooperatives can play an even stronger part in rebuilding our economy, and I urge all members to support this important legislation that will assist in making that possible.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments? Seeing none, further debate.

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): Bill 166, which amends the Co-operative Corporations Act, is in fact an important piece of legislation and it's timely that we deal with it at this particular moment. The Minister of Financial Institutions has told us for some time now that we would be reading this bill in the Legislature for second reading, and we have awaited the debate of this bill with some anticipation and are happy to participate in the debate.

It's noteworthy that the act that is being debated today has not been substantially updated since 1973. Since that time, the types of cooperatives that exist and the environment in which they operate have changed substantially.

Over the past number of years, various cooperatives and their representative associations have lobbied extensively for changes to the legislation that governs their activities. Various governments have consulted widely to achieve consensus. Consensus seems to have been achieved, and all cooperative organizations are anxious for the legislation to proceed.

Primary cooperative associations involved in this process have included the United Co-operatives of Ontario, the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario, Gay Lea Foods, the Ontario Federation of Food Co-operatives and Clubs, the Ontario Federation of Worker Co-operatives and the Conseil de la Coopération de l'Ontario.

The wide variety of cooperative associations reflects the fact that cooperatives participate in an assortment of sectors and activities. Many sectors in which cooperatives participate today did not exist in 1973. That in itself has resulted in several ambiguities and obstacles for cooperatives wishing to conduct their business.

1750

The greatest growth in the cooperative sector has occurred in the area of housing. Growth has been steady for several years, but the NDP has increased spending in this sector—or at least we thought it did; they slowed down this year—thereby making the need for change ever more pressing.

Incongruities between the Landlord and Tenant Act and the Co-operative Corporations Act have resulted in administrative difficulties within housing co-ops. Ejecting tenants, ie members, is very difficult, and the bill helps in this manner and will also delineate the steps required for eviction. The current act does not consider eviction of tenants and the courts have found that the Landlord and Tenant Act does not apply. The result has been a growing awareness among problematic tenants that they are, by virtue of membership, above the law.

As well, student housing cooperatives have their own unique problems because of the transient nature of students and the need to terminate eligibility for membership at the end of one's enrolment in an educational facility. The bill removes that uncertainty.

The proposed amendments also reflect the need to maintain the integrity of the cooperative system, particularly in the housing sector. Although it has never occurred in Ontario, rapidly escalating real estate values and the lack of any legislation to the contrary could, with the support of a cooperative's membership, allow individual co-ops to pay off the mortgage, disband the cooperative, sell the assets and distribute the proceeds to the membership. Clearly, that would be against the intent of establishing the housing cooperative from the beginning. The new legislation says that dividends are to be declared and distributed on the surplus arising from operations. Only the proceeds of assets sold in the ordinary course of business can be distributed.

The Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario is concerned that this legislation may not be speedily approved, and therefore there is some anxiety within the community. The current act governing cooperatives does not reflect the fact that some co-ops, eg cheese producers—and this may be of interest to you, Mr Speaker—do not, in a legal sense, produce product directly from their members. The new bill updates the legislation to reflect the role of marketing boards as intermediaries.

Most of the remaining portions of the bill are house-keeping in nature and relate to items of peculiar interest to housing co-ops. For example, membership entitlements are defined so that the rights to an apartment are more clearly explained. The procedures for removing a member from his or her apartment are described, and it is specified that you can give up possession of an apartment and also relinquish your membership in a co-op and vice versa.

We have two key concerns on the amendments that have been brought forward.

Point 1: The new act does not include any reference to overhauling or opening up the process by which membership in cooperative housing is granted. At present, applicants to housing co-ops are accepted or rejected on the basis of some committee's recommendations with no clear criteria delineated or required in legislation, and we know what kind of problems that can present. The Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario provides individual co-ops with parameters, but co-ops are not consistent in their application, we've been told.

Point 2, which is of interest to us, is that the 1991 Provincial Auditor's report indicates that the Ministry of Housing had no means, systems or standards by which to ensure that non-profit and cooperative housing groups were accepting high-needs clients from local housing authorities. In fact, we've heard that there are members of the Legislature living in co-ops. You can remember maybe only a year ago there was a high-profile case here in the city where a city council person who was running for mayor on the NDP slate was noted for his residence in a co-op. It was further noted that his spouse held public office and between the two of them they had a very substantial salary. Most people thought it was unfair that they took the space of maybe some others who could probably utilize the apartment and probably need the apartment on a greater-need basis.

I don't think we should be building co-op housing and asking the taxpayers to support co-op housing so that members of the Legislature and people who hold high office can live in it. I don't think that was the general purpose and the intent of co-op housing.

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): Market rent.

Mr Mancini: Market rent? The members opposite are now confusing the issue. They say that everyone who lives in a co-op pays market rent. That may be true for some people, it may be true for all, but at the same time there is some subsidy, it was pointed out by the Provincial Auditor. As a matter of fact, I say to my colleagues opposite, we've asked the Provincial Auditor to conduct further work in this area. We'll know more clearly exactly what it does cost the taxpayers to help in the establishment and the maintenance of these co-ops.

I think it's a great idea. I don't see anything wrong with what we're doing. I just don't think people who hold high office should occupy a co-op unit when you and I know there is a great need in our community. I don't think people whose gross incomes exceed \$150,000 a year should be put ahead of someone who maybe is trying to support a family on \$40,000 a year.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): Remo, get with it.

Mr Mancini: Somebody over there, probably the Minister of Housing, says, "Get with it." If she wants to defend what I consider to be the indefensible, and if she thinks people like the former mayoral candidate of the city of Toronto and his spouse who also held office should live in a co-op and take that unit from someone else, that's fine.

If she thinks members of the Legislature should have that privilege, that's fine. She can defend it. She can explain it to the people of Ontario. I'm not going to defend it. I don't think it's a proper practice and I don't think that was the general principle under which co-ops were built.

I'd like to conclude by saying that in regard to what we've just talked about, the Provincial Auditor is going to be doing some more work for the standing committee on public accounts. We are going to be working with the Min-

istry of Housing hopefully so that we can put in place systems that will show some fiscal responsibility. We'll be able to explain to the people of Ontario exactly what we're doing, how we're doing it, why we're doing it and exactly what it costs. I don't think that's too much to ask of any government or of any ministry or of any policy that's going to be supported by the Legislature.

[Report continues in volume B]

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
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Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
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Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
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Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
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Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
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Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
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St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	
			government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
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Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	
			Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
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Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
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Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	
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York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	
			parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Mills	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
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York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
			parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale

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Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Tuesday 23 June 1992

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mardi 23 juin 1992

Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Tuesday 23 June 1992

[Report continued from volume A]

1800

CO-OPERATIVE CORPORATIONS STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOCIÉTÉS COOPÉRATIVES

Continuing the debate on motion for second reading on Bill 166, An Act to amend the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act with respect to Co-operatives / Loi modifiant la Loi sur les sociétés coopératives et la Loi sur la location immobilière en ce qui concerne les coopératives.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I rise with respect to Bill 166, which is An Act to amend the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act with respect to Co-operatives. I understand there are a number of amendments being put forward today, which we will be dealing with later.

At first blush this legislation appears to be enabling legislation, and I would concur that some of it is. As the member has indicated, the act is now amended to include a definition of the "non-profit housing cooperative," and it is that, not on the legalities of what is a non-profit housing cooperative but the continual pushing for the non-profit co-op, the non-profit housing unit, that our caucus has been so vehemently opposed to and continues to be opposed in this specific legislation that is before it.

As well, the amendment deals with the fact that, "A non-profit housing cooperative may not change its articles so that it is no longer such a cooperative and it cannot be converted into any other cooperative or corporation." I must confess I have trouble with that. If the principles of non-profit housing or non-profit co-ops have come to an end, why shouldn't there be a system? Why are we entrenching this philosophy in our system?

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): Are you against cooperatives?

Mr Tilson: No, I didn't say I was against cooperatives. I said I was against the non-profit cooperatives. If the ministers wish to get together and form a profit co-op, I would wholeheartedly support that. What I am opposed to, and what our caucus is opposed to, is the non-profit co-op, and I will be commenting on that very briefly, because many of the amendments deal with the non-profit cooperative.

A third proposed amendment is that the relationship between a non-member housing cooperative "and persons occupying member units is removed from the application of the landlord and tenant law." Of course that is a problem that surfaced very recently in the legal decision, I believe it was McBride and Comfort Living Housing Co-operative, where it was discovered that the people who occupied non-profit housing cooperatives couldn't obtain writs of

possession. The procedure for obtaining writs of possession under the Landlord and Tenant Act did not apply and wasn't available in the non-profit housing cooperative context, and that is the reason why there have been a number of amendments in this bill to rectify that.

Provisions are made as to how and on what grounds a non-profit housing co-op may terminate membership. The bill requires that the grounds for termination be set out in the bylaws and be in accordance with the Human Rights Code. The bill establishes the right of members "to attend and make presentations at the meetings of both the board and the members dealing with the termination," and "A non-profit housing cooperative may not distrain a member's possessions for non-payment of housing charges."

There are then a number of amendments dealing with worker co-ops, which were introduced to facilitate the operation of the worker co-op at Algoma Steel. This is of course an area that goes beyond the non-profit housing and does provide a definition of a "worker cooperative." As well, worker cooperatives may have as few as three members and non-worker co-ops may have as few as five. The surplus of worker co-ops is required to be paid out to members "in proportion to either the compensation paid to or on behalf of each member in the year or the hours worked by each member in the year, as set out in the bylaws."

As well, since the introduction of this bill the government has come up with a number of amendments, in excess of at least 22—I think there are even more today—which will be proceeding to committee of the whole. The amendments brought to section 17 of the bill were done at the instigation of a corporation in your riding, actually, Mr Speaker—Stormont, Dundas, Glengarry and East Grenville. I have to take a while to say all that. Specifically it was done at the instigation of the St Albert Co-op Cheese Factory. The St Albert Co-op, by the very nature of its success—in spite of all the dealings of this government, it has turned out to be a success at making cheese—placed itself in direct contravention of those portions of the act which required to conduct no more than 50% of its business outside of the co-op membership. The success of its cheese has resulted in a greater need for milk than is available to the membership due to the provisions of the Ontario Milk Marketing Board.

As a result, the amendments are proposed which will allow co-ops in the case of those purchasing outside the entitlement determined by the marketing board to consider items purchased from marketing boards which were originally purchased from co-op members as being purchased directly from their members. In instances where a full entitlement has been purchased, any derivative from that entitlement may be considered to have been purchased directly from a co-op member.

That, generally, as I understand it, is a brief summary of some of the amendments.

It's the whole principle of the non-profit co-op that I have spoken about in this House and on the various housing committees since I was elected to office. There seems to be, if members of this House will read, in more and more newspaper columns a concern over this government's housing policies, specifically when the issue of costs with respect to hospitals, municipalities, school boards is being restricted. Yet we're continuing to go on in non-profit housing and co-op housing.

This bill is an example of how that philosophy is continuing. In fact the whole issue of non-profit co-op housing is being entrenched as a result of this legislation. The Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario says that one out of every three housing starts in Ontario this year will be co-op or non-profit housing. When you look at all the statistics, someone is clearly profiting from the proliferation of non-profit housing and non-profit co-op housing, specifically housing consultants, architects, developers, builders, banks, lawyers and on it goes, while the government is certainly crying the blues.

In the previous bill debated in this House we talked about deficits. This government is continually talking about what deep financial difficulties it's in and commenting on the transfer payments to the various municipalities and school boards etc. At the same time they're proceeding with unbelievable zeal in spending on non-profit housing co-ops, non-profit housing and social housing in the last three years—from \$327 million to \$662 million in the last three years. This was during the time that subsidies for non-profit housing increased 91% per year and when hospitals and schools are being forced to accept just a 1% increase.

We understand that the annual subsidy will exceed \$1 billion by 1995 as other non-profit housing and co-op housing promised by this government—to build another 10,000 units per year. This whole philosophy of pursuing non-profit housing and non-profit co-op housing, we believe, must stop. In addition to the subsidy paid out to people living in non-profit co-op housing, the taxpayers of Ontario are paying \$222 million annually in operating costs for 84,000 units of 20- to 30-year-old properties owned by the Ontario Housing Corp. This is an increase of 30% a year over the last three years, compared with the massive increase being spent on non-profit housing.

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There are over 94,000 non-profit housing units in Ontario today. In 1986 the Liberal government went on a non-profit building binge. By March 31, 1991, 41,860 new non-profit units were built and another 3,000 are under way or have been promised, for a total of 71,860. We have to look very carefully not only at the spending of these non-profit co-ops and the non-profit housing but at the annual subsidies that are required each year to maintain them. Why this bill is insisting on the entrenching of this legislation when all these facts are coming forward is certainly beyond me.

The annual subsidy for non-profit housing in Ontario amounts to over \$400 million. When the promised 30,000 new units are built, the annual subsidy will be over \$800 million. So over 35 years, that subsidy paid by taxpayers will likely exceed \$20 billion. Yet with this bill we're

continuing to entrench all kinds of non-profit housing, and specifically the non-profit co-op housing.

As I understand it, about 20% of the non-profit housing are co-ops. As my friend the member for Essex South commented, Mr Jack Layton left his unit after a tremendous outcry. The current Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations also lived in a co-op for about 11 years. You look at the whole philosophy of why we're going into it. The people who need the housing assistance: Is that the way we should be going? I'm speaking specifically to non-profit, co-op housing.

About 60% of the non-profit co-ops are occupied by needy and working poor families who pay a maximum of 25% of their income on rent. The other tenants are supposed to pay the market rents. However, the annual subsidy paid by the government is the difference between the rents collected and the mortgage and operating expenses. It's a complex method of calculation, and that shows the unfairness for co-op apartments. This sometimes means that their market rents are actually higher than the market.

Last year one Toronto co-op was asking \$847 a month for vacant apartments while the going rent for neighbouring apartments was \$550. Of course the current critic for Housing of our caucus, the member for Mississauga South, has continually given examples of that contradiction. As a result, co-op apartments are empty which therefore require larger government assistance. There lies the rub. Why are we entrenching this type of housing when it's not working? It's simply not working.

The other complaint we have received is that of equal access. Who are those people who get to live in subsidized co-op housing? There seems to be some sort of correlation between being a member of the NDP and living in subsidized housing. That seems to be the general trend as more and more information is coming out. Although the needy and working poor are supposed to have equal access to non-profit housing in Metro, where these statistics are coming forward, a family in Metro east has complained to its member of this provincial Legislature that it is being forced out of its non-profit co-op because it is not an NDP supporter, a remarkable position to be in. Last year Toronto councillor Tom Jakobek claimed to have a study showing that many co-op tenants are also NDP supporters.

In conclusion, because I think the general and enabling legislation—I understand the need for the business of the Landlord and Tenant Act and I understand the need to change the assistance with respect to the company in your riding, Mr Speaker—it's the principle of non-profit, co-op housing that our caucus continues to oppose.

This province can no longer afford "affordable" housing of non-profit, cooperative housing. The statistics simply say not only that we cannot afford the annual expenditures, which are on the increase, the annual subsidies, because it's simply not fair—the statistics show more and more that people who shouldn't be in these units are in them—but we also can't afford the unbelievable expense of putting it together: the cost of the developer, the cost of the consultant—the consultant being the main one—and all the other people who are required that normally wouldn't

be required in the general subsidy type of program which our party has expressed many times in this House.

So, Mr Speaker, I simply cannot let this bill go in this House without again expressing our caucus's concern with the government's direction in continuing the whole process of non-profit housing and the whole process of non-profit, co-op housing when it should be into direct subsidies. We can't afford this direction, particularly when the government says on the one hand, "We can't afford to increase the transfer payments to hospitals and school boards and municipalities."

Mr Speaker, it's a pleasure to put forward our caucus's comments with respect to this bill and I look forward to further debate.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Questions and/or comments? Seeing none, further debate? Seeing none, does the parliamentary assistant want to wrap up? The member for Scarborough Centre.

Mr Owens: I will be very brief but very generous. I'd like to thank the member for Essex South and the member for Dufferin-Peel for their participation in the debate. I certainly cannot associate myself totally with their remarks, but I'd like to thank them for participating in this debate.

The member for Dufferin-Peel brought up an issue with respect to the St Albert Cheese Co-op. I know that the Speaker, the member for S-D-G & East Grenville, had some involvement with that cheese co-op and I am pleased to be able to present that amendment today. It is my understanding that the cheese co-op is pleased with the amendment. It will certainly help them to grow and thrive. With that, Mr Speaker, thank you very much.

The Acting Speaker: Mr Owens has moved second reading of Bill 166. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

Motion agreed to.

The Acting Speaker: Is it the pleasure of the House that we proceed with third reading of Bill 166? No?

Hon Shirley Coppin (Minister without Portfolio): Mr Speaker, I understand that the House leaders have agreed to proceed to committee of the whole on this item. With unanimous consent, I would call committee of the whole consideration of Bill 166, the Co-operative Corporations Statute Law Amendment Act.

The Acting Speaker: Do we have unanimous consent to proceed to committee of the whole? Agreed.

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House in committee of the whole.

CO-OPERATIVE CORPORATIONS STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOCIÉTÉS COOPÉRATIVES

Consideration of Bill 166, An Act to amend the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act with respect to Co-operatives / Loi modifiant la Loi sur les sociétés coopératives et la Loi sur la location immobilière en ce qui concerne les coopératives.

The Second Deputy Chair (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Could I have a list of the government amendments for proceeding with committee of the whole from the member for Scarborough Centre?

Mr Stephen Owens (Scarborough Centre): It's my understanding that you should have those amendments at this time.

The Second Deputy Chair: Could we have which sections are to be amended in Bill 166?

Mr Owens: I am looking at amendment to subsection 1(1), subsection 5(3.1), subsections 144(3) to (9), section 144.2.

The Second Deputy Chair: I think the Chair has them here as well: Subsection 1(1); subsection 2(3); section 9, subsection 55(1.2); section 17, subsections 144(3) to (9); section 18, section 144.2; section 20, subsection 151(5); section 21, subsections 156(7) and (8); section 23, subsection 171.1(2); section 23, subsection 171.2(2); section 23, section 171.3; section 23, subsections 171.4(2) and (3); section 23, sections 171.5, 171.6 and 171.7; section 23, subsection 171.8(0.1); section 23, subsection 171.8(1); section 23, subsections 171.8(3) to (7); subsections 171.9(3) and (4); subsections 171.13(1), (2), (3), (8), (12) and (13); subsection 171.14(1); section 171.14.1; subsections 171.20(1) and (1.1); section 24, clause 186(b.3); section 25, subsections 2(2) to (4), and finally, section 25.1 of the bill. These are your government amendments.

Does the honourable parliamentary assistant wish to proceed with government amendments?

Mr Owens: Yes, Mr Chairman. With consent, I request that staff be allowed on the floor.

The Second Deputy Chair: Do we have unanimous consent to bring on staff? Agreed? Agreed.

Section 1:

The First Deputy Chair (Mr Dennis Drainville): Mr Owens moves that subsection 1(1) of the bill, subsection 1(1) of the Co-operative Corporations Act, read:

"'Worker co-operative' means a co-operative."

The First Deputy Chair: May I ask the parliamentary assistant to stand when he's introducing these things. I would also ask for a little forbearance on the part of some of the members.

Mr Owens: I was going to beg your indulgence, Mr Chair, as I have a rather large book to go through.

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves that the definitions of "housing charges" and "non-profit housing co-operative" in subsection 1(1) of the Co-operative Corporations Act, as set out in subsection 1(1) of the bill, be struck out and the following substituted:

"'housing charges' means the charges a non-profit housing cooperative charges its members and includes charges unrelated to housing; ('frais de logement')"

"'non-profit housing co-operative' means a cooperative, without share capital, the articles of which provide that the cooperative is a non-profit housing cooperative for the purposes of this act; ('coopérative de logement sans but lucratif')"

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Mr Owens: The explanation for this is that the definition of "housing charges" has been expanded to capture more of the administrative costs borne by the cooperative. The definition of the "non-profit housing cooperative" clarifies that the non-profit housing cooperatives do not have to track the language in the act in their articles as long as their articles essentially identify the cooperative as a non-profit housing cooperative subject to the special provisions of the act dealing with the non-profit housing cooperatives.

The First Deputy Chair: Are there any questions and/or comments to the amendment put forth by the honourable parliamentary assistant? If there are none, shall Mr Owens's amendment to subsection 1(1) of the bill carry?

Motion agreed to.

Section 1, as amended, agreed to.

Section 2:

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves that subsection 5(3.1) of the Co-operative Corporations Act, as set out in subsection 2(3) of the bill, be amended,

"(a) by striking out 'shall provide that' in the fourth line and substituting 'shall be deemed to provide that';

"(b) by striking out clause (b); and

"(c) by striking out 'non-profit or charitable organizations' in the last two lines of clause (d) and substituting 'non-profit housing cooperatives or charitable organizations.'"

The First Deputy Chair: Are there any comments or questions?

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): Perhaps Mr Owens could give a brief description of why the amendments are needed.

Mr Owens: The amendment to the preamble of subsection 5(3.1), along with the amendment to the definition of "non-profit housing cooperative" in subsection 1(1), clarifies that non-profit housing cooperatives do not have to track the language of the act in their articles as long as their articles essentially identify the cooperative as a non-profit housing cooperative subject to the special provisions of the act dealing with non-profit housing cooperatives.

Clause 5(3.1)(d) has been deleted. This clause defines one of the attributes of the non-profit housing cooperative as a housing cooperative where each member has a right to occupy a member unit. While in principle this is true of non-profit housing cooperatives, enshrining this principle in legislation may create practical problems for cooperatives. This principle may be susceptible to the interpretation that a member has an enforceable right against the cooperative to occupy a member unit. This is not always possible or desirable.

Most non-profit housing cooperatives have members on waiting lists for housing units. Such members may argue that they have a fundamental right to a housing unit in a cooperative that takes precedence over a cooperative's right to designate units as non-member units. Furthermore, persons may become members of a housing cooperative without any intention of living there. This is often the case with incorporators of a housing cooperative who have be-

come involved in establishing a cooperative because of an ideological commitment to cooperative principles.

The amendment to clause 5(3.1)(d) limits the potential beneficiaries of any distribution of a non-profit housing cooperative's assets on dissolution to other non-profit housing cooperatives or a charitable organization. If distribution to non-profit organizations were possible, there is the danger that these non-profit organizations could be used to subvert the principle that members in a non-profit housing cooperative should not realize any capital gain from membership in the cooperative. Some non-profit organizations could be converted to profit business organizations and thereafter on dissolution distribute their assets to their member shareholders. Non-profit organizations incorporated under part III of the Corporations Act are a notable example. Through an application for supplementary letters patent, they can be converted to a business corporation.

The First Deputy Chair: Further questions or comments?

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): It's interesting to know that if I happen to be a member and form a cooperative, this amendment would allow the executive of the cooperative, I understood you to say, to exclude me from occupancy of a unit in the cooperative if for some reason they have designated that non-members be allocated a certain number of units beyond that which were already assigned for members' occupation. It would seem to me to be a bit of a disadvantage, wouldn't you think, for me, as a person who helped to form the cooperative, if I couldn't occupy part of the cooperative?

I'm not trying to prolong this, but it looks like a little bit of a mischief that could be played on somebody who may have fallen out of favour in the cooperative. I understand the strength of commitment shared by those people who put together cooperatives, but in a falling out it seems to me somebody could be easily thrown out of the cooperative or prevented from accessing the cooperative by a bit of a mischief being played by designating extra units for non-members. I wonder if that's really possible. Maybe I'm reading too much into it. It certainly sounded that way when you were reading your explanation.

I'm concerned that anybody who joins a cooperative or helps to form it should be able to occupy units, if there are enough units for occupation, other than units which are designated for non-members. I wonder if you might just explain a little more clearly that this amendment is not going to disadvantage someone merely because he or she has a falling out or a differing opinion with respect to a cooperative.

I raise this matter because staff might recall that during my time as Minister of Financial Institutions, there were in fact a couple of issues about members being thrown out of cooperatives and who could take court action. I don't wish to name any individuals, but I think by the recognition of the incident there are some people who know already the cooperative in question. Could you perhaps tell me that we're not going to work some mischief on somebody merely because he has a falling out with the majority of the executive of the cooperative?

Mr Owens: I appreciate the member's concerns, but I think they may be—misdirected may be too strong a word but we're simply looking at the amendment to allow the founding board to be involved in the development and that this designation is—

Mr Elston: Whoops, a little bit of penmanship here. You know, the school system isn't as good as it used to be.

Mr Owens: I suppose we could take a look at the Hall-Dennis report as the beginnings of that, but that's clearly not the—

Mr Elston: I think this fellow is a more recent graduate than that.

Mr Owens: I thank the member for Bruce for his concerns, but it's our opinion that to exclude people is not possible because of the Ministry of Housing requirements with respect to membership. However, your concern is noted and appreciated.

The First Deputy Chair: Are there any other questions or comments on subsection 2(3)? If not, shall Mr Owens's amendment stand as part of the bill?

Motion agreed to.

Section 2, as amended, agreed to.

Sections 3 to 8, inclusive, agreed to.

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Section 9:

Mr Owens: I move that section 9 of the bill be amended by adding the following as subsection 55(1.2) of the Co-operative Corporations Act:

"Non-profit housing cooperatives

"(1.2) In the application of this section with respect to a non-profit housing cooperative, the surplus arising from the business of the cooperative is the surplus arising from the operations of the cooperative excluding the proceeds from the sale of any assets not sold in the ordinary course of operations."

This amendment is consequential on an amendment to subsection 171.2(2) which will permit a non-profit housing cooperative to pay its members patronage returns. Subsection 55(1.2) determines how a non-profit housing cooperative may calculate a patronage dividend. It excludes from the surplus out of which patronage dividends are declared any proceeds arising from the sale of the cooperative's assets.

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens, because you were in midflight I didn't want to interrupt you at the time, but actually I should read the motion after you put the motion, if that's all right.

Mr Owens: I think you're enjoying this, actually.

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves—

Interjection: Dispense.

The First Deputy Chair: Do you have an explanation?

Mr Owens: Should I start at the beginning?

The First Deputy Chair: I don't think that's necessary.

Mr Owens: It excludes from the surplus out of which patronage dividends are declared any proceeds arising from the sale of the cooperative's assets outside the ordinary course of its business. This prevents members of a non-profit

housing cooperative from realizing any capital gains for a piecemeal sale of its housing units. Such restrictions are also meant to preserve the existing stock of affordable non-profit housing.

The First Deputy Chair: Are there any questions and/or comments on the amendment as moved by Mr Owens?

Mr Elston: I only comment that this is a noble effort.

The First Deputy Chair: Any other questions and/or comments?

Mr Mancini: My understanding is that this has never happened in the province before, and that this is a precautionary amendment the ministry is putting forward. I was wondering if the parliamentary assistant could verify that.

The First Deputy Chair: Further questions and/or comments? Is there a response to the member for Essex South? No response? Other questions and/or comments?

Mr Mancini: Mr Chairman, how can there be no response? We are asking questions about the amendments that are being placed before the House so that we can speedily pass them. It was a very simple question. Maybe staff can help.

Mr Owens: With respect, I didn't hear the question.

The First Deputy Chair: Would the honourable member please repeat the question so that the parliamentary assistant may answer it?

Mr Mancini: I was wondering if there had been any situations in the province that have taken place which the honourable parliamentary assistant could give us firsthand knowledge about, or is this just a precautionary amendment the government has decided to bring forward?

Mr Owens: Up to this point there is not a situation that has happened in Ontario. It is a precautionary measure. It's our understanding that it has happened in Quebec. We want to prevent that from happening here in Ontario.

The First Deputy Chair: Any other comments or questions? If not, shall the amendment on section 9 presented by Mr Owens carry?

Motion agreed to.

Section 9, as amended, agreed to.

Sections 10 to 16, inclusive, agreed to.

Section 17:

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves that section 17 of the bill be struck out and the following substituted:

"Subsection 144(3) of the Act is repealed and the following substituted:

"Idem

"(3) For the purposes of computing the amount of business under subsection (2), there shall be not included in the amount of business conducted with non-members, the value of goods or products acquired, marketed, handled, dealt in or sold or services rendered by the cooperatives from, on behalf of or for non-members who are required, by a marketing plan established under an act of the Legislature, to conduct such business only with the cooperative.

"Idem

"(4) If a member of a cooperative sells products to a marketing board under a marketing plan established under an act of the Legislature and the marketing board in turn sells the products, or equivalent products if the products are fungible, to the cooperative, the cooperative shall be deemed, for the purposes of this section, to have bought the products or the equivalent products directly from the member.

"Derivative' of a product

"(5) In subsections (6) and (7), a 'derivative' of a product is something that contains the product or is made, either in whole or in part, from the product.

"If limitations on purchase of a product

"(6) If a marketing plan established under an act of the Legislature provides for transferable entitlements to buy a product and a cooperative buys all the product that its entitlement allows then any derivative of the product that the cooperative buys is deemed, for the purposes of this section, to have been bought directly from its members.

"Idem

"(7) Subsection (6) applies only to the extent that the total consideration given for the products, equivalent products or derivatives of the products deemed, under subsection (4) or (6), to have been bought directly from members does not exceed the consideration received for the products that the members of the cooperative sell.

"Cooperatives with object to provide employment

"(8) This section does not apply to a cooperative the articles of which provide that the cooperative's primary object is to provide employment to its members.

"Non-profit housing cooperatives

"(9) This section does not apply to non-profit housing cooperatives."

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens, do you have an explanation?

Mr Owens: These amendments involve both editorial and substantive changes. The changes to subsection 144(3) of the Co-operative Corporations Act are principally editorial. The reference to "marketing plan established under...the Parliament of Canada" has been deleted, since we are advised by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food that all marketing plans in operation in Ontario derive their authority from provincial legislation.

Subsection (4) is further amended to delete the reference to marketing plans established under an act "of the Parliament of Canada."

Subsections (5), (6), and (7) deal with a situation where a cooperative's production is subject to a quota under a marketing plan. For example, cooperatives that produce cheese and ice cream can, by virtue of a quota system, only buy a certain amount of raw milk from the marketing board. This amount may not equal the total amount of milk that could be produced by its members; the cooperative could purchase quota from other processors, but this is not always financially possible.

The case of a successful cheese and ice cream cooperative, The Alternative, is for the cooperative to purchase milk in a semiprocessed or processed state from other cheese and ice cream producers who may not necessarily

be members of the co-op. In doing so, such cooperatives run the risk of offending the rule against businesses with non-members and being converted to a business corporation.

The amendments permit such cooperatives to purchase products from other non-member producers by deeming such products to have been purchased directly from the cooperative's members, to the extent that such purchases do not exceed the amount of product, as measured by consideration, paid for by the products that the members of the cooperatives could have produced and sold to the cooperative but for the marketing plan. By permitting the cooperative to deem such business with non-members as business with members, the members of the cooperative will benefit in so far as any profit generated by the co-op may be a dividend passed on to its members.

Subsection 144(8) excludes worker cooperatives from the rule against business with non-members. A similar rule for worker cooperatives appears in a new section, 144.1.

Finally, subsection 144(9) excludes non-profit housing cooperatives from the application of this section. A special rule for non-profit housing cooperatives appears in section 144.2.

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The First Deputy Chair: Are there any questions or comments for the honourable parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Financial Institutions? If there are none, shall section 17, with the amendments, be carried?

Motion agreed to.

The First Deputy Chair: Shall section 17, as amended, stand as part of the bill?

Section 17, as amended, agreed to.

Section 18:

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves that the bill be amended by adding the following section after section 144.1 of the Co-operative Corporations Act, as set out in section 18 of the bill:

"Non-profit housing cooperatives

"144.2(1) No non-profit housing cooperative shall, over a period of three years or more, conduct 50 per cent or more of its business with non-members of the cooperative.

"Idem

"(2) Subsection 144(2) applies, with necessary modifications, for the purposes of this section."

Are there any explanations?

Mr Owens: Section 144.2 establishes the rules against businesses with non-members for the non-profit housing cooperatives. A non-profit housing cooperative must, over a period of three years, conduct at least 50% or more of its business with members. Unlike other cooperatives, however, where a non-profit housing cooperative fails to comply with the rule, the minister does not have the discretion to convert the cooperative to either a business corporation or a corporation governed under part III of the Corporations Act. The minister's only option is to seek a court order for compliance pursuant to section 178 of the Act. This difference in the rule against businesses with non-members for non-profit housing cooperatives is consistent with the policy

of preserving existing stock of non-profit cooperative housing.

The First Deputy Chair: Shall the amendment to section 18 carry?

Motion agreed to.

The First Deputy Chair: Shall section 18, as amended, stand as part of the bill?

Section 18, as amended, agreed to.

Section 19 agreed to.

Section 20:

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves that subsection 151(5) of the Co-operative Corporations Act, as set out in section 20 of the bill, be struck out and the following substituted:

"Non-profit housing cooperatives

"(5) A non-profit housing cooperative may not amend its articles to do anything described in clause (1)(l), (m) or (n) or amend its articles so that the cooperative is no longer a non-profit housing cooperative as defined in section 1(1) and no attempt to do so is effective."

Are there any explanations? Any questions and/or comments? Shall the section, as amended, carry?

Motion agreed to.

The First Deputy Chair: Shall section 20, as amended, stand as part of the bill?

Section 20, as amended, agreed to.

Section 21:

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves that subsection 156(7) of the Co-operative Corporations Act, as set out in section 21 of the bill, be struck out and the following substituted:

"Non-profit housing cooperatives

"(7) Despite subsection (1), a non-profit housing cooperative may not amalgamate except in accordance with subsection (8).

"Idem

"(8) A non-profit housing cooperative may amalgamate with another non-profit housing cooperative but only if,

"(a) each cooperative has been a non-profit housing cooperative either since it came into existence or since the 2nd day of October, 1992; and

"(b) the cooperatives are continued after the amalgamation as a non-profit housing cooperative."

Motion agreed to.

Section 21, as amended, agreed to.

Section 22 agreed to.

Section 23:

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves that section 171.1 of the Co-operative Corporations Act, as set out in section 23 of the bill, be amended by adding the following subsection:

"Idem

"(2) Section 143 does not apply with respect to non-profit housing cooperatives."

Motion agreed to.

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves that subsection 171.2(2) of the Co-operative Corporations Act, as set out in section 23 of the bill, be struck out and the following substituted:

"Exceptions

"(2) Despite subsection (1), a non-profit housing cooperative may pay a member,

"(a) amounts owed to the member including patronage returns and interest on a member loan or any other loan from the member at a rate not exceeding the prescribed maximum annual percentage; or

"(b) reasonable amounts for goods or services provided by the member."

Motion agreed to.

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moves that section 171.3 of the Co-operative Corporations Act, as set out in section 23 of the bill, be struck out and the following substituted:

"Compensation relating to member unit

"171.3(1) No person shall accept compensation for the withdrawal of membership by a member of a non-profit housing cooperative or for the giving up of possession of a member unit by such a member other than,

"(a) compensation for amounts owed to the member by the cooperative; or

"(b) compensation for furnishings or improvements made by the member if the compensation is reasonable and is approved by the board of directors.

"Compensation from other users

"(2) No person shall accept, in connection with the use of part of a member unit by another person, compensation that exceeds the amount that, having regard to the latter person's use of the housing unit, would be a reasonable share of the housing charges relating to the unit.

"Idem

"(3) No person shall accept, in connection with the use of a member unit, compensation that exceeds the housing charges relating to the unit.

"Excess owed to cooperative

"(4) A person who accepts compensation in contravention of this section shall pay the cooperative an amount equal to the value of the compensation or the excess compensation and that amount is a debt the cooperative may recover in a civil proceeding."

Motion agreed to.

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Mr Elston: On a point of order, Mr Chair: I would request that we accept the balance of amendments as they have been tabled with you and deem them to have been read into the record, and ask unanimous consent just to have all questions put to pass the amendments.

The First Deputy Chair: Is there unanimous consent that all the amendments be deemed as having been read into the record? Agreed.

If that is the agreement of the House, then I shall read at least the title of each of the amendments and then at the end of that ask if they are carried.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, subsections 171.4(2) and (3) of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, sections 171.5, 171.6 and 171.7 of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, subsections 171.8(0.1) of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, subsection 171.8(1), paragraphs (1) to (10) of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, subsections 171.8(3) to (7) of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, subsections 171.9(3) and (4) of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, subsections 171.13(1), (2), (3), (8), (12) and (13) of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, subsections 171.14(1) of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, section 171.14.1 of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Mr Owens moved section 23 of the bill, subsections 171.20(1) and (1.1) of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Section 23, as amended, agreed to.

Section 24:

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moved section 24 of the bill, clause 186(b.3) of the Co-operative Corporations Act.

Motion agreed to.

Section 24, as amended, agreed to.

Section 25:

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moved section 25 of the bill, subsections 2(2) to (4) of the Landlord and Tenant Act.

Motion agreed to.

Section 25, as amended, agreed to.

The First Deputy Chair: Mr Owens moved section 25.1 of the bill.

Motion agreed to.

Section 25.1 agreed to.

Sections 26 and 27 agreed to.

Bill, as amended, ordered to be reported.

On motion by Mr Owens, the committee of the whole reported one bill with certain amendments.

WATERFRONT REGENERATION TRUST AGENCY ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 SUR L'AGENCE FIDUCIAIRE DE RÉGÉNÉRATION DU SECTEUR RIVERAIN

Mrs Grier moved second reading of Bill 1, An Act to establish the Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency / Loi créant l'Agence fiduciaire de régénération du secteur riverain.

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): I am delighted to have an opportunity to debate for second reading this particular piece of legislation. My riding, Etobicoke-Lakeshore, is part of the Toronto waterfront, and as minister responsible for both the environment and the greater Toronto area, I am delighted to have an opportunity to debate this bill. I look forward to what I am sure is going to be widespread support, because the bill is the product of a very non-partisan process.

The Royal Commission on the Future of the Toronto Waterfront was established as a federal royal commission in 1988 in response to a recommendation from Prime Minister Mulroney. In October 1989, Premier Peterson recognized both the value of the work of the Crombie commission and the fact that in following its mandate from the federal government of examining the Toronto waterfront the finding was very clear that you can't look at the waterfront and the rehabilitation of the waterfront and the future of the waterfront without also looking at the watershed. So in October 1989, Premier Peterson expanded the mandate of the royal commission, and Mr Crombie had the fairly unique honour of being a royal commissioner to both the federal government and the provincial government of Ontario. From that Conservative and then Liberal, the honoured recipient of Mr Crombie's report and recommendations was, of course, our government, represented by myself.

What we have today flowing from that amazing agreement of the worth of this work and the worth of the project and the validity of the recommendations is a bill to establish a trust to assist in the regeneration of this waterfront, a waterfront that stretches many miles from the Niagara Escarpment to the Ganaraska watershed, a waterfront that has been much forgotten and much neglected over the years, a waterfront that reflects the history of this area and the need for a regeneration trust. The word "regeneration," of course, flows from the final report of the Crombie commission, which is entitled Regeneration.

1910

While one wonders on an occasion like this what one can say and how one can word one's support for the legislation, you find in this particular case that there are no better words to use than those of the authors of the royal commission report themselves. On the back of the document they describe regeneration in these words: "It is difficult to imagine a time of greater need for waterfront generation and a better opportunity to do it right." The work of the Royal Commission on the Future of the Toronto Waterfront highlights the links that exist between city and nature; among people, the economy, health and environmental sustainability. It promotes the ecosystem approach

to achieve both environmental regeneration and economic recovery. It suggests new ways of doing things, round table processes to bring agencies, the public and business together, integration of environmental and land use planning and partnerships to get things done.

In this final report, the Honourable David Crombie recommends ways to regenerate the region's waterfront by cleaning up the rivers and Lake Ontario, establishing greenways and trails throughout the bioregion, protecting and restoring habitats, enhancing sense of place through historical connections, social diversity, attractive vistas and good design and, finally, stimulating the regional economy through new green infrastructure, environmentally friendly enterprise, transportation and waterfront housing.

That is why it is so important that we establish the kind of trust that is envisaged by Bill 1. One of the things that Mr Crombie found and identified very clearly in the clear and graphic descriptions in his report was what he called jurisdictional gridlock: the inability to make progress because of the plethora of governments and agencies that were there. Having said that, I hasten to add that I do not see the regeneration trust as adding to that gridlock. It is not intended to be another level of approvals. It is in fact a facilitator, an agency with a mandate to cut through some of that gridlock and to take action on the recommendations, to implement the ecosystem approach that is envisaged in the report.

The mandate of the trust is very clear and is set out in Bill 1. It is that, using an ecosystem approach, the trust will offer a number of opportunities to advance the province's environmental and economic agendas on the waterfront by integrating environmental land use and transportation planning, by coordinating the implementation of the Lake Ontario greenway and trail, by expediting decisions on waterfront issues and by creating waterfront partnership agreements among municipalities, the province and others to achieve waterfront objectives.

Those four principles are in fact the four specific tasks that we have asked the trust—and we have asked Mr Crombie to head up the trust agency—to embark upon as a first stage. The initial focus will be on the completion of the planning for the area that has been identified as Garrison Common: lands that are held in a combination of public agencies from the CNE to Ontario Place to Old Fort York, plus private interests that own land there; lands that have amazing opportunity for regeneration and for revitalization.

But that revitalization will only happen if there is some coordinated planning and some entity that can pull those plans together. I regret the news today that Toronto is not to be the site of Expo '98. I certainly had hoped that as we planned Garrison Common, Expo might have provided both a catalyst and an objective which we could work towards, but I would like to make it plain on behalf of the government that we certainly see the need to continue with the planning for Garrison Common and to bring together all of the agencies involved in that, despite our disappointment at the loss of Expo.

The second specific function we have asked the trust to undertake is the transportation corridor study, a study of the central waterfront area where a lot of the focus has

been on the future of the Gardiner Expressway, an expressway that was identified by Mr Crombie as being a physical and almost an attitudinal barrier to access to the waterfront. The results of that study indicate how that access east-west across the waterfront can be retained but perhaps in a way that does not create the physical barrier provided by the Gardiner, but that too of course is a long-term objective.

I think it's important to identify that much of the work of the trust will be looking to the future, dealing with specific issues in the near future but also planning for the long term and putting place policies and structures and principles that will guide us well into the future. None are more important than the regeneration of the shoreline, the project from which the title of the report is taken; that includes a very broad mandate, looking at the health of the shoreline, coming up with a study as to how we can move to regenerate the shoreline and at the same time enhance public access, make it clean, diverse, usable, accessible waterfront, the eight principles that Mr Crombie has endorsed, and include in that, of course, the concept of a greenway along the waterfront, a greenway that would include but not be constrained only to a trail.

While obviously a trail would be very much part of that, I think what Mr Crombie has done in his report is broaden our understanding that greenways are more than merely trails with broad shoulders, that they are places where diversity of vegetation can be encouraged, where there can be diversity of wildlife, where there can be busy parts and active activities on the waterfront, as well as quiet areas of solitude and contemplation. The linkage of the very many public, open spaces that currently exist on the waterfront is envisaged to stretch not only along the waterfront but up the river valleys, back to the Oak Ridges moraine linking the Niagara Escarpment and the trail system that was pioneered 25 years ago by the Bruce Trail Association with the other network of trails that is evolving across the province.

I was very pleased last week to have been able to release new lakefilling guidelines and sediment quality guidelines. Those are certainly very key instruments in achieving the kind of clean waterfront that is envisaged by the waterfront trust and that is required if we are to regenerate the waterfront.

I want to talk a little bit about trusts because they are not a very common entity in Ontario, though they are in other areas. Trusts have been very much a part of the conservation activities in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Bermuda, the United States and part of Canada. They vary widely in structure and organization, from the National Trust in Britain with a staff of 6,000 and properties all across and around the British Isles, to some 700 land trusts in the United States, most of which are locally based and have very small budgets.

All trusts have a legislative base, which is why Bill 1 is so important. Typically they are charitable, non-government organizations involved often in the acquisition of land or in the holding of land, which is one of the responsibilities that the act allows the waterfront regeneration trust to do, but essentially they are agencies for the preservation and

conservation and to hold in trust the public resource of land and particularly in this case waterfront land.

The model we are establishing today through Bill 1 is one that has its mandate restricted to the area generally encompassed by the greater Toronto area; as Bill 1 says, land that is related to the shore of Lake Ontario, extending from Burlington Bay in the west to the Trent River in the east. But I think it is fair to say that the example we are setting by the establishment of this trust is one that is going to be closely watched in other jurisdictions, one that may well set a model worth following by other areas that have as their objectives the protection, conservation and regeneration of waterfront lands, that are concerned about the need to consult with the public and determine the public interest and the environmental integrity of waterfront and other lands, areas across the province that see the need in their jurisdiction to coordinate programs and policies relating to waterfront lands and areas that want to have an agency to facilitate the establishment of green and open spaces along the waterfront or along the river valleys may well find that a trust such as that envisaged in Bill 1 is one that suits their purposes as well.

I'd be pleased, as this debate continues, to answer questions or respond to concerns that the opposition parties may have, but as I have said, this act and this commission had their genesis in a Conservative federal government and a Liberal provincial government. I'm very pleased on behalf of our government to participate in this debate and I look forward to widespread support on all sides of the House. Thank you very much.

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The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Questions and/or comments?

Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean): As my contribution to the debate, I just want to recall a little story, because Mr Crombie was mentioned very often and I think he's been involved in this business. He spoke not too long ago in Ottawa to members of the National Capital Commission and to politicians about his experience when he was first appointed. Everybody was talking about ecosystems. The minister tonight as well mentioned that word, "ecosystems." So David Crombie said: "Gee, ecosystems, ecosystems. Everybody's talking about it. I'm a politician. I'm in favour. What is it?"

I think this points out that we should explain to a lot of people who are not familiar with the terminology and all the slang that's being used by certain environmental groups that "ecosystem" in essence means that all things are related. That obviously is an extremely important concept, that you just can't touch on one element without having an effect on many other elements. That's really the idea of ecosystems, and that's why I think Mr Crombie came to realize the importance of this theme and of this topic. I think that's what the minister was referring to, and I just wanted to put on the record this little insight from Mr Crombie.

The Acting Speaker: Before we begin with the questions and comments, I beg the indulgence of the House to

try to keep the noise down a bit. It's hard to hear the members who are speaking and trying to debate Bill 1.

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): What the minister talks about sounds wonderful and probably has some merit to it, but the problem is that she mentioned it's a concept something like the Bruce Trail. The Bruce Trail started out as a good concept and people were excited that they could hike from Niagara Falls to Tobermory. But then along came the Niagara Escarpment Commission and ruined the whole thing. I'm hoping something like this doesn't turn out to be a fiasco like the Niagara Escarpment Commission, which takes property rights away from people; there's no doubt about it.

If this thing's going to be in the same category, I would have a hard time supporting it. But maybe the minister will tell us later on that this isn't going to happen, as I hope it won't, because the escarpment, as I said, has taken away rights from people in our area and all along the escarpment. It's put a black mark on the Bruce Trail. The Bruce Trail now doesn't get the support in my area that it used to get.

When it started, as I said, it was an excellent idea so that people could get out of the cities and get into the different areas of the country and hike and have a good time. Then what happened was somebody got greedy. They didn't want to have to look at new homes, maybe, as they walked along the trail, so they got this idea about the Niagara Escarpment. The concept of the escarpment wasn't too bad, but then they put a commission in, people who aren't responsible to anyone, people who make decisions that aren't proper and that take away the rights of people in my area and all along the escarpment. So I hope something like this doesn't turn out the same fiasco we've had with the Niagara Escarpment.

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I share my colleague's concerns, especially in light of the fact that Bill 1 allows within it considerable powers that are vested with this agency by virtue of cabinet order and regulations established exclusively by cabinet, privately by cabinet, and if there is any indication in the manner in which this government has consulted in the past on very sensitive matters, then it would be clear that the government already has its agenda. To that extent, one should realize that this government very clearly does not recognize property rights in this province and that this whole agency—I don't wish to taint the agency as much as I wish to suggest that the government of the day will drive this agency with the regulations it establishes, and those regulations very clearly will be predisposed to riding roughshod over people who own property.

I might point out that these are not just people of wealth who, having worked hard to acquire it, are sitting on properties worth considerable value. These are people who have bought a modestly priced condominium, who are situated directly on the lake, and who are going to realize that their privacy is in jeopardy and that their condominium corporation now has some liability concerns. I would like to ask the minister, in spite of her enthusiasm for all the noble principles associated with this bill, that she undertake to assure this House somewhere in the record that her

predisposed socialist bias towards riding roughshod over property rights in this province won't manifest itself in those cabinet regulations.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): I have just one point. It may have been a slip when the minister was talking, but in reviewing the nine principles that have been presented by Commissioner Crombie, you said eight principles. I just want to see if there is any dispute between you and the commissioner on the number of principles. The commissioner stated what those principles were, and I think they make tremendously good sense: clean, green, usable, diverse, open, accessible, committed, affordable and attractive. If you're thinking of omitting one of those, I'd be very interested in knowing which one it would be and why you would want to take one of them out. The sense is that he has tried to give a balanced view that says environmentally but also historically understandable, and also something in the context of a great municipality such as we have here. The minister indicated that there were eight principles; I hope she can clarify that there are really nine she is endorsing that are part of the regeneration concept.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable Minister of the Environment has two minutes to respond.

Hon Mrs Grier: Let me assure the member for Markham that it was merely that I couldn't count adequately. I endorse all of the principles for an ecosystem approach and a clean waterfront espoused by Mr Crombie and I apologize to Mr Crombie if I said eight when I should have said nine.

To the member for Burlington South, who talks in meaningless words about my predisposal to ride roughshod over private property, all I can say about that is: nonsense. If he is concerned about this agency, then I ask him to perhaps examine more clearly the principles espoused in the regeneration trust document, which I'm sure he's read, or he would not have wanted to participate in the debate.

To the member for Grey, let me also reject categorically his characterization of the Niagara Escarpment Commission. The Niagara Escarpment Commission, let me remind him, is composed of a number of members who are elected by their municipalities along the range of the escarpment, and the others are appointed as members at large by this government subject to an examination process by a standing committee of this Legislature and responsible through me to this Legislature.

Let me end by thanking the member for Nepean most kindly for his understanding of the ecosystem concept. I hope that his wisdom and understanding would spread to some of his colleagues.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

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Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): I don't know whether I would wish to join the debate on the Niagara Escarpment, although I must point out to the honourable Minister of the Environment that what my friend the member for Grey has raised is the issue that comes to the heart of a whole series of these commissions, that is, how does a non-elected body—because the commissioner really is ap-

pointed; the elected representatives on the body are appointed on behalf of the various councils and otherwise; it is an appointed body. But how do they come to grips with the conflict of interests that really surround the idea of a national trust? She has indicated that they exist all over the place in this fine world of ours, but they are not without their own controversies.

Although I don't want to join the issue of how effective or ineffective the Niagara Escarpment is, what I do wish to point out is that I agree fully with my friend the member for Grey when he raises the spectre of the difficulties which are generated by the problems associated with determining who has access to lands which are privately owned and subject, at least in some way, to the trust.

I have a whole series of issues that should really be discussed under Bill 1. I'm cognizant of the time that has been taken to this point on the debate on second reading and I know that as a result of the delay in getting this far we shouldn't have long debates, but there are certain things that I think must be at least raised as issues of concern.

I have been interested in Mr Crombie for quite some time because he has had a very illustrious career, known as the Tiny Perfect Mayor in his days in the great city that we now stand in, and known for his accomplishments in bringing communities together in dealing with issues that have a whole series of problems associated with them which would probably have overcome some other, more experienced people in his days as mayor. But he overcame them all in many ways and gained a reputation for being a man of considerable achievement, a person dedicated to public will being carried forward in a way that was even-handed and otherwise.

It is against that backdrop that we come to David Crombie as he is now, the Honourable David Crombie, because of his experience in the federal cabinet in a Conservative administration. He and I have something in common. He ran for his party and didn't quite make it; I ran for mine and didn't quite make it. The difference between our ways at the moment is that while we think as politicians that upon retirement we would look for Eden, he has not only found his Eden, he is in fact in charge of reconstructing the Eden in which he dwells. He has found a way of getting the appointment from his federal colleagues, jointly paid for in those early days by the Liberal administration of that day. He has now found in his report a sense of public acceptance which allows the New Democrats of this province to set up this trust, for which he will receive the head decision-maker's pay. Whatever he is paid for it, I'm sure he will be well worth every penny he receives.

That having been said, it reminds me that the honourable Minister of the Environment doesn't understand the difference between non-partisan and multipartisan activity involved in the waterfront. Each of the parties, Conservative, Liberal and New Democrat, and I dare say even some of the environmental parties whose names have not been formally registered, I guess, in our political system provincially or federally, probably support David Crombie as the head of—

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): There's only one true green party in Ontario and that's the New Democrats.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please.

Mr Elston: The honourable member for Algoma was merely expressing the concern that the current New Democratic administration is certainly showing signs of being green in the way it conducts its business, and I actually support that. He and I see eye to eye on a whole series of issues. That was one I was not going to raise.

Just to get back to the point of the debate, multiparty support for Mr Crombie has allowed him to carry his report to the level that it has gone to this point. His continuing support will be necessary if he is to continue to broker the various interests that form along the waterfront. I only wish to suggest to him that he will need not only his considerable skill, honed as mayor and as an elected federal member and then as a federal minister and then as the waterfront's first appointee, to try to straighten out what were perceived to be difficulties and I think which now are acknowledged as difficulties, as he performs his new roles.

The member for Burlington South talked about the extensive powers given under section 1 of the bill. I think he meant to say "under the objects clause, under section 4." I had to go back and flip over the page because I didn't see anything in section 1 on its own that gives any powers at all; it merely talks about definitions of agencies, ministers, waterfront lands etc. The objects of this whole bill are contained in section 4, and then section 5 goes on to give this particular agency all of the powers necessary to carry out those objects. That, in fact, is where there is considerable authority.

However, the real problem with this bill is that it doesn't guarantee any access to funds, and the access to funds is going to be critical if there is going to be not only a brokering of interest but ultimately a bringing together of interests in a way that will make sure this will be an entire project seen as an ecosystem project from outside of this particular country.

I note with some dismay the fact that the current government is doing with this organization what it has tried to do with several others. I can't fault them alone because the Tories before us and the Liberals before the New Democrats, I think fell into the sense of the modern government which pushed away responsibility for day-to-day affairs being decided upon by the elected authorities and created what were described as arm's-length institutions.

This is another arm's-length institution in that if there is some decision taken that isn't popular, the minister of the day—and in this particular situation the Minister of the Environment, under section 2, is the minister responsible—can stand up in answering questions and say: "No, no. That's the job of the Honourable David Crombie; he is at arm's length from us and he will make the decision." It sounds a little bit like the story we get with respect to waste and the waste authority, which the minister is fond of now quoting in relation to being arm's length and, as a

result, her being unable to effect any kind of policy or directional change by that institution.

I think we have to be quite clear. This trust will be as effective as it is funded. This trust will be as good as the word of the current government in its support for Mr Crombie. He can do marvellous things. He can accomplish a whole series of brokering of individual interests to an extent that looks marvellous on paper, but it will not be delivered unless there is a commitment of funding. My fear at this particular stage with this act is that it is indeed forcing all of these items to be pushed off into the future. In fact, without money you can only dream of the future and waste the present, where we are now finding ourselves so much afflicted by difficulties along that waterfront.

What are those difficulties? I think you know them as well as I do. The honourable member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore in her capacity as Minister of the Environment identified a few. There is the Gardiner, for instance; transportation. There is the design of buildings. Some people will remember that there was a moratorium placed on the development along the waterfront at a particular time by our administration to prevent a cluttering of any further extent by a series of what were described as a group of very unattractive buildings.

I note with some degree of concern that there isn't a lot of attention being paid to my speech. I am prepared to go on much longer, unless people are prepared to be quiet for a few more minutes. I merely want to say—

Interjections.

Mr Elston: Don't bother. We will talk above these guys.

It seems to me that when we come to grips with the types of interests that are here—the ones to build and occupy land along the lakeshore of this province, and here in the city of Toronto and its extended area down to Halton and other places—and you ask yourself who has the right to be accessing this waterfront, who has the right to be on it, who has the right to be on what trails and at what time, how far do the trails extend, how do you deal with the ownership of private land, you're getting yourself right back into the very serious difficulties that have been associated with the Niagara Escarpment and otherwise. We have not been as successful in mediating all of the problems there, and while you may have found the remarks from the member for Grey to be slightly exaggerated or maybe even confrontational, they were in a sense a real expression, in my view, of some of the very popularly held opinions of the people in the ridings of Grey and Bruce and other places along the Niagara Escarpment, because they really do believe that they have, where they have lost their points, been overridden by a public interest that quite honestly doesn't care about them.

This effort must allow Mr Crombie to be an honest broker of the interests as opposed to somebody who implements a decision beyond the interests of particular private owners of land or other things along this waterfront.

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I note with some degree of interest that there isn't a heck of a lot I can do about the noise level in here except to yell louder, but that will only make my remarks slightly

less coherent than they already are, but I do wish to say a couple of more things. In the end—

The Acting Speaker: I ask the member to be seated for a moment. I would like to bring to the attention of the members of the House that the honourable member for Bruce not only has the floor, but is trying to respond to the minister on this important Bill 1. It would help if conversations could take place outside the chamber; that way we could hear the honourable member for Bruce.

Interjection.

Mr Elston: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I'm not going to be that much longer. I was just asked how much longer I am going to be.

[Applause]

Mr Elston: I'm prepared to read into the record my entire Hamilton convention speech if I get any more applause. I think that should be enough to still the entire place. If you're not careful, I'll read the whole thing.

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): What happened after your speech?

Mr Elston: We had 12 hours of wonderful time. The member for Rainy River asked what happened after my leadership speech. We had a long session that resulted in my being not quite able to count to 20, like somebody else couldn't count to 20 last week. But that's another issue and in the end we both kind of lost the day, as I recall it.

There are some very important issues, extremely important for us to say we support Mr Crombie in his efforts. It may be sort of, if I can still use the expression, motherhood. You know, it is important that we do something with our waterfront; it's important that we have an idea of how the public is going to have access to it; it's important that we don't look at the backside of the waterfront development, as we do these days, from the Gardiner and be offended by a sort of unsightliness.

But as you manoeuvre yourself on a boat cruise on the waterfront, you look at this more spectacular view. To be quite honest, I'm a bit offended by the fact that the people who are able to live very close on the other side, on the Lakeshore side of the Gardiner, have this marvellous view, but the people who view the back side of those buildings don't see anything at all. I support the Minister of the Environment in her sense that something ought to be done so that people can see more than the backsides of the buildings. It's a marvellous view from the lakecraft. It's a beautiful downtown view you see, skyscrapers here and there. It makes a wonderful picture for the promotional materials, but if you're on the Gardiner, it's not quite as nice.

If you happen to go down to Sunnyside Beach and you take a look at what's going on, it's not a bad view if you're looking along east and west from that areas, but it isn't very pleasant when you're confronted by those warning signs that say "Please do not go near the water" because it's closed.

We heard the honourable Minister of the Environment talk about a clean waterfront, but we didn't hear the honourable member talk about what is critical to a dynamic waterfront, and that is clean water. It's something I know she's committed to but about which we have heard almost

nothing. While Mr Crombie can take a whole series of initiatives with respect to the waterfront, it is going to be difficult to convince visitors to this city, or in fact the greater Toronto area, that we have improved anything along the waterfront if those warning signs are up saying "Please don't go in the water" as soon as the May 24 weekend hits our fair province.

The filth in the water is related to the types of problems that are associated with urban growth.

Mr Cousens: When the Liberals took over, look what a mess they made of it.

Mr Jackson: Don't go swimming in it.

Mr Elston: You guys have a problem?

The water itself and the quality of that water is absolutely critical to the vibrancy of the waterfront. While we take a look at the waterfront, we are forced to go up the river, as the honourable Minister of the Environment indicated, but we're forced to go not just up the rivers—in this case, I think Mr Crombie is being sent up the river without a chequebook, but that's another issue—we have to go right to the headwaters of the Don and of the Credit and all of those rivers that will be the focus of his attention.

We have to guard the Oak Ridges moraine, we have to decide whether or not there is not some pre-eminent provincial interest in making sure that the headwaters of all our ecosystems in this watershed and in the series of watersheds are protected from being deviated by excessive development and other things. If we have no headwaters of all these rivers that people know about here in the city and other places, then we have no rivers. If we put all that water underground into giant sewers, storm sewers or whatever, or drainage tiles, then there is no ecosystem. If we don't guard against the elimination of the headwaters, then the work of Mr Crombie is really not going to be for very much.

The issue is much larger than just having a trust that deals with the waterfront and a few of the rivers. It takes us right back to the beginning sources of these waterways. It also takes us to the fact, if I can again reflect on it, that the Minister of the Environment is going to be critically necessary to the success of this. She will not and cannot stand here and say we have an independent, arm's-length trust that is looking after all of these issues for us. She must provide the very basic understanding and commitment in terms of finances which will be required to make sure that the rivers even exist in 25 years.

This takes us back to some of the remarks we made earlier about the municipal omnibus bill. She is going to have to undertake that there will be provincial money set aside to allow us to repair the damage caused by a lack of separation of our sewage. We have storm water running into our sanitary sewer system. We have sewage running into our storm water system. We have sewage moving right into our rivers. As long as that is allowed, we will end up having difficulty convincing people that we are serious about having a vibrant waterfront activity going on.

I have a whole lot of other things I could talk about. The dirty beaches and everything like that, though, for me represent the sign of progress. It's difficult. It's a long-term problem we're going to have to wrestle with. But unless

that is dealt with, how can we market ourselves as having any priority for this ecosystem or whatever it is described as in the public brochures?

I wish Mr Crombie well. I wish him well in dealing with the four other people who will be with him on this group. I guess the board of directors technically will manage his life for him. I suspect, knowing Mr Crombie, that he will sit down, organize, put forward some objectives both in the short term and the long term which he will hope to deliver upon, but I expect we will be hearing from Mr Crombie with respect to how well he's going to be able to perform his tasks with the allocation of funds that he will be allowed.

I'm worried, just as I was with the municipal stuff, that one of the powers given is that the agency can borrow money. Mr Crombie will be able to borrow money on the strength of a Treasurer's guarantee. What that tells me is that there isn't going to be a lot of desire by the current administration to fund this organization with taxpayers' dollars except indirectly through the guarantee, and if there is a problem in making repayments, which I suspect there will be, by this trust, we will find that the Treasurer will try and maintain himself a comfortable distance away from the Honourable David Crombie and his undertakings.

I raise these as issues of concern, and only concern, because we in the end support an initiative to try and take control of this waterfront in terms of a long-term view of our world. We are losing much too quickly places for our citizens to dwell in a more pastoral setting. We are losing much too quickly the purity of our water. We are losing our water, period, as we see a whole series of companies shipping clean Canadian water in tanker trucks to the United States for a marvellous amount of money. But in the end, if this allows us to assert some degree of provincial authority with respect to maintaining but a very small part of this province—let's face it, it's a heavily populated part of the province but a very small part of the province—and control it in a way which will preserve it, in fact not only preserve but enhance it, so that we can have people who can go swimming in it or at least not be afraid of having their kids walk ankle-deep in the very edges of it, then we will have accomplished something.

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We support it. As I said, I raise the concerns only because the concerns, in my view, leave Mr Crombie with an unenviable series of meetings in the immediate future and an endless series of brokering-type meetings not only with individual municipalities like the city of Toronto or the city of Etobicoke, Oakville or any of these others, but also with conservation authorities who are now, as we all know, under a considerable amount of pressure because of funding issues. While this is in front of us now and while we're told it is for the future, my concern is that there is perhaps only the will to make this an instrument to take the current administration to the future with the minimum exposure to funding requirements.

Mr Speaker, I now cede the floor to others to speak on this. This is much more critically important than people know, and the experiment with David Crombie, while I know it represents for him a great place for a retirement

activity, is much more than that. I know the Honourable David Crombie has much more to contribute to the public in this way and, in fact, I believe he will be successful if he is sustained by the administration.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments? The honourable Minister of the Environment.

Hon Mrs Grier: Mr Speaker, I'd just like to thank the member for Bruce for his contribution to this debate and for his support for the legislation. Let me assure him that I think this legislation and the role that the trust will play follow very logically from the sustainable development initiatives at the Ontario round table, which he, like me, had the honour to chair at one time and which is entirely consistent with that philosophy.

I do want to set one point clear, because there have been a number of references to the Niagara Escarpment Commission. I think it would be unfortunate if we didn't clarify very early in this debate that there is no real analogy between the Niagara Escarpment Commission and this trust. The Niagara Escarpment Commission has an ability to regulate the use of private land, and that is not going to be a responsibility or a power of the trust. It is simply providing an advisory, facilitating role.

Let me say to the member for Bruce that Mr Crombie is far from retirement, and certainly this will be a very active role for him. Let me reassure the member that the startup budget of the trust is going to be \$2 million, with specific funding for projects which indeed, as the member correctly says, will need to be brokered or discussed between ministries from which those projects are being carried out.

I also want to respond to his comments about water quality and assure him that I recognize very clearly, as does this government, that an accessible, green waterfront needs clean water to which one can have access. The initiatives that I've already announced with respect to pollution prevention initiatives, the determination of the toxic 21 candidate chemicals for ban or phaseout, the announcement just this week of funding for such things as detention tanks for combined sewers in various places not only in Lake Ontario but in other parts of the Great Lakes, and the lakefill and sediment quality guidelines that I mentioned had been released when I was making my comments on the speech will all contribute to that objective.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments? The member for Cochrane South.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): I want to go to the very beginning, because I'd like to have something clarified from the member who spoke on this particular issue. At the beginning he was talking about the difference between appointed and elected boards, and I'm just wondering where he was going with that. Was he advocating that somehow or other there should be a process set up by which those boards would be elected or would they be appointed?

The only reason I raise the point is because I know I've heard the debate around here before, and also within the community, on the difference between those particular kinds of boards in regard to them being appointed or elected. There's a net benefit in appointing, in bringing the

expertise together and making sure you can get the representation from across the community on those particular boards and the expertise that you need in order to carry out the business. But on the elected side, I think I understand what the member was saying, which is that in order to ensure a certain amount of democracy—perhaps you could just clarify that in your comments, because I don't think the point was made very clearly.

The Acting Speaker: Are there questions and/or comments? If there are none, the honourable member for Bruce has two minutes for response.

Mr Elston: To clarify the comment, I was acting only as an honest mediator between the Minister of the Environment and the member for Grey. They were worried about whether there were elected or appointed members on the escarpment. They are all appointed, although some serve as elected members in their local councils. That was all I was saying.

The issues around what has or hasn't been done lead me a little bit to note that we have as many, and probably more, problems environmentally now in this province than we did when Jim Bradley, my colleague from St Catharines, was Minister of the Environment. There hasn't been a lot of energy focused on eliminating the problems with respect to water quality, which the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore used to speak of so eloquently when she was the opposition critic for Environment.

It used to be that it was unacceptable to have any lakefilling whatsoever. That has changed. It used to be that there were going to be clear air acts and clean drinking water acts and a whole series of things. I merely wanted to indicate that we seem to have slipped a little, and Mr Crombie's work is going to be affected negatively if there isn't a picking up of those initiatives.

I was reminded by the member for Halton Centre that there was supposed to have been an environmental bill of rights, which hasn't quite yet seen the light of day. I'm worried that while all of these things, great and otherwise, put in Bill 1 might very well happen, so far what has happened in the first two years of the New Democratic administration is a slipping away from the dedication that we had at one time noted from the honourable member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore.

I have just one other point. I read the "powers" clause. It says, "Except as limited by this act, the agency has all the powers that are necessary or expedient for carrying out its objects." And under section 4, the objects are many. That could lead to a whole series of problems in the future.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Cousens: In considering this bill, Bill 1, An Act to establish the Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency, you have to put it into context, the much larger context that has to concern all people. Consider what happened at Rio, where representatives from around the world came to think about the future of our planet Earth and what we can do in society to make sure this gift we have of this land here in Canada, but wherever it exists—that all of us have a very fundamental responsibility to ensure we pass on something better to our children than what we received, and not take

for granted the very life systems, these ecosystems, and what it takes for one interdependent living being upon another. In all these contexts, whether it be in Canada, the United States or any other part of the world, there must be a common desire to preserve and protect it so that there is something available to future generations.

So we come a little bit chastised after Rio, understanding that the world is a far cry from being perfect, that commitment from governments is not as deep as one would have hoped. One of the best speeches that came out of Rio was that of David Suzuki's own daughter, which was in one of the Saturday papers. It was probably one of the best statements of any person whose speech I've read from Rio, and truly expressed the need for all of us to commit everything we've got to Mother Earth and to the future of civilization through the preservation of things that make this Earth live.

2000

The problems are great, and as we address this waterfront regeneration trust, we put that into a much bigger context, knowing there are other things that need to be done as it pertains to the air, to the land and to other laws and acts that can be placed into law to make sure that governments and business and people, wherever they are, are doing what they can to rebuild what was once given to us and our forefathers.

Many things are going on within our society that are obtaining the support of a cross-section of people, but within our school system especially. You're seeing young people think green, and what they're doing in the schools now, through their practice, through their teaching, through their involvement in the community shows what can happen when you start with young people, because they're teaching their parents and others in society of the need to recycle, and to recover and rebuild, to do all those things that are part of the 3Rs.

I'm now, though, at the point where, when we come into this Legislature, we have to be very grateful for the leadership that has been given by David Crombie: one-time mayor of Toronto, federal member of Parliament, cabinet minister and now someone who helped write this document, Regeneration, and other parts of the commission reports. It isn't easy reading but it's good reading, and people who take in what goes on at different levels of government could benefit greatly from the content of this book. I commend the federal government and the province and all levels that have helped support the statements that are made here and the kind of thinking that goes behind it.

I have a few criticisms that I will table as I go into my presentation, but this is the basis of the bill before us. The thinking within that is very progressive, and indeed if you want to think green, it certainly has the green message loud and clear.

What we're talking about in this bill—it's too bad you can't see it perfectly from there, Mr Speaker—is that part around Lake Ontario from Hamilton Harbour over to the Trent River. Within this you begin to see—

Interjection: Don't forget the Rideau.

Mr Cousens: Well, the Rideau goes down a little further, my good friend, but it's another one we've got to

protect. Yesterday you happened to have a little something for Smiths Falls, so you got a bit of a smile from the Minister of the Environment.

But what we're talking about here are all the tributaries and all those things from the Niagara Escarpment right over here to the Ganaraska feed into Lake Ontario. We have to understand that there are many rivers and streams, some of which have been destroyed over the years. The Don River is an example of that, and the book goes into the story of the Don, just a terrible statement on how we and our forefathers callously disregarded the breath of life that comes to waterways through the very tributaries that lead into those rivers.

At the head of the Don River is the large Keele Valley landfill site. It's just sitting on top of the headwaters of the Don River. There you have the largest landfill site in Canada sitting on those headwaters, and if there should be a breach in the seal of the clay that protects those headwaters from the leachate that is gathering there, then what we're going to see is a contamination that comes right down through the whole Don River.

The protectionism that people feel for the Rouge Valley and the Rouge River and all the tributaries that feed there is another sense in which society has begun to recognize the need for a national park, a place which we protect in the middle of this large urban landscape for ever—protect it from being built up, protect it from erosion, protect it from men and women and children, protect it for the natural state that it can be and should be in.

What we've seen in Mr Crombie's report is a statement that begins to express some of the thinking that, if it's not too late, can be the basis of a future for the waterfront from Burlington Bay right through to the Trent River. To that extent, the intentions that have been presented by the Minister of the Environment and minister responsible for the greater Toronto area are honourable and certainly ones that I want to support. When you hear those words, they ring true. When you hear the sense of commitment that is coming through from Mr Crombie, as rephrased by the Minister of the Environment as she read sections from this book tonight, one can sense there is a feeling that is genuine. I strongly support that feeling, and when it comes time to vote for this bill, in spite of the many things I'm going to say against it, it is the intention that I'm supporting. The bill itself leaves me very, very worried on a number of fronts, but I would not want to be seen opposing that intention and so we'll support the bill.

Notwithstanding that, I have concerns with how we can implement so many of these recommendations. One of the recommendations that has been made within Regeneration is the whole sense of a round table, where people from different groups and with different perspectives are able to sit around one table, if they are different jurisdictions to have them around the same table, and then deal in a common way with the common problem, and that is the protection and preservation of our waterfront.

To that extent, we really have to make sure that discussion continues to take place and that everyone possible becomes immersed in the dialogue that causes them to make a commitment even further to make sure the right

things are done. The problem we have, and as Mr Crombie has referred to in Regeneration, is the paralysis caused by the problems of bureaucracy and the fragmented jurisdictions.

I don't think the bill before us tonight begins to touch upon that fundamental issue of all the levels of government. That's an issue that has concerned many of us; we keep tripping over ourselves when we've got so many levels. You have all the different regional councils that are going to be involved with this common waterfront. You have federal, provincial, regional municipalities, metropolitan municipalities and cities. Then you get the combination of all these people with different budgets, different financial outlooks, different financial capabilities. What I'd like to somehow see is that when you're trying to have this round table dialogue that there is a common pot of money in the centre of the round table instead of a pot being under everyone's chair, which they can use for whatever they want, whether that be a pot of money or a pot for another purpose. Let there be one common pot so that there is a common direction taken to ensure that everyone is on the same wavelength to rebuild and recreate the principles around the waterfront.

As you look at the principles, I have to say that I strongly endorse the nine principles that have been enunciated within this book. No need to elaborate upon them, but they are there and they are clear, when you think: Keep it clean. Is it green? Is it usable, diverse, open, accessible? The commitment that's there, the affordability of it, the attractiveness and the fact that future developers and future people who have plans around the waterfront will find ways of fitting their plans into these principles right from the beginning.

I'm worried about some of the factors that have come out of the book on regeneration when you have such different approaches now being taken. For instance, Ajax has a 400-foot setback from the lake all along its front. That isn't true in Toronto and it isn't true in other parts. Can we begin to see these municipalities and communities develop a common strategy that will allow them to participate in it? Are we going to begin to see something happen in Scarborough? I now understand that Scarborough is reworking, still, its 1959 official plan, after it has had some 800 amendments to it. Can we not begin to make sure that the regional municipalities of all those municipalities that come close to the waterfront, as has been defined in this bill, begin to readdress their official plans so that they take into consideration the kind of thinking that is implicit in everything Mr Crombie has said? These are actionable items.

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They are all part of what has been described in the book as the jurisdictional gridlock. That's probably the single biggest problem that Canada has. We've got so many governments tripping over each other. In fact, I'm satisfied that we have enough government in Canada and Ontario and our own communities to serve a citizenship of well over 130 million people rather than just less than the 30 million we've got, but we've got to find ways that those levels will begin to work together.

I'm disappointed that today Toronto and Ontario lost Expo '98. I think it would have done a great deal to promote

some of the thinking within this plan. Certainly if we had seen that, the Garrison Common could have been more quickly developed and other actions would have begun. It shouldn't be an excuse though. It should be a time now, inasmuch as it would have become an issue, for this government not to just cry over the spilt milk and the fact that we're not getting Expo '98. Let us now, as a government, take lead action with all those areas around us and begin to set up a doable action plan that is going to actually accomplish the protection of the waterfront. I think the province has to get back in the plan and make sure it happens.

We have major problems continuing, and if we think the problems are going to be solved through a new agency, we're wrong. It's going to continue to take the vigilance of every municipality, every environmentalist, every human being who is dependant upon this watershed to make sure the right things are done. We can't just continue to fill the lake with fill. We've got to understand what impact that is having in the long term. We have to understand that there is a master plan that means something. People will buy into it. People will understand that there couldn't be anything more important to this large urban area than to really optimize and take the best advantage of this waterfront, not just for the appearance's sake but for all that it has to offer future generations.

The bill itself seems rather innocuous. It is the first bill and it is a symbolic bill, as much as anything, because the government tabled it on April 6, when we returned, three weeks after we could have come back. This government didn't decide to return when the calendar had it struck. We could have been back here in the Legislature dealing with this and other legislation far earlier, but the government deemed it necessary to take extra time.

It meant that we have not had a chance to debate the budget meaningfully. There have been a few speeches, but nothing more. We haven't dealt with the budget bills yet. We have not dealt with the labour reform bill; it's been tabled, but we have not had a chance to debate it. We've wasted a tremendous amount of time and this bill, Bill 1, was brought down as the symbolic first gesture of this government's readiness to start to work. Well, we could have started to work three weeks earlier and begun something of the important processes that need to be done for the people of Ontario, but that was not to be the case. Here we are now, in the last several days of this session, dealing with the first bill.

If anything tells you about the inefficiency and the incompetence of a government, it has to do with the fact that we don't begin debate of a bill, if it was so important—and it is. It was tabled April 6 and now we are dealing with it almost three months later. That is in itself a statement about the incompetency of the Honourable—I use that term advisedly—David Cooke, the House leader of the New Democratic Party. If he had any sense, he could have started to schedule legislation for this Legislature far earlier, rather than allow it to get tied up in the horrible knot that we've been caught in for the last several weeks, as he brought in, singlehandedly and under the table and not with the discussion of the other parties, the changes in what is our constitution, the way in which we run this

place. It's almost contemptible. In fact, it is contemptible in that the New Democrats, when they were in opposition, wouldn't have tolerated the kind of railroading that is now part of the New Democratic way of doing business.

It's disappointing and it's part of the breach of promise that the people of Ontario will hold them accountable for next time we go to the polls. The people of Ontario will remember the fact that here is a government that doesn't know how to govern, a government that doesn't know how to organize its business, a government that's full of excuses, a government that has come along and made this place into the angry place it has become. If anyone has any understanding of the breakdowns that have taken place, all they have to do is look at the way the New Democrats and the honourable David Cooke have run the business of this House. It is disgusting in the extreme.

Here we are on Bill 1, which was tabled in the House on April 6, and we're not debating until now, June 23. I find that an affront. If it was that important, they could have brought it in far earlier for debate in this House. It's not the opposition that tables when things are going to be discussed. It is not the opposition that gives the orders of the day. It is the government, and if the government wants to procrastinate and delay, then it's able to do it. The power given to the government on September 6, 1990, in the last election, is an incredibly large power, and when they abuse it as they have in the way in which they schedule and conduct business in this House, it begins to make people wonder why it is we are here and what it is we are doing. Is it any wonder that people don't have a lot of confidence in the way business is conducted in this place?

Bill 1, having been tabled on April 6, really deals with a number of issues. I have a number of concerns. Here is a new agency being created by the government. Could the government accomplish these very same acts and deeds within the existing Ministry of the Environment? Is there any other way in which it could be done without costing the taxpayers as much money as this is going to cost us? Every time you look at some of the key parts of this bill, it talks about money. I would therefore want to know how much this agency is going to cost.

I wonder if the Ministry of the Environment, as the honourable Ruth Grier is here, can indicate if there is a budget for the agency, whether that has been tabled, and whether or not that's something that could be circulated to other members of the House. I would be most interested in knowing what the budget is for this agency; not only the cost to run the agency, but also capital plans that might be expedited by the agency.

Let's look at section 8 of the bill: "The agency shall pay its members who are not employed in the public service of Ontario the remuneration that the Lieutenant Governor in Council determines." Certainly we expect people to be paid, but I have problems when I've seen what this government did with Ontario Hydro. Here we had a board that was part of Ontario Hydro, where competent, capable, qualified people were appointed to positions, and what we now see is the Who's Who of the New Democratic Party sitting on the board of directors of Ontario Hydro. That's what's there.

Hon Mr Wildman: Used to be Tories.

Mr Cousens: The people who are there now are the Who's Who of the New Democratic Party, and that is a systematic program of the New Democrats going across all the agencies across the province to make sure they put their own buddies and their own friends, regardless of their incompetence, on public boards. So if I had some sense that this new agency might be composed of people who didn't win an election for the New Democrats or someone who's unemployed like Dale Martin, who got himself a recent job—I mean, you can just go through the list; there are lots of them. Michael Cassidy's on the board for Ontario Hydro. Maybe you could give him another chance. He's already drawing his pension and he could come in here and do something else.

If this government would actually live by the commitment that Mr Rae made when he was in opposition that people would be appointed to positions and there would be no political partisanship, then there would be a sense that those positions would be well filled by qualified people. I don't have confidence that this government is going to appoint the right kind of people to these agencies. There it is, it's another sinecure for the New Democrats, and I find that a concern.

2020

You start seeing the expenses that are going to be paid. I worry every time you start seeing this government getting close to the coffers. They've already built a deficit for us of over \$11 billion this year. We realize that sometimes you have to spend a dollar in order to do the right thing, but how many dollars are we going to see appropriated for these plans? "The agency may not borrow money or give security against its property except with the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council."

What this bill also has in it are weasel words that allow whatever agency is developed to—though the intent may be very clear and though the Minister of the Environment in her own comments said pretty well everything I could agree with, within the bill there is enough power there to retract, move away, do something different, doublecross. I don't know what you call it. If you talk about a government that's been capable of doublecrossing the people of Ontario, there is plenty of precedent for it. This government knew how to do it when it came along. It's the very thing I'm worried about.

Here is an illustration to prove why I worry. It wasn't that long ago that we were getting ready for the election. Mr Rae was Leader of the Opposition for the New Democrats and had the opportunity to visit south York region, near a landfill site that happens to be known as Keele Valley. While he was there, he said to the good people of Vaughan and York region—and I'm paraphrasing; I don't have the exact words—"I will never allow this landfill site to be expanded without a full environmental assessment." That was what he said. He made that commitment and I'm sure picked up a few votes on that. He was running against one of the very powerful Liberal members at the time, one who was able to withstand that New Democratic push, the lies that were coming out from the New Democratic Party at that time. So the member for York Centre succeeded in winning that election in spite of the fact that the then

Leader of the Opposition, Bob Rae, said, "I will never allow this landfill site to be expanded or built up without a full environmental assessment."

So there's a sense that something went wrong, because with Bill 143, this government has taken a different course of action, certainly not something one would consider fair-minded. It's the breach of trust that I'm talking about in Bill 1, where there is a chance for this government, in spite of all the good words that are stirred into this beautiful bill, in spite of the commitment that comes out of Regeneration and the statements made by David Crombie, the commissioner, in spite of the commitment of all of us to see something done to protect and rebuild our waterfront—in spite of that, we've got the weasel little segments in this bill that will give the minister the discretion to do something different. "The agency may not borrow money or give security against its property except with the approval"—every time you turn around, there is the opportunity for this board to go back to the minister, who can then establish and maintain her own systems accordingly. It worries me.

I would like to table that concern so that the people of this House know long before it happens that we're dealing with a government that has tremendous power and can do what it wants, when it wants, how it wants, and for whatever reason it wants. When that happens, the intentions, as much as they are honourable now, can be reversed, can be changed, and they can do what they want with them. So as we look at Bill 1, I have concerns.

Yesterday the Minister of the Environment made a number of announcements under the guise of being a whole new set of statements, and those announcements really had nothing to do with anything new. These were announcements that had to do with sewer and water systems in the province that would normally be made and done anyway, but the government saw fit to print up press releases and make an announcement in the House as if they were doing something special.

We see the whole infrastructure as it surrounds the greater Toronto area in need of rebuilding and strengthening. We need to see the standards improved, increased and monitored so that the waste that's going through those systems is somehow being improved. But what I see instead is that we will continue to have 99% of our beaches along Lake Ontario closed because the storm water systems still aren't right and no one yet has cottoned on to the fact that as long as you have storm water systems that are mixed in with the sewers, when there are large rainstorms, then you're going to flush those sewers into the waters that people would normally swim in, and we can't do anything about it.

We understand how serious the deterioration is in the sewers within the greater Toronto area. It's tremendously serious, and you begin to realize that as we clean up the water that's going through, it's also causing the sewers to have some of the coatings inside them to be removed and we're going to see a faster deterioration. We've got to see a different approach to protecting the sewers within the greater Toronto area. Road salt: We still haven't dealt with that.

More and more people in the Toronto area are beginning to think their water is unsafe to drink. People are concerned about matters that pertain to water, yet what we see

instead of the Ministry of the Environment accepting responsibility for the waterfront and finding ways of doing it in a frugal, economical way, it is establishing yet another crown corporation that will fall under its aegis to look after the waterfront.

An example of one of the authorities that this government has established is the Interim Waste Authority, and what it has done is also prove that this government doesn't fully understand the significance of the waterfront. One hand doesn't seem to know what the other is doing. You've got the Interim Waste Authority, which has selected some 57 different potential landfill sites within the greater Toronto area in which people from this area, Metro and the whole GTA, will dispose of their waste.

The Ministry of the Environment, through the Interim Waste Authority, has selected possible sites on the Rouge Valley system, some on the Oak Ridges moraine, one right on the skirts of Lake Ontario, and another that's really close to the edge, within several kilometres, of Lake Simcoe. We're talking about this government saying, "We want to protect the waters around the greater Toronto area," yet at the same time that we're debating this bill, hundreds, if not thousands, of people who live in the greater Toronto area are screaming with anger and dismay that this government has not understood the environmental sensitivity of those areas. The Interim Waste Authority has selected 57 sites in York, Durham and Peel, and three of those are going to end up being primary sites for refuse and garbage for the greater Toronto area in these regions, and those areas are on the sensitive lands feeding into the waterways that lead to Lake Ontario. It just doesn't make sense.

It doesn't make sense for a lot of reasons. It doesn't make sense when there is another site outside the greater Toronto area, such as the Adams mine in Kirkland Lake, that is interested in look at the possibility. Let there be an environmental assessment to consider that as an option. But this government has closed off the options. This government won't look at other options. This government won't look at incineration and it won't look at rail shipping of garbage outside the greater Toronto area.

It came out with the fallacious argument that says, "Well, if you're going to look at one, such as the Adams mine, then you'd have to look at Marmora or other sites." No. Look at a willing host, look at a site that's willing to have it and consider the total environmental ramifications of every one of those sites. It is foolhardiness that this government has said, "We'll choose 57 sites, and among those sites are sites on the Rouge Valley system and on the Oak Ridges moraine in environmentally sensitive areas."

It is wrong. Anyone who takes that as if, "Oh, well, it's just the New Democrats"—I tell you, it's a breach of the trust of the people of Ontario that the New Democrats were going to have integrity when it came to subjects green. This government does not have that integrity, and the people of Ontario—you can tell by the demonstration that took place in front of the Legislature today; not a lot of people, but I think the cows spoke as well as anyone, because they had a statement to make and they did it right here on the front steps of the Legislature. They were saying, "Hey, not in our backyard." Well, they did it in our backyard.

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The people of Georgina, the people of York, the people outside Metropolitan Toronto don't want the solutions this government is coming up with. Then we come along with Bill 1 and say, "Here, we're doing something to protect the waterfront."

Meanwhile, the very waters feeding into this waterfront are going to have garbage dumps considered for them. I can't accept that for one minute, and the people who live in the greater Toronto area are appalled that this government would even consider those sites on the Rouge Valley, on the Oak Ridges moraine, the Ganaraska, Lake Ontario or Lake Simcoe as potential garbage dumps. That is wrong. For you to have Bill 1 saying, "We're going to do something to regenerate the waterfront," how can that be meaningful if in fact you're going to have a bunch of garbage dumps considered all around the greater Toronto area?

People will not take this lying down. This government cannot do this to the people of Ontario. They're doing it roughshod, and they come along with the pompous statements of this bill, and what's happening here is not linked to what the Interim Waste Authority is doing.

I'm sorry. I'm a little upset because I happen to live in one of those ridings that happens to have a couple of dumps selected. The people in my community just don't know how to fight it because the system is such that they are unable to react to it, because Bill 143, which was the government's vehicle to act—people have no understanding of how powerful that bill is in taking away rights, in taking away the rights of municipalities, of regions, of the conservation act, the rights of people for ownership of property.

It's just too bad the federal government never got around to putting property rights in the Constitution, because if it did, Bill 143 would be unconstitutional for certain. Maybe there is someone who can challenge that bill through other means right now; I don't know. I don't have the resources. I tried to challenge it in committee and I didn't get very far and neither did people from our caucus. We had tremendous support from the member for Mississauga South; we had tremendous support from all our caucus members, who fought with everything they could to make sure the government wouldn't proceed with Bill 143. Bill 143 is a bill that is so inconsistent with this bill that now here on the one hand we're saying, "We want to do everything we can to protect—"

Hon Mr Hampton: Time.

Mr Cousens: Oh, I'm just beginning.

Hon Mr Wildman: Wait a minute; we gave you half an hour.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Mr Cousens: I think there is enough to be said here that just hasn't been said, and certainly not listened to.

Hon Mr Wildman: You mean you broke the deal?

Mr Cousens: I'm sorry. If there is a deal, I'd be very interested. I respect it if there is any kind of arrangement.

Hon Mr Wildman: We said we would listen to you for half an hour.

Mr Cousens: If there is some arrangement, I apologize. If I'm not to go on any further—I did have more I wanted to say. I'm sorry if there is, because the way this House operates, I've always believed that if there is an arrangement, one should abide by it and one shouldn't be in breach of it. If I have limitations in the amount of time I can speak, then I would therefore have to yield the floor. I apologize. Is that the case?

Hon Mr Wildman: No, you can go right ahead and endure the consequences.

Mr Cousens: It would appear there is no agreement. For the sake of my mother, who's watching this program right now, I want her to know I'm not breaking a rule of the House, because one of the things we have to be very careful about—

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): Keep going, Don.

Mr Cousens: I am talking about the Interim Waste Authority and the issue that it has released landfill sites on environmentally sensitive areas. What I'm most anxious to talk about is the way in which those decisions by the Interim Waste Authority are in absolute contrast and are the opposite of what is being proposed in the Regeneration statement by Mr Crombie, and by the intent, I think, of this bill by the Minister of the Environment.

Hon Mr Wildman: Is your apartment on the waterfront?

Mr Cousens: You're going to be in for a longer speech if the interruptions continue and if there's not going to be any stopping them, Mr Speaker.

I believe the people of the greater Toronto area have no reason to trust this government. When you start talking about a government that has broken that trust, all you have to do is talk to the 57 different groups that are around the greater Toronto area who are impacted by the very dumb, foolish decisions of the Interim Waste Authority, which is an arm's-length body of the minister and which the minister is part of.

Now we come along and the minister is saying, "I'm going to start another organization and we're going to call that one the agency for the regeneration of trust." I have to believe that this minister has lost it, and certainly in losing the trust of the people of the greater Toronto area has offended the sense of what is right and wrong of just thousands of people.

When I attended the session today out in front of the Legislature steps, it was again proof of it. When we were up in Egypt the other night, in the member for Durham-York's riding, we saw it there. We have a meeting in Stouffville tomorrow night. All of these people are exasperated by this government's decisions and they feel that their faith has been broken by a government that has said one thing and then gone and done another.

So we come along and have a new bill. We're saying the minister's going to set up a new agency. She already has one agency and we can see what she's doing with that. She first of all would like to make everybody think that the minister is not involved with the Interim Waste Authority and that the Interim Waste Authority is doing its own thing.

That Interim Waste Authority has been structured by the Ministry of the Environment, has been selected by the Ministry of the Environment, reports to the Ministry of the Environment and is accountable to the Ministry of the Environment. So it is as much an arm of the Ministry of the Environment as will be this agency that's looking at the waterfront regeneration.

When the minister can on one hand say, "I want to do something about the waterfront. I share the sense of commitment and the intention to do something about it," it is totally inconsistent for this minister then to come along and say that the very headwaters of all those rivers and lakes are going to be feeding into Lake Ontario. You can just see them there. They all come along through and they feed from Burlington Bay right over here, right through into that key watershed.

What could be more serious? On the one hand we want to do something to regenerate the waterfront, and on the other hand this government is seeking to destroy it. If this government were at least willing to look at other viable alternatives and if those alternatives were to be seen as rail haulage outside the greater Toronto area; if the alternative to having all the waste for the greater Toronto area buried in the greater Toronto area itself—even the consideration of incineration.

Now the thought of incineration evokes many problems for many people. But at least subject the subject of incineration to a full environmental assessment. Would that be a way of solving the problem? I personally do not want to say that incineration is the way to go, but I am prepared to say, "Let it be scientifically evaluated as an option under a full environmental assessment so that we can see whether or not it is a viable, realistic alternative to landfilling."

If you're able to get energy from waste, if you're able to sort material out before it goes in, if you're able to maintain the 3R program prior to any incineration, in that way you're able to continue to have the best of all worlds. Is it something that can be looked at? Is it something that could be subjected to environmental assessment?

I appreciate the fact that I don't have all the answers. I don't pretend to. But if the process were allowed to proceed, then we would go away the wiser. But instead of having that opportunity, the Ministry of the Environment has said no to incineration, no to shipment of waste outside greater Toronto and yes to having all the garbage landfilled within the greater Toronto area.

What is especially besmirching her reputation is the fact that this minister would have York region be responsible for all of Metro's waste. I have not yet been able to figure out why the Minister of the Environment and the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area would honour York region so highly by giving us Metro's waste. We don't want it. We don't want Metro's waste in York region.

We'd rather see them find another place for it, and if that other place happens to be the Adams mine site in Kirkland Lake, let there be an environmental assessment to consider that. Don't just assume that it has to go in York region. Don't just assume that it has to go in Keele Valley or that Keele Valley has to be expanded. Don't just assume

that it has to go in one of the other 22 sites that have been selected for York region.

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All of those sites have to do with the waterfront, because so many of those sites are feeding into the river systems and the tributaries that flow into Lake Ontario. Is there any reason why people are concerned about the water they drink? It's the fact that there is so much going on within this greater Toronto area when in fact we could do some of the things outside of that area and relieve ourselves of some of the additional problems. It concerns me. It does concern my constituents. It concerns the people of the greater Toronto area.

I want to ask why the Minister of the Environment, who today in presenting Bill 1, An Act to establish the Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency, has not acted even yet on the Ontario water secretariat. Why hasn't the Minister of the Environment acted on the Ontario water secretariat?

One of the commitments made earlier by the now-defunct Liberals, who have gone to their great reward having broken their own promises and having broken the faith of the people, so now we see them fallen from power when they had all the chance in the world to do something—they had come upon the idea of setting up a secretariat, which would be another way of making sure that water would be clean and available to all people in Ontario.

It's one of those fundamental resources that we just can't take for granted. Ontario has such a great supply of fresh water. Our own Great Lakes, which are reservoirs from the ice age and wouldn't be there but for that, over the years have become one of the major sources of fresh water in the world. Yet the government of Ontario, which had a chance, having made the promise in its Agenda for People that it would do something to establish a water secretariat, and having been in office now, lo, these almost two years—what a painful two years it's been—still has not done anything on the water secretariat. We're seeing something now on the waterfront regeneration. Thank goodness Mr Crombie and those who have been involved with that have given some leadership there. But they have not followed through on another one of their promises, which was to do something to ensure fresh water. It's a major issue.

Up until recently, we had a tremendous resource for hydro-electric power and electricity in this province. What we've seen is a tampering and playing with Ontario Hydro by this government that is going to diminish that agency of the people. It's going to reduce its power. It's reducing its power by virtue of not building more—more than anything, it has reduced that to a skeleton of what it was capable of being. Instead of Ontario having economical power, as we had in the past, we're now going to be paying 20% more within the year. That's 20% more, and power will go up and up and up. Why can't we go back and learn the lesson that we did with Ontario Hydro in guaranteeing economical electricity for all the people of Ontario, and do something as a model of that to ensure fresh water for everybody in Ontario?

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Cousens: The need for a water secretariat—
Interjections.

The Speaker: The member for Markham has the floor.

Mr Cousens: The concern I have still is that the water secretariat, which was a commitment this government made and this government really endorsed, has not happened. We're dealing with another bill, and it's high time you dealt with water in a very realistic way and came forward with plans and what you're going to do. It has not happened. This minister has not succeeded in that. This minister has ended up blocking it. This minister has not brought forward legislation that's going to deal with the future water supplies for everyone in Ontario, and we've got to deal with that. That is an issue that we cannot allow to be separated.

I concern myself as well with the way in which this act is going to allow itself to work with all the people who make up the greater Toronto area. Is this government going to try to build walls that separate this agency from development? Is it going to set up walls to separate people from progress? Is this going to have a sense of balance within it that respects the property rights of the people who are going to be affected by this act? I think it's important to make sure that this government does not just come along and take away rights of people that are otherwise theirs.

There are many concerns that I have on this whole bill. I am concerned about the way it links in to the greater issue of the Interim Waste Authority and garbage. I am concerned about the breakdown in trust that exists now between the public and Mrs Grier, the Minister of the Environment. Mrs Grier has not been available for consultation and discussion on many issues. We've seen that before, when people from Kirkland Lake wanted to meet with her. They couldn't. Those who were known as environmentalists could meet with her, but for others who wanted to talk, she wasn't available. Certainly people who came in front of the Legislature today wanted to speak with the Minister of the Environment, and she didn't come to speak to them.

I think what we really want to make sure is that when this bill starts talking about consultation, which is one of the key words used by this government, that consultation will be something that actually means there is going to be listening and dialogue between this agency and the people. The government has a tremendous public relations campaign, and the public must understand that when you've got the resources of government at your disposal, as the New Democrats now have, it means that the government can pretty well sell anything it wants. They can put out their press releases; they can carry the story; they can finance different things.

They're giving something like \$19 million to the Interim Waste Authority to come along and plan three major landfill sites in the greater Toronto area, yet there is no intervenor funding for those people who want to fight those landfill sites. For a government that talked about people having an opportunity to protect themselves, there isn't any of that money coming out to assist those people who want to fight those landfill sites. When this government

says "to consult with the public," it raises red flags to me that in fact the government will not be consulting. They'll tell you what they want to do; it satisfies the people who want to believe it. But the fact of the matter is they're going to come along and they're going to do what they want to do.

I start with the premise that if what David Crombie had to say in *Regeneration* is worthwhile, we as a community of people have a chance to grasp on to the intent of what he has offered. I think we can take what he has offered and say: "You know, Mr Crombie, you've got some good ideas. We are willing to live with some of them." Not all of them are great, and when he says in this that about 6% in York region are doing recycling, he's wrong. There are far more than that. We're close to 20% in York region that are recycling. When he comes along and suggests roof gardens in order to have more greenery, I think there are some issues there that we should stop and look at when he is saying that is a way of trying to get more green. Some of his ideas are very solid; some need more investigation.

I feel that overall it gives us a basis for the future and if we, as legislators and people committed to the environment, can learn from these lessons and implement them in a fairminded way, respecting the rights of people and understanding the nine principles that underlie his writing, then we will have taken this whole area from Burlington Harbour to the Trent forward, so that we've somehow protected it for future generations. I share that long-term goal; how it is done is just another matter.

It's too bad the government feels that this bill is the required way to proceed. I do not think it's the way I would do it, but in light of the fact that it at least takes a step forward on regeneration, I am able to support that intent and will therefore support that and only hope that the minister, who's suffered my remarks all evening, will at least consider them as she goes about fulfilling her duties as the Minister of the Environment and the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area.

The Speaker: I thank the member for Markham for his contribution and invite questions or comments.

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Hon Mr Wildman: A model of brevity.

Hon Mrs Grier: Following that model of brevity, I'll try to keep it short and thank the honourable member for his support for the legislation. I won't comment on much of what he said except that he did talk about the—I think he used the word "weasel" words in the legislation.

I just wanted to draw his attention to the fact that in section 4 of Bill 1 the objects of the regeneration trust agency are very clearly spelled out and object number (f) is "to do such other things as the Lieutenant Governor in Council may by order direct," but to point out to the member that in section 5 the only powers attributable to the agency are in fact powers that are necessary to carry out its objects. Not to put too fine a point on it, the fears that the member might have had about the powers of this agency are, I think, not justified.

I won't comment on the member's description of the task of the Interim Waste Authority—I think we've done that

extensively ad nauseam day by day in question period—but just remind the member that the Keele Valley landfill which he is concerned about, and justifiably, was not subject to an environmental assessment. I agree with him that had it been it might in fact not be where it is, but I say to him that the surest way of making sure the Keele Valley landfill is closed as quickly as possible is to allow the IWA to get on with the job of finding new landfill sites for the GTA.

I wasn't at the demonstration today that the member was at. I understand the cow that he mentioned made a fair comment on some of the speeches that it heard.

The Speaker: Any other questions or comments? If not, the member for Markham has up to two minutes to respond.

Mr Cousens: I can only say that the cow went and bought a membership to the New Democratic Party and is probably one of your better members.

I thank the minister for at least listening. I wish this minister would open up more round table dialogue such as is described by Mr Crombie in the report. There really has to be far more dialogue on environmental issues, and when we see that concept work, all groups begin to become part of a solution rather than build barriers that separate them. This is a government unfortunately that doesn't know how to bring people together for dialogue, and that's been the case with the Ontario labour legislation where you've got labour and government developing a strategy that almost seems to be against business.

What you have here with the Ministry of the Environment not being prepared to sit down and work with other people—certainly with the Environment critics, certainly with the public at large—there is a sense of alienation that's going on within the Ministry of the Environment that is very much a concern to all of us. It's the most powerful ministry in the government right now by virtue of the control it has over development and housing, yet what I want to see is some way in which all of us become partners in solving the environmental crises that pervade our province.

If we could deal with those intents, if we had a minority government, it would be in a much better position to trade off on some of those issues and make sure we're moving in the same direction. As it stands now, the government has a solid majority and can push through whatever legislation it wants without our being able to modify it, change it or improve it.

That was the case with Bill 143. The government railroaded it through, made it happen, and now we're caught in a position where people like Mr Wiseman, the member for Durham West, doesn't know what to do because he didn't realize the bad significance it would have on him. But that's the problem of this government. They have not considered everything on the balance.

The Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Let me just say off the start that I will have to tip my hat to one David Crombie. He has without a doubt proven that if flexible enough you can get along with absolutely every political party in this country. He has been appointed by the federal government, a Tory regime, helped on by a provincial

government during the Liberal reign, and now has reached fruition with the NDP in Ontario.

Exactly what he, Mr Crombie, hopes to accomplish is still up for some long-term debate. Some opinions offered to me suggest that rather than the announced waterfront regeneration, it could have started with the words "once upon a time." It's about as much reality as a fairy tale you read at night to your children. Burying the Gardiner Expressway and the green trail through the GTA, particularly through Metro, have about as much opportunity for fulfilment as a second term for the NDP. He has no doubt achieved the optimum goal of a politician or a statesman: He has been gainfully employed since resigning his seat at the federal level, all on the public payroll.

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): He's not even an NDPer.

Mr Stockwell: No, he's not. Well, some would suggest otherwise.

The question I have is: Speaking of private sector experience, what exactly does this minister think she is achieving by announcing this specific piece of legislation? She has gone to great lengths, in my opinion, in offering her defence to the member for Markham by suggesting: "No, regardless of what you say, regardless of what you think, regardless of what your speech said, this Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency has absolutely no power. I promise you, it has no power. It can't do anything. I've proven it, because they're to advise the minister. That's about it. They're to consult, they're to coordinate, they can facilitate"—all the right language if you're a socialist—and "such other things as the Lieutenant Governor in Council may by order direct."

What exactly can they do? The minister has said they really can't do anything. So the point is, if they can't do anything, what sense is there in creating this—it's another new NDP term—trust agency? It seems rather hilarious to me that this government would suggest that anybody use the word "trust" after Agenda for People.

But what does this group have as part of its mandate? Let's examine what the province can do on any or all sites on the waterfront in the GTA. This minister is an absolute expert in knowing exactly what governments can and cannot do when it comes to development of waterfront property. I cite as an example the motel strip in the city of Etobicoke. For some 25 years this minister had been fighting any development on the motel strip, yet when she became minister she capitulated within 12 short months. My, how times change.

What can this group do that the government can't do when it declares provincial interest? Nothing—absolutely no difference at all. So why do we have this group? Why has this group been announced? I suggest it's because neither this government nor this minister has any idea what their plans are for the waterfront or any idea of how to fulfil them. They simply commissioned a report that has absolutely no chance of being successful without literally billions and billions of taxpayers' dollars being invested.

This government knows full well it's not prepared to invest billions and billions of taxpayers' dollars, so: "We'll simply create a ruse. We'll create a regeneration trust

agency headed up by one David Crombie, and Mr Crombie will say lovely things and use the right words that politicians use today. He'll say things like 'burying the Gardiner.'"

If I hear about burying the Gardiner again, the person who says it should be turfed out of office. There's absolutely no chance you're going to bury the Gardiner. Get that through your heads. It's far too much money. Quit wasting taxpayers' money studying attempts to bury the Gardiner. It won't happen. Simple. Case closed. Quit wasting money. Don't create more committees.

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Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): I thought you were talking about burying the gardener. I was feeling sympathy for the poor woman.

Mr Stockwell: The member for Middlesex is clearly upset about this, or is it because you don't have a riding any more? We're talking about the Gardiner and burying the Gardiner. This appears to be very central to the debate.

Mr George Dadamo (Windsor-Sandwich): Which Gardiner?

Mr Stockwell: The Gardiner Expressway running along the lakefront in Metropolitan Toronto.

Mr Dadamo: Oh, that Gardiner.

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): I thought you were talking about your vegetable garden.

Mr Stockwell: They're a funny lot, Mr Speaker, aren't they? Jeez, they're a humorous lot.

Hon Mrs Haslam: Having to listen to you at this time of night—

Mr Stockwell: The Minister of Culture and Communications is cackling away there. That's a great day, isn't it, when you can get in here, sign some more cheques to these associations? Wonderful, isn't it? You can write an \$8.5-million cheque. Do it now. It would be interesting to see you write an \$8.5-million cheque to the Art Gallery of Ontario.

To go on, we know we can't bury the Gardiner, so we must create this agency. The minister has had a long history on lakefront development and lakefront redevelopment. It's kind of interesting, isn't it, that this minister, who talks about development, regeneration of a green path across the lakefront and the GTA, is the very same minister who's part of a government that is in fact the biggest developer on the lakefront in Etobicoke. This government that is so proud of its public open-space policy is the largest developer on the lakefront in the city of Etobicoke. They are, in fact, developing cooperative housing on the old psychiatric grounds, Humber College, right on the lakefront. Not more than 10 blocks from the minister's house, they're doing this development.

Hon Mrs Grier: Five.

Mr Stockwell: I wouldn't say it's five blocks, but I'll buy into it. Five blocks from the minister's house they're developing the lakefront in the city of Etobicoke. Now, there's commitment from a government with a public open-space policy on the waterfront: It's the biggest developer. It strikes me that it seems to be somewhat amiss of what their public policy is when it comes to private development.

Having said that, they're caught in a conundrum here of cooperative housing as opposed to environmentally sensitive development on the waterfront in the GTA.

We've now decided, through the minister's statement, that we are going to create this Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency which the minister has said will have no power. What it will do, no one knows for certain, other than the fact that it's going to consult, coordinate and facilitate, not necessarily in that order: "to coordinate programs and policies of the government of Ontario and its agencies relating to waterfront lands." Maybe you can send them down to the Lakeshore Psychiatric grounds, Madam Minister, and ask them to consult about that in your very own riding, because I think you'll find your own constituents aren't in agreement with your government's policy.

"To facilitate the establishment of a trail and associated green space or open spaces in the waterfront lands" and "to do such other things as the Lieutenant Governor in Council" deems necessary: Why then have we established this waterfront trust? May I suggest it's simply another attempt by this government to create another agency that will distance it from the constituents, that will distance it from the people who elected it and will distance it from the decision-making process and therefore remove decisions from this government and this cabinet?

This minister knows very well how to get involved in local planning. This minister knows how to deal with a provincial interest on local planning issues on the lakefront. But what comes of this is that this minister and this government simply do not have the guts to deal with the issue head on. In fact, what is left for them to do is to create this trust agency.

This trust agency will be the dirty dealer in all the negotiations that take place on the waterfront. This trust agency will carry the hatchet for all the tough decisions they don't want to make. This trust agency will be very similar to the landfill group this minister has set up to deal with the 57 landfill sites. What is becoming very clear in my mind with this government and particularly this minister is that she doesn't have the guts to make decisions so she fobs it off on associations, groups and agencies that she creates so as not to have to make the decision herself.

That is absolutely the wrong way to go, because all we're creating here is a new government agency, more bureaucrats, more costs to carry out programs that this minister knows full well that if she wanted to carry out she would simply declare provincial interests on any developments taking place and she could carry forward any of the issues that she thinks are important.

So the question now is, will local municipalities accept the fact that this act is in place? Earlier we had a two-minute question or response from the member for Oxford, Kimble Sutherland. He was suggesting that in Bill 165, allowing municipalities to debenture more money for greater periods of time, for longer lengths, was actually allowing municipalities to mature; allowing them the ability to debenture and acquire debt was a sign of maturing for municipal councils. What I find very interesting is that on the one hand this government believes municipalities are capable of running their own financial affairs, increasing their capacity to

debenture and increasing the length of time they may debenture, but they're not prepared to let local municipalities deal with the development applications and environmental sidebars that go with those development applications under their own official plans. I'm not certain why they're capable of debenturing more money but they're not capable of dealing with development applications.

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): They don't follow their official plans. If they did, there wouldn't be any problem.

Mr Stockwell: The argument comes from a member who I don't believe was ever elected to municipal council. The fact is that those municipal councils were elected. They have official plans. If they want to change their official plans by a vote of council, they may in fact change their official plan. I know full well that when the Minister of the Environment was on council she voted to change the official plan on a number of occasions. In fact, I would bet that any member of that government across the floor who was on municipal council voted on a number of occasions to change their official plan. The fact is they are duly elected councils by the people within those city limits or those towns and they're capable of making development decisions in their own cities. What this will do will add another layer.

Finally, let's deal with the bureaucracy of the waterfront. The bureaucracy of the waterfront is very simple. There is far too much; there is far too much bureaucracy in regard to the waterfront in the greater Toronto area.

To deal with the waterfront bureaucracy you must begin at the local level. At the local level, each council along the waterfront in Metro has an environmental committee, a waterfront development committee etc, and the local council deals with development on the waterfront. That's probably three or four separate agencies dealing with waterfront and the environment.

If you move on to the Metropolitan Toronto council, it has an environmental committee, a sustainable environment committee, a development committee, economic development committee, council etc. There are probably half a dozen to 10 committees you must get through at the local level alone.

On the provincial level you have to deal with the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, the ministry responsible for the greater Toronto area, the Ministry of the Environment, this committee and who knows how many other committees when dealing with the development of the waterfront.

So the question is, how come nothing gets done? Because there is so much bureaucracy involved to waterfront, waterfront development and sustainable growth that nobody can wade through the quagmire of bureaucrats, politicians and hangers-on—consultants and the David Crombies of the world—ever to accomplish anything. Therefore you have a dying breed out there of people who own property on the waterfront or want to see property developed on the waterfront but can't get through the bureaucratic maze it takes to do anything on the waterfront.

The other issue that isn't dealt with in Bill 1 is all the private ownership. I'm certain the minister will be very

interested in the comments about private ownership on the waterfront. In the riding of Etobicoke-Lakeshore, the minister's own riding, predominantly most of the waterfront property is held by private ownership. All through Longbranch, all through New Toronto right through portions of Mimico, most of the property along the waterfront is privately owned. In fact, most of the property that is privately owned also includes riparian rights as part of those people's ownership of the property. Riparian rights, for those laypeople involved here, is that they own certain portions of the property out into the lake because of erosion.

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So when you're debating Bill 1, you're talking about development of the waterfront, you're talking about a green path throughout. You must understand that a large chunk of that property you're discussing is privately held, and these people have no intention of changing their use or altering the ownership of their property.

In the end, we have seen this government fob off all the major decisions. Their suggestion from the minister in clause (f) is "do such other things as the Lieutenant Governor in Council may by order direct." She says: "Don't worry. I won't be giving them any special power." Pardon me, Madam Minister, but frankly, I don't believe you people any more. I don't believe you people when you tell anybody anything about any promise you're going to make. I heard you promise about government-run auto insurance; I heard you promise about a common pause day on Sunday; I heard you talk about cabinet integrity; I've heard you tell me the deficit was \$10 billion. I've heard all these promises. In fact, your credibility is absolutely and totally shot.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): They weren't going to put a dump in the Rouge.

Mr Stockwell: That's right. You weren't going to put a dump in the Rouge. Poor old Wiseman, the member for Durham, believed you when you weren't going to put dumps up in Whitevale. You have no credibility. I remember when you told me you were going to eradicate food banks, the ex-minister of social services: "Just give us three months; we'll wipe out food banks." Your credibility is far, far gone. It's no longer a case to argue about the credibility of this government. You've broken more promises than you've kept. You've broken far more promises than you've kept.

So to suggest to this House, "Don't worry; I won't give them any excess power"—well, I hardly think that those people who own property on the lake are sleeping any easier when the NDP government, the master of broken promises, tells people: "Don't worry. We won't put anything into this that will cause you concern." I'm sure the people of Whitevale and the Rouge are sleeping a lot easier knowing you made those promises last year, as well as Keele Valley and Britannia.

So on that note, I would suggest this government is hollering into a cave if it thinks any one believes it with respect to keeping a lid on this agency or commission.

Finally, I've seen the book Mr Crombie produced and I have very a difficult time understanding from that book to this legislation exactly what this government wants to suc-

ceed at. I've read this: You go to number 4 and it will tell you what it wants to do; these are the objects of the agency.

"The objects of the agency are,

"(a) to advise the minister on any matter relating to the use, disposition, conservation, protection and regeneration of waterfront lands."

Give me a break. You've got more people on staff who could advise you about that. You need to set this up and create more bureaucrats because you don't have enough people on your staff, in the GTA, in Environment, in Municipal Affairs to advise you on "the disposition, conservation, protection and regeneration of waterfront lands"? You're telling me you need more bureaucrats? That's insulting.

"(b) to consult with the public and to determine the public interest in the environmental integrity of waterfront lands."

Well, what's your job, Madam Minister? What are the jobs of these people who sit behind you? Isn't their job in fact to meet with the public and determine what they think is important, determine what they think is in the interest of the environmental integrity of the waterfront lands? You have to strike a commission to do your job? What are you elected here to do if not to represent your constituents?

"(c) to coordinate programs and policy of the government of Ontario and its agencies relating to waterfront lands."

Well, we don't know what those programs and policies are. We've heard a lot of talk about burying the Gardiner and a few other green paths. As far as I'm concerned, striking an agency to do that is totally wasteful.

This is a good one: "(d) To serve as a resource centre and clearinghouse of information to the public for policy of the government of Ontario relating to waterfront lands."

They are going to have this group be a clearinghouse of information to the public. Madam Minister, what do you do? What does your staff do? What do these people who sit in here do? Aren't they the clearinghouses? Aren't these the people who are supposed to offer up the information to the public? You've got to strike an entire new bureaucracy, give them an entire new budget, pay somebody six figures in salary to run, to act as a clearinghouse for your public policy?

Mrs Marland: It's a job for Jack Layton.

Mr Stockwell: A job for David Crombie.

"(e) to facilitate the establishment of a trail and associated green or open spaces in the waterfront lands."

Madam Minister, if you want to establish a trail and associated green or open spaces, you're going to have to pass some very draconian legislation that steals back property that is privately held from the public whom you're elected to serve. I don't believe this minister is prepared to do that, and if she were prepared to do that, she is striking this agency to do it because they don't have the guts to try and take this property back from the private-sector public. I know her constituents would not be very happy to think that her government was going to take property back from them for a green public open space that they have bought and lived on for many years.

Mr Speaker, (f), the catch-all, "to do such other things as the Lieutenant Governor in Council may by order direct." What does that mean? That's the caveat. If you've ever read the tax act or you've ever filed your business taxes,

you know full well that the very last section in the very last book of 17 or 18 books says, "If nothing else prevails here, you've got to live within the spirit of this law," and that's the catch-all. So if they think that you try to sneak around your taxes, that one catches everybody. You've got to live within the spirit, and that's exactly what this is.

This government doesn't have the guts to tell us why it's struck this committee. It doesn't have the guts to come forward and tell the public why it's struck this committee. They've not the guts to tell us what this committee is going to do. They only told us that David Crombie—and to add insult to injury, Mr Speaker, this government didn't even have the guts to come into this House and announce that Mr Crombie's report was before the public. They did it at a press conference. They didn't have the guts to hear from the opposition benches in here what Mr Crombie's report was all about.

From the constituents I've talked to, who in fact live in the GTA and surround the waterfront, there are some certain, very real fears that they have about this minister, this government and their properties. I will say to you, Mr Speaker, that this agency will end up with some very broad and wide-ranging powers it will carry out. They will be the hatchet people for this government to bring forward recommendations that no municipal council likes, nor the citizens, because in the end this government doesn't have the guts to carry out its own public policy, so it will fob it off on another agency, which they will not be allowed to blame.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Durham West.

Mr Wiseman: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I would like to make a few comments about the direct comments that the member has made with reference to the environmental situation as it pertains to Whitevale and the landfill sites in that area and the comments he made concerning the discussion around the P1 landfill site prior to the election.

He has indicated that the Premier or in fact the current Minister of the Environment had promised there would be no landfill sites in Whitevale. This is an inaccurate comment to make. That was never made. It was never made by me and it was never made by the Premier and it was never made by the Minister of the Environment. The promise that was made to the constituents of Pickering by myself and by the Premier was simply that if there was going to be a landfill site in Durham, or in particular in north Pickering, that it would undergo a full environmental assessment hearing.

In September 1990, the whole court case against the previous government began and then the exemption of P1 under the Environmental Protection Act was lifted and in fact this government imposed a full Environmental Assessment Act hearing on P1. That subsequently led to the lifting of P1 as a site by the regional government of Durham, not by the minister.

I would add that the promise that was made and the promise that is being kept is that there would be no landfill site, no greenfield landfill site, in the region of Durham without a full Environmental Assessment Act hearing, and

that promise was made by me and it was made publicly on an ongoing basis for the full 18 months that I've been in this seat.

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The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further questions and/or comments? The honourable Minister of the Environment.

Hon Mrs Grier: I don't think that the speech we've just heard warrants a great deal of response other than to give me the opportunity to reassure those owners of lake-front property that contrary to what they have just heard—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. The Minister of the Environment has the floor.

Hon Mrs Grier: Thank you, Mr Speaker. What I wanted to do was to correct the record very clearly and assure those owners of private property whose homes back on to Lake Ontario that it is certainly not the intent of the agency, contrary to what they might have heard, to expropriate their land or to run roughshod over their property rights, and I think it's important that that be said.

Let me also say that the idea of appointing somebody to cut through the jurisdictional gridlock that has impeded efforts to regenerate the Toronto waterfront is not new. It happened upon a cutting from just 10 years ago. The Toronto Sun in March 1982 had a headline, "Ontario Czar Proposed for the Waterfront."

What is proposed by the waterfront trust is not by any means a czar, but the sentiments that were expressed by the member of Metro council 10 years ago to the effect that the idea of a Queen's-Park-appointed czar with powers to cut through the various jurisdictions is one that that particular member of council said he had had a few weeks ago and is the only answer that makes sense.

He went on to say that nothing will happen on Toronto's waterfront until Ontario appoints an overall czar to oversee the mammoth project. Far be it for me to visit the sins of the sons upon the fathers or, in this case, the father upon the son, but the speaker was none other than Etobicoke controller, Metro councillor Bill Stockwell.

Interjections.

Hon Mr Wildman: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I rise to point out to you that while the Minister of the Environment was making her remarks the member for Markham was doing much as the member for Etobicoke West is now doing. He was letting forth with a steady stream of bile directed at the member for Durham West. He used terms like "Judas," "snake," and so on.

The Acting Speaker: I'm sorry. That's not a point of order.

Hon Mr Wildman: That's not a point of order, Mr Speaker? Is he allowed to use that kind of language in the House?

The Acting Speaker: I did not hear unparliamentary language. I'm sorry. There is a lot of noise.

If the honourable member for Mississauga South would take her seat, I might well recognize her. Further questions and/or comments?

Mrs Marland: When we talk about a subject like waterfront regeneration I really wish that I would hear from the government some real leadership on this subject, and I think the government would do well to listen to some of the comments made by my colleague the member for Etobicoke West.

You know, we have this magnificent country called Canada. We have this fabulous province, Ontario, and we spend millions of dollars landfilling into the lake. As someone whose riding—

Interjections.

Mrs Marland: You know, this is a perfect illustration tonight about why these evening sittings are a total absurd waste of time, exactly what's going on in this House at this very moment.

We have this enormous province of Ontario. We have done such a poor job of preserving greenbelt and park and recreation areas that we now spend twice as much money as it would cost to develop on land by landfilling into the lake. When we talk about this bill in terms of waterfront regeneration, I hope there will not be more consideration given to the subject of creating parks in our lake. I think it's time we planned our province with more long-range vision than what has been done in the past.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Elston: I will just briefly join the debate. I think we're finding that the two-minute replies or request for answering of questions is now being used as time for apologies about things undone, thoughts unrequited in terms of delivery of programs to the public. I know that's what the Minister of the Environment is doing. The member for Durham West is using it as time to try to tell his constituents: "Don't blame me. I'm doing the best I can."

I only want to comment to the member for Etobicoke West who, although from time to time he is noted as interjecting out of order, has placed on the record, in order, a whole series of concerns around the operation of this particular trust in a manner which I guess is full of style and enthusiasm and perhaps leads people to add a little bit of vigour into their interjections. But in every way he touches upon the very issues that have to be answered. I don't always agree with my friend the member for Etobicoke West. We don't share the same philosophical bent. He resides in this chamber to my left but is fully a resident of the right, and that of course shows a sort of lack of balance that we Liberals have been accustomed to being brought up with.

I think what is happening, if I might, with respect to both the member for Grey and the member for Etobicoke West is that they feel their concerns quite sincerely from their philosophical position. But that does not detract in any way from the issue of identification of the problems that must be addressed by the Honourable David Crombie and by the Minister of the Environment. While we can disagree on what the end result is or even the projection into the future of what problems will arise, the identification of the problems themselves ought to be enough for the Minister of the Environment to understand that real problems lie ahead.

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Etobicoke West has two minutes in response.

Mr Stockwell: I thank the member for Bruce. I do reside to the right of the member. I will agree wholeheartedly on that.

To even warrant a response to the member for Durham West, Mr Wiseman—it's absolutely hilarious, this political football that they're now playing in Durham, and he's being kicked from goalpost to goalpost. The point is very simply that this is not a full environmental assessment hearing that you promised. You know full well. Don't try and kid the public. Those used to take 17 years, what you have promised. This is going to be merely a few short years. Stop kidding the troops. Get off the bench; get in the game; tell it like it is.

Interjections.

Mr Stockwell: Second, as they caterwaul—and I'm sorry the minister left. I really, frankly, considered that—

Mr Wiseman: I am not kidding. I know exactly what's going on. Metro council wouldn't listen to us. They know more about this than you'll ever know.

Mr Stockwell: Apparently he knows more about this than I'll ever know.

Mr Wiseman: No, Metro council.

Mr Stockwell: Okay. A year ago I told him he was going to get a dump site. He said he wasn't going to get any. I was wrong; he's getting seven. You're right. You know it all. I don't know anything.

I'm really disappointed the Minister of the Environment left. It's just like the Minister of the Environment to prance out of here when the heat gets turned up. Having the audacity to suggest that I should defend quotes my father made as an elected official in the city of Etobicoke about a waterfront program that was taking place in the very early 1980s is absolutely hilarious, but that is what this minister has stooped to.

She can't defend this piece of legislation. She knows full well that my policy, public stated policy on this issue, has been the same from the day I was elected until today. She has waffled like a cheap waffle-maker on this issue as well as on all the landfill issues and she comes up with a quote my father made 10 years ago; absolutely the lowest form of politics I've seen and absolutely typical of the Minister of the Environment.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further debate.

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Mr Jackson: I'm pleased to rise and offer comments on second reading of this bill as I've received about 45 letters of concern from my constituents. I was also aware of a meeting in my riding attended by about 90 constituents expressing concerns about the matters contained in this bill, so I appreciate the House granting me the opportunity to express some of those concerns on behalf of those citizens for purposes of the public record.

At the outset let me simply say that it is far too appropriate that the Crombie commission was named the Royal Commission on the Future of the Toronto Waterfront and

that in typical Toronto fashion it has seen fit to reach out and embrace portions of Hamilton Harbour, Burlington Bay. There's a certain paternalistic arrogance associated with this Toronto-centred region, Toronto-centred planning, Toronto-centred decisions, Toronto-centred problems, with the taxpayers of Burlington always seeming to be cast in the role of taxpayer having to pay the brunt of any solutions that are dreamed up by these people in the so-called central core of the GTA, the city of Toronto.

The truth is, and the minister would have to agree, I'm sure, that the history of planning in Halton and in particular in my community of Burlington has been exemplary with respect to developing the necessary funds to ensure long-term planning interests for windows to the lake, as we call them, or opportunities to preserve lakefront property; it constitute an admirable record for our community. We have planned, we have budgeted, we have put aside conservation funds, regional government funds, municipal funds, in order to acquire land legally at fair market value during the course of the last 25 to 30 years. When our council, in the best interests of our community, comes to the conclusion that certain lands are best left in the public hands, it has paid the necessary price to buy out that property in order to have it available.

So there has always been an understanding in the community of Burlington that we would play by fair rules in order to secure our long-term future access to waterfront properties, and today Burlington finds itself in an unusual position. On the one hand, we have a Toronto-centred report and vision and concept which is saying, "Well, things may not have done as well in Ajax or closer to Oshawa and up to the Trent system so we're going to change the rules of the game," and that's not fair to the citizens of Burlington and to a city council that has agreed to play by those rules up to this point, because what is now happening—my primary concern I want to put on the record—is the fact that we've created yet another agency which takes responsibility for these decisions away from elected individuals who are accountable and puts it in the hands of faceless, nameless appointees of a given government of the day, and without an agenda of their own, we would hope, but there are no guarantees.

What the provincial government has done is develop a framework called the Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency as empowered in this bill. It has created an agency which can make those decisions and advise cabinet, and cabinet can come in and make a decision based on this unelected body giving it all the advice it needs to hijack property rights, to move in and indicate that 15 feet of a person's property now becomes a public access easement; that the property owners are now going to be legally liable for anything that happens to people who are on their property legally; and that they are legally responsible to maintain the property to standards which some faceless, nameless bureaucrat—who's holed up somewhere in Toronto and not out representing the community of Burlington and the interests of property owners who have paid fair market value for that property, continue to maintain it and are concerned about the public safety—is going to designate for him. All these facts will not necessarily be considered

by a group that is not held accountable through an elected process.

I cannot in good conscience abdicate my responsibilities as a legislator by simply offering again another responsibility to an unelected body. There's every indication that the concerns are valid, because the municipal council of Burlington has already reacted. I have a copy of an agreement between the city of Burlington and a land division application for Lakehurst Villa Properties at 3074 Lakeshore Road. Already the municipal council of Burlington has reacted to the—

Hon Mr Wildman: That sounds like one of my old speeches.

Mr Jackson: I'm pleased that the Minister of Natural Resources is here, because he has some concerns with respect to his government taking over certain lands that cottages are on in this province. These arguments are all valid, and I know the minister has listened very carefully when I've raised those concerns about the Balm Beach residents and others, but the arguments are still the same. At least the Minister of Natural Resources somehow is taking responsibility for the decisions that have to be made around whether or not the provincial interests will come to bear on that property, but not the Minister of the Environment. The Minister of the Environment has abdicated that responsibility.

I didn't mean to be distracted, Mr Speaker, by the interjection of my good friend the Minister of Natural Resources. I enjoy his interjections from time to time.

But back to this development application, because I think members should be aware of what the city of Burlington said to the land owner in this case: "Because there was a David Crombie commission somewhere in downtown Toronto and because the government has made it abundantly clear that at some point in the future we'd like to create a trail, you cannot have your building permit on your property unless you deed a 15-metre-wide easement to the water's edge in favour of the city of Burlington for open public space purposes for the eventual creation of a pedestrian linkage."

My God, we don't even have this legislation passed and already municipalities have jumped on it. Why? Because they've got somebody else to blame. When my constituents went to the city council meeting that night and when they objected, my newly elected mayor, Walter Mulkewich—he's well known to the members opposite. He ran for the NDP on many occasions. He ran against me unsuccessfully and he's thankful, because now he's the mayor.

Hon Mr Hampton: It's all the same.

Mr Jackson: The last thing you need is one more confused member over there, Mr Treasurer.

The truth is that the municipal council in Burlington is prepared to walk away from years of spending of taxpayers' money and acquiring a considerable amount of lakeshore property in favour now of simply hijacking 15 metres of a strip of property between the water and the back of the properties of owners all along the lakeshore in the city of Burlington. They're prepared to go further, to say, "You will be liable to maintain the insurance on that

property, and if somebody falls over the side of the cliff"—because we have quite a high shoreline—"you will be liable for that, and if somebody falls and it's because you didn't maintain the retaining wall, then you're liable because you have to maintain the retaining wall." Last time I checked, it was \$4,000 a running foot for these things.

I wouldn't mind if I were an elected individual and I came in and said to my constituents, "That's what I'm going to do to your property," because my constituents have the right to vote me out of office for having done that. But with this contemptible process of setting up phantom agencies—phantom in the sense that the public really has no legitimate claim to hold them accountable—we've abdicated our responsibility to make these decisions.

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I simply say to the minister, we do not disagree that access to the lake is an important resource for the future of this province. We do not disagree on that point. But we disagree as to how we're going to acquire that heritage for our citizens. According to this government's plan, it will be to create an agency where the cabinet can create powers at will and impose a whole series of draconian rules.

My colleague the member for Etobicoke West enunciated the concerns when one looks at the objects. Clearly the objects of this Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency call for it to have responsibility to guide cabinet with the disposition of property. That doesn't mean the sale of property owned by the trust; it means the disposition of all real property between the Trent system and Hamilton Harbour. Clause 4(b) talks about "environmental integrity." This really is a case where an unelected body has the power to walk in and say: "Okay, you're going to maintain that property; you're going to create the landscaping. We have a problem with security. Several women walking along there have been physically assaulted or raped. You're now going to have to spend \$20,000 or \$30,000 on lighting and make sure it's well lit. After all, according to the easement, you're legally liable for that strip of land."

These questions have been raised in a couple of very short public meetings in the community of Burlington. We're not getting satisfactory answers. We're being told: "After all, this is what the province wants, and if you've got a problem, go speak to them." They have. They've come to me with their problems and they've asked me to raise them here on the floor of the Legislature.

When you look at object (d), it talks about a clearinghouse for public information. Frankly, it's a clearinghouse for public objections. There used to be a time when we had an appellate mechanism that tied itself back to the cabinet. Not in this case.

My whip is indicating—my colleagues the members for Markham and Etobicoke West spoke at great length, and in the interests of not being inconsistent I will continue.

The second point is (f), which is the catchall, that by an order in council they can literally do anything. An order in council means cabinet. Cabinet has the power to convey to this body all or any powers it sees fit.

Here are some of the individual concerns. John McCallum in my riding mentioned: "If the government is going to materially affect the value of my property, who is

considering whether or not this will stand during an assessment appeal, whether or not the value of the property has been diminished in part or in whole as a result of these imposed liabilities on the property?"

David Sampson has expressed interest and concern on the issue if, for example, his house burns down. He lives on the lakeshore. He would routinely, then, walk into the city hall and ask for another building permit. But it's not so easy under this arrangement. Now the city of Burlington says: "There's this Crombie commission somewhere down the road in Toronto and they say we've got all this power now. Before you get your building permit, we want you to give us 15 feet off the back of your parcel. You have to sign that you'll be legally liable to keep it insured for third-party liability and that you'll maintain it according to our standards."

If Mr Sampson says, "Excuse me, but that's a violation of my rights, you're withholding my building permit," of course Mr Sampson has the right to take the city of Burlington to court for the next year and run up legal bills in excess of \$50,000 to \$75,000. He might lose, he might win, but why would he create an infrastructure that puts our citizens into that kind of a position?

There are no assurances in this bill that there will be any of these kinds of protections for existing residents who live on the lakefront properties in this part of the province. Frankly the bill conveys a right to blackmail property owners when circumstances indicate they need to go to the city for a minor variance, for a severance or for a building permit of any description.

I mentioned the issues of public safety, lighting, policing. I'd also like to mention that no consideration has been given either in the Crombie document or in the government's own vision for this Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency about simple complications such as developing parklands and linkages where there's no place for people to park their vehicles.

Why this is a concern is again that the ministry and the government have intervened in a planning process that was working well in the community of Burlington. We had developed a concept of windows to the lake; we had established the necessary linkages to rapid transit so that our citizens could get to the lakeshore, to large parcels of beachfront property so they could enjoy beach-related activities throughout the summer. All this was planned, but not now. Somebody in Toronto decided that what we've been planning for 25 years in Burlington is no longer relevant.

Frankly I cannot support that. I cannot support the arrogance of an imposed set of criteria on a community that's been doing an admirable job. I cannot support a principle of abdicating our responsibilities as elected people because if there is going to be massive intrusions into property rights in this province, this government and all members of this House have washed their hands of this business by voting in this Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency to do their dirty work for them.

I personally will not be a part of it. My constituents have made it abundantly clear that they do not believe that in Ontario today this is the kind of abdication of their rights that they are prepared to sit back and see happen. What disturbs me is we've lost all sense of accountability

in the name of preserving something that's not going to go away. No one is going to come and take away our lakeshore properties.

I believe quite frankly that in the community of Burlington we have an admirable record of opening up access to the waterfront and we should not now begin punishing our property owners simply because they had a problem in the waterfront lands in Metro Toronto and now Burlington is going to have to pay.

Finally, I would suggest to all members they give a second, sober thought to the amount of power they are vesting in this agency. This agency can spend an awful lot of taxpayers' money without specifically assembling any additional new lands for lakeshore purposes. The fact is that there are several proposals currently under consideration by the government for joint participation at federal, provincial and municipal levels to acquire at fair market value parcels of land that can act as parkland and they will stay in the public trust for ever.

This government has chosen not to pursue that course but rather to sterilize land, to expropriate it without compensation, to shift the liability for a public park to private individuals who pay for that insurance and, worst of all, to allow municipalities to ride roughshod over their own zoning bylaws, all in the name of a so-called provincial interest which is conveyed to them by Bill 1, the Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency Act. For this reason and in all conscience, I cannot support it.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Questions and/or comments on the member's participation? The honourable Minister of the Environment.

2150

Hon Mrs Grier: Just a couple of points that I want to make, because I certainly appreciate the member's comments and recognize that he is reflecting concerns that he's had from his constituents. As I said in response to the member for Etobicoke West, I don't think that those particular concerns of private property owners are justified. The agency simply has the authority to advise the minister on the disposition of waterfront lands. It does not have the power to acquire or dispose of privately owned land, and it is not an expropriating authority.

In addition, I think the member does the region of Halton and the city of Burlington a disservice, because they have certainly been in the forefront of conservation policies of the protection of the waterfront and of the establishment of greenways and regeneration. The report of the Crombie commission says that very clearly and points out in fact that the town of Oakville has had a public access policy consistently applied since the mid-1970s, has shown great foresight and has been of substantial long-term benefit.

The town is seeking a 15-metre-wide public access strip if and when lands are redeveloped. That is not uncommon. That has been going on for some long time, and I recognize that I think the member's point was that with the trust in place municipalities would give up that responsibility to the trust. I don't in fact think that's likely to occur and that is not the intent of the trust, as I've pointed out.

The trust will want to enter into partnership agreements with the regions whereby the regions continue their policies, if it is the region of Halton, or establish similar policies if it is regions that have not yet had the foresight and the view of the long future that has been shown by the region of Halton. So I hope that the member will understand some of the differences between what's been happening and what is proposed and will see fit to support the bill.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further questions and/or comments?

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): The member for Burlington South rightly raises issues that have been brought to him by his constituents with property along the lakeshore, and I think does so in a spirit of raising concern frankly about the accountability of the waterfront trust.

We know that for many years the city of Burlington has acquired beachfront properties, frequently through the conservation authority, but has done so in full view of the public: in public meetings, by publicly elected officials, operating in a public manner with public votes. The minister has pointed out that in the adjacent community of Oakville since the 1970s we have required parkland dedication when land is sold for development on the lakefront, and indeed that policy of the municipality has been a popular and positive one in our community. But those decisions have also been made in full public view by publicly elected officials operating in public meetings.

The ministry indicates that partnership agreements with municipalities must be a major part of the activity of the waterfront trust. I should point out to the minister as well, and to Mr Jackson, that the Crombie report itself says that those partnership agreements will not be worth the paper they're written on unless funding accompanies them.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Burlington South has two minutes in response.

Mr Jackson: The Minister of the Environment is well aware that I wasn't in any way undermining the record of the communities in Halton as it relates to this issue. What I remind the minister is that the Crombie commission and this Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency take what was in the zoning bylaws in Burlington for any of the designated commercial areas on the waterfront and taking 15 feet from a commercial enterprise, which we've been doing routinely and doing well, and taking park dedication and buying land with it. All of this is supportable.

What we're objecting to is the municipality is now going beyond and interpreting the cherry-picking of private property and people's private property between these commercial districts. They have never been designated, so when the minister suggests what she suggests, she goes beyond what the mandate was in Burlington and takes it in an entirely different new direction. Existing property owners have legitimate fears which have not been laid to rest by the minister's comments today, and frankly the multi-millions of dollars that you will spend creating a bureaucracy is not what the future needs of our province are. It is to acquire the necessary land, and in a free society that means paying the fair market value for that.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on the second reading of Bill 1? Would the parliamentary assistant want to wrap up debate?

Hon Mrs Grier: Mr Speaker, I was carrying the bill. Let me merely say to my colleagues that I certainly appreciate the opportunity to debate it and the widespread support that has been shown for the principles of the legislation, even though I know there are some individual concerns and issues that I know will be addressed as we proceed. I look forward to establishing the trust, getting it up and going and being part of regenerating this very special waterfront.

The Acting Speaker: Mrs Grier has moved second reading of Bill 1 on waterfront regeneration. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for third reading.

CORPORATIONS TAX AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR L'IMPOSITION DES CORPORATIONS

Ms Wark-Martyn moved second reading of Bill 11, An Act to amend the Corporations Tax Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'imposition des corporations.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Would the honourable minister have a few opening remarks?

Hon Shelley Wark-Martyn (Minister of Revenue): Yes, Mr Speaker. This bill puts into effect several measures announced by the Treasurer in the 1991 Ontario budget.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): I know that we all wish to be relatively efficient with our remarks, but I think the minister could be a little more effective if she would at least give us a slight indication of what is in this Corporations Tax Amendment Act. I know that it does apply to the 1991 budget report by the Treasurer. It has been a little bit of time since we visited this. I think in terms of the debate that we have to have just a few more comments than that.

I appreciate that she wants to help us out of this House this evening, but please, there are some fairly sophisticatedly written paragraphs in here and I think a little bit of an explanation would be helpful. Maybe she means to do it on wrapup, I'm not sure, but I think we should have more. Would she not give us something more than just saying this applies to the 1991 budget? Please help us in this.

The Acting Speaker: Do we have unanimous consent for the Minister of Revenue to continue? Agreed.

2200

Hon Ms Wark-Martyn: The reason for being so brief was so that all those viewers who are watching out there weren't confused, because we've changed some of this with the 1992 budget and this bill is over a year old, so I assumed that most of them were briefed and quite aware of it. Anyway, I will continue.

This bill concerns highly profitable corporations that benefit from the small business deduction. A surtax will reduce the benefit of the small business deduction for corporations

with taxable income over \$200,000 and eliminates it entirely where taxable income is more than \$500,000.

Specific rules will apply to share the surtax among corporations that are members of an associated group. Also, corporations with manufacturing and processing profits that pay the surtax will still get the full benefit of the manufacturing and processing tax credit. This is effective for taxation years ending after December 1991.

Second, the rate of capital tax will be increased to 1% for banks and loan and trust companies. This bill also eliminates the premium tax exemption that insurance companies received for automobile insurance contracts. This and the capital tax increase are effective for taxation years ending after April 29, 1991.

The bill also makes three technical amendments to the Corporations Tax Act including measures to bring the act in line with the federal Income Tax Act.

The Ontario current cost adjustment is a tax deduction based on the cost of eligible manufacturing and processing equipment and pollution control equipment. A technical amendment will clarify that the deduction may be claimed only in the first year that eligible equipment is available for use by the corporation. This will harmonize the timing of the deduction with claims for the capital cost allowance and simplify the administrative process for corporations.

Another amendment puts a limit on the amount of the research and development superallowance that a member of a limited partnership can claim. This will ensure that the deduction is claimed only by investors who have taken the risk to fund research and development activities. A final technical amendment will ensure a six-year time period for the ministry to conduct a reassessment for certain taxation years.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Bruce.

Mr Elston: What was extremely important for us was the first sentence or two that were given to us, that in fact there are a number of changes now reflected in the current taxation year that are going to be passed into law by this particular statute. The question I have for everybody is, why weren't we told that at the beginning of the debate rather than us having to stand up and ask for the explanation? I think it really reflects pretty badly on the sense—

Interjection.

Mr Elston: Mr Speaker, the member for Oxford is talking about the cheese out of his constituency. I highly recommend everybody visit Ingersoll and other places where they have good produce, but I don't recommend the interjections of the member for Oxford that take away from the debate on what is, I believe, a fundamental piece of legislation for the health of our economy.

It really talks not only about certain tax measures which are now more than a year old and which we were unable to debate in this House because the House leader of the government would not call this for second reading; this now being called for second reading after the 1992 budget. I might say that interestingly enough the government House leader would not even call debate on the budget in 1992. We have had but one speaker each on the budget.

The Treasurer has spoken, the Leader of the Opposition has spoken and the leader of the third party has spoken, but we have been unable to talk about this year's 1992 budget. Here we are dealing with 1991, which in fact is now amended by the 1992 budgetary business of this House.

I only wish to note this: With respect to the 1991 budget, this was to be an integral part of the 1991 budget, which was to deliver to the people of this province a \$9.7-billion deficit. The deficit for this year was well over \$11 billion and probably would have been much higher. This year, it's forecast to be \$9.9 billion, and I'm afraid we are really out of luck and out of time with this stuff.

The Acting Chair: Further questions and/or comments on the Minister of Revenue's opening remarks?

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): I think it's really telling that the minister, when she first stood up, indicated that she did not want to explain the bill because she didn't want to confuse the public of Ontario. That's absolutely astounding, that a minister, when introducing a bill for reading, would indicate she has no explanation because she might confuse the people of Ontario. I would like to ask a question of the minister. Could she explain the nature of the amendments for the people of Ontario? What are the amendments intended to create or exactly what are they for? Would she please tell the people of Ontario?

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): I don't want to prolong the debate unduly this evening. But to be fair to the Minister of Revenue, who has done a wonderful job of shepherding tax bills through this assembly, I had the same sense that she did, that the people of Ontario should understand that one of the reasons we need the rules changes that are now coming into this assembly is that it was very difficult to schedule debate for very important bills from last year's budget given some of the antics of the opposition in this assembly. I think the Minister of Revenue is trying to be very gentle, non-provocative and not tease the bears on the other side.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): Mr Speaker, I only rise to make comment on what the Treasurer just said—

The Acting Speaker: Sorry. We are commenting on the Minister of Revenue.

Mr Mancini: I'm commenting on what the Treasurer has commented about what the Minister of Revenue said.

The Acting Speaker: We are commenting on the Minister of Revenue's remarks.

Mr Mancini: The Minister of Revenue said, of course, that she didn't have time to make any comments to the general public because she wanted to save the time of the Legislature, and then the honourable Treasurer said that one of the reasons the minister wanted to save the time of the Legislature was because the opposition had obstructed the work of the Legislature and the government and the Minister of Revenue were not able to do their work last year.

What I want to let the Legislature and especially the Treasurer know is that when we were discussing the recall of the Legislature over the winter, it was the government that decided we should come back four weeks late and it was the Liberal opposition that asked that a formal minute in the House leaders' meetings be taken so that it would be on record that the Liberals wanted the Legislature to come back in time so that the government could introduce its agenda. I think we should all be aware of that, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable Minister of Revenue has two minutes in response.

Hon Ms Wark-Martyn: Mr Speaker, I'd like to respond by saying that this bill is over a year old. People in the business community have got their books up to date, are up to speed and know what we are doing. They also are aware of what we did in the last budget in reducing some of the taxes for the business corporations of this province, so for them this is old news. It is very unfortunate that the opposition parties were not up to speed in realizing the changes we made in the 1992 budget.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Elston: I was just getting warmed up in my other comments, but I don't propose to be here all evening. It's interesting that when we look at this bill, the thing that always strikes me about tax bills is that they are utterly and totally unreadable except to two groups of people, excluding ministers and parliamentary assistants and parliamentarians. They are readable by the professionals around it, both lawyers and accountants who have differences of opinion on what they say, and then by the very people we see sneaking their little selves around the corner of the Speaker's chair and who are smiling with the broadest, knowing knowledge that they alone understand what this stuff really means.

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For me, it was interesting to revisit this, and it has nothing to do with the fact that the people who construct these things are willingly trying to make it difficult for people, but it reflects upon the degree of complexity with respect to how our affairs are managed these days. I can tell you, Mr Speaker, that I wished when I had opened this up to read—because you know I'm not actually the critic for this portfolio—that I had spent just a little bit more time preparing myself, because I thought, unfortunately, that the explanatory notes were exactly for that purpose. What the explanatory notes do for people when they pick up tax bills is that they explain very quickly that you should put it back down because you really don't understand what it's going to mean. That's what these explanatory notes say.

I just want to read a couple of them, because these are the things that are simple enough for laypeople to understand. Then you get to the sections and you're really out of luck. Let's just read a couple. This is subsection 4(2): "The amendment clarifies that the Ontario current cost adjustment may be claimed by a corporation respective of an eligible asset no earlier than the first taxation year in which the asset is available for use by the corporation for the purpose

of earning income from a business." Sounds straightforward if you spend a bit of time reading the rest of it.

If you turned to the subsection and you read that, you know right well why it has become so costly to do business in the province of Ontario. It's not a problem, with respect, that has been dropped upon the people who do business by this administration, by the Liberals or the Conservatives by themselves, but there has been a group of complexities which have been built around carrying on business these days that require our bureaucrats to construct more precise language around the loopholes they wish to close. Until we come to grips with the manner in which we simplify our daily activities of carrying on business, our statutes will continue to be totally misunderstood and not understandable at all to laypeople.

For people who are carrying on business, it will mean absolutely for ever that you cannot do your own tax returns. Very few people are able to sustain themselves in trying to swallow the Corporations Tax Act in their operation when they perform all the other taxation manoeuvres that have to be done if you're going to use all of the sections of this to your best advantage. The federal statute is by reference referred to in here; this statute has to comply with certain steps taken in the federal budgetary activities.

As to this very short bill about which we really don't, in fairness to the Minister of Revenue, wish to hear a whole lot of detail but which is so critically important for the carrying on of business, not from a partisan part of view but just for the purposes of everyday activity, so that women and men who operate their businesses can, with some degree of certainty decide in 1990 that, "My steps to better business judgement will be based upon this, and it will be based upon this for this year, next year and the year following," it would be nice if this were a simple piece of business.

Taxation in this province is complex. This bill, short, is more complex than a lot of the statutes much longer in other areas of ministerial capacities demonstrated by the member for London Centre or for Hastings-Peterborough. But this little beauty ensures that there will be a lot of work for the professional people who spend their lives trying to decipher what the sections mean. It's not only deciphering what the sections mean, but trying to decipher how it is that the best advantage of the women and men who operate the businesses can have or achieve under their business arrangements.

We spend a whole lot of activity and time in this great province of ours chasing after the elusive nature of tax changes—not once a decade or twice a decade, but every taxation year. And just when things look like they're getting certain, the ground moves under the feet of the people who have to do business.

I'm not talking in terms of a partisan position at this stage, but I will depart now towards a partisan concern. While all parties have had to change their tax policies from time to time to feed the coffers of this province, which pays for the services—or doesn't, in the case of this current administration, reach anywhere close to paying for the services but which go towards them—it is unfair, in my view, for business certainty in the province for the current

administration to now add to the complexity of year-by-year changes in the existing taxes by dumping into the mix the Fair Tax Commission, which really should have been named the New Tax Commission by the Treasurer because, while people struggle after the certainty that they wish to achieve for their business decisions, their whole world is turned upside down at least once a year by the Treasurer, by every Treasurer. We don't know whether there's going to be a new retail sales tax. We don't know whether there's going to be a new employer health tax levy. We don't know whether there'll be a new corporations tax. We don't know whether there'll be a new capital tax—

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): Who introduced all those taxes anyway?

Mr Elston: There are so many taxes out there, and the member for Rainy River says, "Who introduced them?" Well, I stand here and say that there has not been one tax brought in in Ontario that hasn't been introduced by the Tories, the Liberals or the New Democrats, with perhaps an exception of what might have been introduced in the 1919-24 session by the United Farmers of Ontario.

I don't know that any of us can go away from this place and claim to be pure when it comes to dealing with taxes. All we need to do is claim that we have added to the complexity at each stage of the development of our tax system since that first tax was levied. The first promise that there would be a temporary income tax has led us to the stage where we've had a number of federal tax changes. I guess the most notable one that was tried most recently was by the federal Liberal tax minister, MacEachen, who was beaten up and booted all over Canada, and later we found that some of those tax measures actually were passed by Brian Mulroney and his band.

Actually, they're an interesting group. They take from the poor and give to the rich, and here we've got a group of people who say that they're in for fair taxes. What they're doing is making everybody equally poor. What's more, with taxes like this one—followed, by the way, in 1992 by more changes to the same Corporations Tax Act—they are ensuring that not only are they reducing the rich to become poor and the poor to become poorer; they're making sure the corporations decide not to stay here.

One of the useful pieces of legislation that we have in our quiver of tools to attract new investment is our tax policies. Whatever the Treasurer may say, when he starts playing around with closing loopholes or trying to do things that look like they are tax shelters, he is making a decision for the people in executive positions in the business organizations of our country. If he does a really good job and closes all the loopholes he will eventually ensure that there will be no loopholes and no advantages for corporations to have their head offices here in Ontario.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources): Are you in favour of loopholes?

Mr Elston: Now, is that important? Well, in some cases, for the member for Algoma, it is important tax policy

to decide that there will be some advantages for establishing corporate head offices here, because it means jobs.

Hon Mr Wildman: There's a difference between tax expenditures and loopholes.

Mr Elston: Tax expenditures—that's what you do, you spend the taxes you collect.

Mr Speaker, the Algoma—

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker: Order. I know the Minister of Natural Resources knows full well that interjections are out of order, and if the member for Bruce would address the Chair.

Mr Elston: The semantics argument aside, we're talking about the same stuff. It may be wrong to call it a loophole, but when you close things they talk in terms of loopholes. When they decide to put a provision in that allows an exemption they call it a tax incentive. I don't care what it's called, but if you close off all the advantages that this particular province has for establishing head offices and businesses here, you will end up having no advantage and people will go to other jurisdictions.

Not only is it a choice now between Ontario, Quebec and BC, but it is more and more a choice about having a head office in Canada or perhaps in the United States or Mexico or potentially a whole series of other places.

I only raise these things because the complexity of this is not the fault of the people who make them; it is partly a fault of the complexity of our society, the ownership rules that have been built up to respond to the tax changes in their earliest incarnations. As we make these things more complex to catch the new schemes which are designed to try to outpace the latest changes in the policy and tax wording, we will continue to become more complex. That's the nature of this business. But at some stage when you start reading these sections you will ultimately overload even the smartest of our professionals, and the whole system will start to explode. In fact, part of our tax revolt is the fact that the people who—

Hon Mr Laughren: He's wrong.

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Mr Elston: Mr Speaker, get that man's credentials, and throw him out if he doesn't have any.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): There is a stranger in the House.

Mr Elston: His distraction has taken me from my line of thought and I may have forgotten where I was going. But part of the problem—

Hon Mr Laughren: This is a blessing for all.

Hon Mr Wildman: Please, let's have some more distraction.

Mr Elston: I'm going to do what I promised to do earlier in this place; I'm going to read my entire leadership campaign speech. If these people don't leave me alone, I'm going to read it. Then there'll be trouble. What we need are more night sittings, I can tell.

Hon Mr Hampton: We understand that was very stimulating.

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): I don't believe it. Murray doesn't have anything to say.

Mr Elston: I have lots to say. I may have more to say than I realized when I first stood up here. I just want to say this: Basically, when we come right down to all the stuff that's happening here, the complexity of the tax system is a response to people's trying to outrace the changes in our tax system until we get to a stage where we simplify it. Until we stop this incremental complexity building in our tax system and in our ownership of assets in trying to avoid taxes or get around taxes, we are going to find ourselves increasingly dragged down into an uncompetitive chase which really takes people away from running their businesses.

The whole issue with running a business is that people get an idea. Let's say it's a small business. They get an idea, they sit down, they try and put their product on the market, whatever that might be. The next thing they start to find out is that if they had done it in this manner, they could have saved themselves \$10,000 or \$20,000, so they hire somebody who saves them \$10,000. But then you keep on spending money and you pursue day after day the elusive dream of getting to a stage where it's all settled and you can do predictably the work your product requires you to do.

What I was about to say when I was interrupted by the Treasurer was this: Part of the reason there is a tax revolt is that people are wearying under the load of trying to outrace the changes in the tax system or out-think the people who will make the changes, trying to respond to the next step to such an extent that—

Mr Drummond White (Durham Centre): We are talking about a bill that is a year and a half old. How much thinking do they have to do?

Mr Elston: The member Drummond White, I guess, doesn't understand what I'm getting at. The whole point of this problem is that so many people are frustrated with the chase that is required by taxation policy, not just here, but in Ottawa and also at the local municipal level, that they can't get back to doing the thing they love best. In some places it's the creating of products which have been of help in the international field. Sometimes it's been a product like a snowblower which has helped create employment in the local community. Mr Speaker, in your case it might have been a spreader.

One of the frustrations in the tax revolt discussions is that people are so consumed by the issues of tax and the incursion in time of the local business person in dealing with taxes that they have no time for the thing they love doing best, which is making products, which is trying to stimulate the economy, which is enjoying themselves in operating their business.

I understand that part of the operation of a business is to do taxes; it is part of the world we're in. But surely at some stage we will have to simplify some of this or we really will explode under the burden. All of a sudden people will find themselves just totally unable to function because 110% of their time is taken up in trying to answer where the next step will be taken with respect to taxes.

Taxes are a big part of it and we're talking now in the Fair Tax Commission about minimum corporate taxes, a whole series of other new taxes, speculation taxes and otherwise, and that just adds to the burden of this.

Maybe to prove my point I should read one of the sections, which I found kind of interesting. Here it is, section 41.1. It's actually section 9 of the bill, 41.1 in the Corporations Tax Act. Here it is:

"(1) Every corporation that has claimed a deduction under subsection 41(1) for a taxation year shall pay, in addition to the amount of tax otherwise payable for the taxation year under this part, a surtax equal to the lesser of,

"(a) the amount claimed as a deduction by the corporation under subsection 41(1) for the taxation year; or

"(b) the amount determined according to the following formula:

$$S = 3.7/100 \times A \times B/200,000$$

"Where:

"S' is the amount determined under this clause;

"A' is the amount, if any, by which the aggregate of,

"(a) the taxable income of the corporation for the taxation year, and

"(b) the taxable income of each corporation with which the corporation was associated at any time during the taxation year, for the last taxation year of such corporation that ended on or before the last day of the corporation's taxation year,

"exceeds,

"(c) \$200,000; and"

That was "S" and "A"; now we go to "B."

"B' is the amount determined by the corporation for the taxation year under subsection 41(2)."

I wish I could finish the rest, but I know that would take me a whole other page.

For the trained ear of the people who are on staff in the Ministry of Revenue, that's not just such a big deal, because they work with that every day. They know the little nuances in some of these phrases. It is not perhaps very difficult for the trained ear of the accountant. It is perhaps not even a difficulty for the trained ear of the lawyer who works daily in this business.

But the people who do business in this province are everyday people, people who are not trained to listen to the nuances in tax statutes. But those people are the ones who have to sign the forms, who have to remit the tax, who have to make the change in their family corporations, in their business arrangements, in their partnerships and every other thing in their business over the long haul, and they are the people who are confused. And you know something, Mr Speaker? They are the people who have to earn the dollars to pay those people with the well-adjusted earlobes who collect all of the nuances of the latest tax changes.

This is 1991. I really have spent longer than I wanted to, and I apologize, but I had a few distractions and I had to get myself back into the train of thought.

Hon Mr Laughren: Don't apologize; it was good.

Mr Elston: Mr Speaker, I want to have it recorded in Hansard that the Treasurer has said my speech has been

good. I want that to go out in my next householder. So if Hansard records that, I can then at least answer the criticisms about my presence here or something.

What we need are more night sittings, as I've said lots of times.

But the people have to earn the money to pay the trained professionals to understand this. The people also have to make enough money to pay for their capital investments, which are going to be subject to special tax rates under this statute. Those people are the ones who have to make the money to pay the people who work for them. They are the people who make the money who then have to go into their own households to allow their mothers and fathers who may be dependent upon them, their children who may be dependent upon them, their extended families who may be dependent upon them, to earn a decent living.

If there is any reason why people are so frustrated, it is that they spend too much of their time dealing with statutes like this. It is not a complaint in a partisan fashion. It is a plea, I guess, in sort of a practical lesson, which would lead us here as legislators to try to grapple with simplifying the way we do business in this place and do business in the tax statutes.

I don't have the answer as to how you make things simple. All I'm afraid of is that at some day in the future we won't have a decision to be made about making things simpler. There won't be anything left to be made simple. I'm very much concerned.

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Actually, there's a simplified version of this form. You only need to ask two questions, I'm told. This is very clever; I never thought of this. Somebody who wasn't speaking during my speech obviously had time to think. It says, "The new New Democratic Party taxation form is composed of the following two questions: (1) How much money do you make? (2) Send it in." Then it requires a statutory declaration that you're not withholding anything that you shouldn't have been withholding.

Mr Speaker, that's a possibility. But you know something that's interesting? We joke about this and it is kind of funny, but there are people in communities right around the province who believe they've already got that far. They believe they work for nothing, filling in papers and a whole series of other things.

Hon Mr Laughren: Is that from a Liberal?

Mr Elston: Yes, it's from a Liberal. It's from a whole bunch of people who listen to a whole group of other people who complain about this.

Hon Mr Laughren: Oh, I see, given your record in tax policy.

Mr Elston: Listen, our record in tax policy is no better or worse than yours. In fact, in the end, because of the deficit which you will leave us, it will be seen to be much, much better. That's a little bit stirring, I suppose; there may be some debate coming as a result of that.

But I cannot claim and will not claim for my party that we didn't raise taxes, because in fact we did. We tried to do the best we could, as some people now say, in meeting the day-to-day operational expenses of our government's

expenditures. The Tories were the most clever group of people when it came to finding new taxes. The New Democrats are going to be and in fact have become clever people in finding new sources of revenue.

What are those new sources? In addition to increasing taxes as they're doing under this form—this is a two-question form. Under the New Democrats, they don't only raise taxes here but they in fact raise money other ways by giving borrowing authority to the trusts, like we just talked about in the waterfront regeneration, and by providing for the municipalities the right to raise money by borrowing on the basis of municipal assets, which to this point in time have largely been sheltered from having loans levied on them. They have found a way of raising money by getting Ontario Hydro to raise rates, and that's a nasty tax. They make Hydro spend what they call social dollars—

Hon Mr Laughren: Who built Darlington?

Mr Elston: We did, the Tories did and you did. Is that enough? You all did. Who required Hydro to raise its rates to pay for expenditures in Kapuskasing and Elliot Lake? It is just another means of avoiding paying tax dollars by forcing Hydro to make the expenditures. The expenditures should have been made, according to my way of thinking, but they ought to have been made by taxpayers' dollars. These people have really done things in raising money in very clever ways.

Every government in this world of ours, in this great province of ours, will be faced with the real problem of, which taxes are you going to raise tomorrow? I respect the fact that the Treasurer today is probably trying to consider where he can move next, because there isn't a lot of flexibility any place in our system, when we find ourselves hampered with so many unemployed people in our province; when our consumption is down so much; when the frustration of the people affects their expenditures in the retail markets. Where does the Treasurer go? I don't blame him for looking at old taxes and new taxes; that's what treasurers are paid to do.

But I won't stand up here and say that we can all be saved harmless because we don't happen to be in government at the moment. All I wanted to do was indicate how complex this was and how this was a great example of why our people are so frustrated.

I don't know how many times I've looked back over the history books to find that taxation has been the cause of major upheaval and major change to the extent that could have not been anticipated at the time. The great story about the tea tax; my God, what has that loosed on us? What did that do? Take a look at what happened with the great empires; taxation or the exaction of money or payments were at the heart of a whole series of discontents because it required minions, people of the government, to go out and force payment from people.

Can't we learn? The more complex our society gets, the more complex the taxes and the more complex the returns are and the more frustrated our people become; they feel like they're spending all their time doing this stuff. Here we are doing 1991's work, and now we're told

that in 1992 changes have already taken place which put part of this into some kind of archive.

Hon Mr Laughren: So why are you debating it at length?

Mr Elston: I'm debating at length, Mr Treasurer, to point out a couple of fundamental problems with the system we find ourselves in. Rather than having a Fair Tax Commission, which really is a "new tax" commission, he ought to be looking at the fundamental need to find a new way of getting resources, rather than putting it on the backs of the men and women who actually own businesses. That's what you're doing. You're just transferring it out of the government, making all the work be done by accountants and lawyers paid for by men and women who have businesses.

It's too much for us. At some stage we will be faced with total unravelling if we are not careful. Certainly we are now faced as constituency people with unhappy people. It's one of the things Preston Manning is growing on: the discontent with taxation authority, of the complexities around it.

I've said more than I wanted to say, I've spoken longer than I wanted to speak. But, Mr Speaker, I can't for a moment abide by the sense that to pass this is going to be of any assistance to our business community.

Hon Mr Laughren: That's why we changed it this year.

Mr Elston: You've changed it this year already. In fact, the ground has moved. The ground has already moved well beyond us. Mr Speaker, I would like—

Hon Mr Wildman: Did you say the earth moved?

Mr Elston: Mr Speaker, I was just listening to the member for Algoma who is not in his seat. As I said yesterday, this guy, the member for Algoma, ought to get Joe Clark's job. I think he is handling his two complex portfolios in such a way that if he doesn't get Clark's job federally when his federal leader takes over—that might be in the year 2045 or whatever, but whoever is around in those days should recognize the great job the Joe Clark of the Ontario Legislature is doing in his role as Minister of Natural Resources and the minister responsible for native affairs.

I sort of slipped off the edge of the bill, but I am going to sit down now. I think the point has been made to the people who are listening that it's impossible to understand our tax legislation unless you are fully engrossed in it, unless you are paid to be part of it, either at the initiation stages, at the tax return stages or in fact at the collection stages. That's why not only are our people frustrated but our courts are clogged and our appeal tribunals are clogged with trying to figure out whether everybody is paying a fair share of her or his tax obligations.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I enjoyed the sermon from the member for Bruce as much as I enjoyed the interjections from the current Treasurer, the two noted parliamentarians who between them are responsible for over 57 tax increases to the taxpayers of this province in the last seven years—and those are the ones that we even know about. If we're listening to our constituents,

our constituents are telling us, "Stop playing politics with taxation." We have a ping-pong game going on in this House.

I ask you to look at section 15 of this bill. The Liberals, in a bold political move to prop up their auto insurance approach, gave the insurance companies a \$150-million tax break in order that premiums would drop just prior to the election.

I'm pleased that the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations is in the House tonight, because the Treasurer has seen this little benefit and opportunity to tax and he's figuring again on playing politics with this issue. The Treasurer said, "Aha, let's grab that \$150 million, maybe \$200 million." What's it going to do? All those rebates that were going to individual policyholders in this province, all those policies, now they're not going to get those rebates. Why? Because the government is playing politics with taxation policy to prop up its theory that the private sector can't reduce its auto premiums when it gets a break from government.

The Liberals gave them a break in order to drop their premiums, but you couldn't live with that. You had to go and play politics with it and say, "God, we can't have insurance premiums dropping while we're about to turn our back on public auto insurance." That's what this bill does. It's going to suck another \$200 million of premiums out of policyholders in this province. That's what this bill does. You know that's what you're doing. My constituents asked me to come here tonight and say, "Stop playing politics with taxation policy."

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

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Mr Callahan: I listened to the member for Bruce and he did assist me in terms of what this bill is about. It is a very complex bill. I'm awaiting the explanation, in summing up, by the minister. Because if the member for Bruce, who is a lawyer, has difficulty in understanding this bill and if the minister in introducing the bill did not explain to us what the bill was all about, it means she may have introduced a bill into the House which she knows nothing about. If that's the case, then the people who are under the parapet are the people who put it together. I'm sure they're fine people but we cannot—with that type of responsibility of a minister not knowing what the bill is, any bill could be introduced into this House.

Without knowing what it's all about, without having an appropriate explanation from the minister, we may very well find we're voting for a bill that will tax the people of Ontario unnecessarily or inappropriately. I'm waiting with bated breath. I see the Treasurer is sitting next to the minister. I'm sure he will brief her on exactly what this bill means and she will tell us in 50 words or less how simple it is to understand the bill because she understands it fully.

I'm really amazed that she didn't open by telling us what the bill was about. We all know that in every piece of legislation introduced into the House there is a very succinct description of exactly what it means. Clearly she's been well briefed by her officials and she knows exactly what

this bill will do, I would hope. As hard as the member for Bruce attempted to explain it to us, it is a complex bill. But one would expect that a minister of the crown, who has all of the responsibilities of a minister, would fully understand the bill and would be able to explain it in a succinct and appropriate fashion to the people of Ontario, since it means that the Treasurer has the right to put his hand in the pockets of the people of Ontario and take their money.

Madam Minister, I would hope that before you're finished you will tell all of us in succinct words what the bill means.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr White: I want to compliment the member for Bruce on his elocution, on the very simple points he made about how complex legislation like this is. This bill of course is a piece of legislation which amends a substantive piece of tax legislation. The member for Bruce knows, as a lawyer, how important such pieces of legislation are. Every single item, every single section, is an amendment to another tax act. Thus, were it not for bills like this, we wouldn't have the obscurantism, we wouldn't have the pettifoggery, we wouldn't have the livelihood of so many of our friends in the legal profession. I thank the member opposite for pointing out the importance of his profession in obscuring what would otherwise be a perfectly confused piece of legislation.

What is even more obscurant in this legislation is the fact that it's a year old. We're reflecting policy from last year, from 1991's budget. The important legislation is forthcoming, the legislation which reflects the realities of 1992 and the importance of having corporate minimum taxes reduced to some degree, a reduction in tax for corporations, a reduction for small businesses. Those are the significant, pressing issues we need to get on to in our legislative agenda. I thank the member for Bruce for his eloquence, and as well for taking so relatively little time in dealing with legislation that is of course a year old.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Chiarelli: I want to compliment the member for Bruce for his comments, but I'm very saddened by the fact that a member such as the member for Bruce, with his wealth of experience, his common sense and the fact that he's very honourable in debate, is never recognized by the government side.

I think there are a lot of people who believe that the government listens to some things the opposition says. We have in the member for Bruce a former Minister of Health, a former Minister of Financial Institutions and a former Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, and I can say that his words are not listened to the least bit. The government is not wise enough or smart enough to take his counsel, or the counsel of other members in opposition, when he has so much to contribute, nor have they been following the advice of a lot of experienced people who form part of the diverse province that we have.

The member could have been very political. He could have quoted the member for Eglinton last week when she

said that from 1981 to 1984 Mike Harris supported the Conservative government in 16 tax increases, but he chose not to do so. He could have said that Mike Harris supported increases in personal income tax, OHIP premiums, beer taxes, fuel taxes, tobacco taxes and a 5% surcharge on Ontario personal income tax etc.

The member for Bruce could have said that but he didn't because he's an honourable gentleman and he's interested in honest debate and in giving fair and honest advice to the government which, I am sad to say, I don't believe it's listening to, and I think this Legislature could really be improved and enriched if people listened to each other and their advice.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): I thank my colleague for introducing, I think, a note of reality to this debate. There are two things that are certain, death and taxes, but the third thing I'd add to that list is that every government, sooner or later, has to face the people. The Conservative government faced the people and it was recognized then—

Mr Jackson: Survived 42 years, as I recall.

Mr Scott: —that they had a tax record that was not popular with the people. Our government—

Mr Jackson: Oh no, our time had come, 42 years was enough. We didn't want a North American record.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. Order.

Mr Scott: The member for Burlington South, I tell his constituents, is becoming virtually intolerable.

Mr Jackson: I'm always easier to take over a couple of drinks, Ian; you know that.

Mr Scott: Our government had to face the electorate and the charge was put against us that we had raised 33 new taxes, but this government, before it gets overconfident, had better face the fact that it's going to meet the people too in three years and it's going to be seen, and there may be reasons to justify it—

Mr Jackson: You hope they're going to beat your record.

Mr Scott: —as the government that has most significantly raised taxes in the history of Ontario. The deficit of the province tripling over the next three years is going to be paid for, and it's going to be paid for by taxes. It's going to be paid for by taxes raised by this party, or its successors, and imposed upon the ratepayers of the province of Ontario.

Before the government of the day gets carried away with what a wonderful job it's doing and how its record is better than everybody else's in the province and how it isn't raising taxes nearly as much as anybody else, it better come to grips with the fact that in three years, the obligation of that government, those members, to raise the taxes of the ratepayers in Ontario will escalate beyond anything the other older parties have had even the opportunity to undertake.

I may not be here, God knows, but I venture to say that in 1995 there will be no question that this government,

through circumstances that may be justified, will be obliged to raise taxes—

The Acting Speaker: Thank you.

Mr Scott: —at a level that has never been seen in Ontario.

The Acting Speaker: I wish to thank the honourable member. The member for Bruce has two minutes in response.

Mr Elston: With all those interjections, I think I should get more than two minutes, but I'll hold myself back.

I thank my colleagues for their comments, but it's interesting to note that every time we try to deal with bills like the Corporations Tax Act, the debate is usually quite short, and the reason it's quite short is because most of us don't understand the sections. We sort of take the advice from the people whose job it is to put this stuff together, and I admire them—I really do—because I couldn't spend all of my time rattling around these clauses; I mean, I really can't.

I took income tax when I was in law school and I liked it for a pursuit for a time, but I don't have the discipline nor do I have the courage to try to find my way through a labyrinth of interesting ownership techniques and tools which allow us to try to find out if people are paying their fair share of taxes, or at least to try to enforce the payment of a fair share of taxes.

It is a noble pursuit, but is a pursuit for which I am not well suited because I don't have the patience for it. If I don't have the patience for it, it is no wonder my constituents have lost patience with the tax system. It is no wonder that all of us are getting people coming to us and saying: "Why are you doing this again? I just went to my accountant. He/she says that I have to pay this much more when last year I paid him/her so much to try and set up a situation that would let me keep some of my hard-earned dollars."

Our whole future depends on the business community creating jobs. I'm not talking about big business. I'm not talking about particular people. I'm talking about the men and women who are living in Ontario and wishing to create products which will employ people in distribution, employ people in manufacturing and otherwise. If we don't let up on these people, we soon won't have anybody to pay for anything in this province and that's discouraging.

2250

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): I don't think that members of the Legislature should use the excuse that because a tax statute or a law is difficult, we are excused from debating it and for not finding out what in fact is included within that statute. I want to thank the Ministry of Revenue officials who offered me, this afternoon, the opportunity of a briefing. I wasn't able to attend that briefing because I was involved with the standing committee on administration of justice dealing with some other bills for which I have taken some responsibility. But I was given some briefing notes or a compendium of the act which clearly outlines what in fact is included in this Corporations Tax Amendment Act.

While Mr White, the member for Durham Centre, would claim that this law is a year old, in fact it's not a year old. It was only introduced on April 15, 1992, although the intention was put forward by the Treasurer a year ago when he introduced the budget in 1991. I believe it was early May 1991. Therefore, for the members of the government to complain that the opposition somehow has been dragging its heels on this legislation is a bogus argument. This legislation was introduced only a month and a half ago and this is the first opportunity we have had to debate it.

In my view, there are three important things to take into consideration in this act. First of all, this is a taxation act. It increases taxes on small business. It increases taxes on financial institutions and it increases taxes on automobile insurance premiums.

I thought we would never see an NDP government, which ran on a platform of lower automobile insurance premiums in 1987—the central plank to its platform was lower automobile insurance premiums. So what did the Treasurer of Ontario do in his very first budget? He increased premiums on automobile insurance by charging a 3% surcharge on those automobile insurance premiums.

I don't know how they live with themselves when they had staked their political future on such principles as lowering automobile insurance and focused so much on that particular issue. They have abandoned public auto insurance and they have increased the premiums for the people of Ontario, be they old, be they middle-aged or be they young people.

I find that extremely difficult to accept from this government and I want to indicate our heartfelt opposition to this legislation. I don't believe any amount of debate is going to stop these people from reneging on their campaign promises. I don't believe any amount of talk is going to stop their unmitigated rush to increase all kinds of taxes, taxes which have been shown in the budget, taxes which have been brought forward by regulation by the Attorney General on estates and all kinds of various other parts of our legal system. We will continue in this party to oppose each and every tax increase, and this bill only represents at least three more of those tax increases which we so ardently oppose.

The Acting Speaker: I believe all members who wished to participate have participated. The Minister of Revenue may have a few final statements.

Hon Ms Wark-Martyn: I'd like to inform the member for Bruce that subsection 4(2), which he found very difficult to understand and very complicated, was a benefit that was conferred on the business community by your government in 1988. The amendment we made to this section was to simplify it for business and it's something the corporations have welcomed.

I'd also like to inform both the opposition parties that it took 42 years of Conservative government and five years of Liberal government to come where we have in this province, with the high taxation and the lack of equality and fairness for all the people of this province. I am sure the people of Ontario are not naïve and will vote for us and

support us as we put equality and fair taxation into the province.

The Acting Speaker: Ms Wark-Martyn has moved second reading of Bill 11, the Corporations Tax Amendment Act.

I have received from the government whip the following correspondence:

"To the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly:

"Pursuant to standing order 27(g), I request that the vote on the motion by the Honourable Shelley Wark-Martyn for second reading of Bill 11, An Act to amend the Corporations Tax Act, be deferred until immediately following routine proceedings on Wednesday, June 24, 1992."

It is signed by Shirley Coppen, MPP, chief government whip.

Vote deferred.

2300

ONTARIO LOAN ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992

SUR LES EMPRUNTS DE L'ONTARIO

Mr Laughren moved second reading of Bill 16, An Act to authorize borrowing on the credit of the Consolidated Revenue Fund. / Loi autorisant des emprunts garantis par le Trésor.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): The 1992 Ontario Loan Act will provide the government with authority to borrow up to \$16.5 billion over the period ending December 31, 1993. The amount of the loan act is calculated as the sum of the financing requirements for this year plus the financing requirements for the first nine months of the next fiscal year. We have also added a contingency of \$600 million to allow the government to accelerate the borrowing program slightly to take advantage of any opportunities to borrow funds at low interest rates.

It is traditional to request authority to meet the borrowing needs for part of the following fiscal year to allow adequate time for the passage of subsequent Loan Acts, thus ensuring an orderly borrowing program.

This year's borrowing program will include bonds, treasury bills, US commercial paper and medium-term notes, as well as borrowings from the Canada pension plan.

Mr Speaker, I am pleased to engage in the debate on second reading and I look forward to the comments and even the advice of the members of the opposition.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Villeneuve): Questions and/or comments on the Treasurer's opening remarks? Further debate? The honourable member for Bruce.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Well, Mr Speaker, as though I haven't said enough already.

Interjections.

Mr Elston: I was so attracted to the interjections of the honourable Treasurer in my previous speech that I may attempt to get his attention again this time.

We have here a request for some \$16.5 billion dollars in terms of being able to borrow that much money. That is

just about the same amount of money the Treasurer is going to be faced with in terms of deficit financing for the current fiscal year. It is striking to me that we are dealing with this loan act just before the summer holidays, when everybody else in this province is trying to figure out how they are going to take some time away from their jobs and their homes—actually, how they are going to find enough money, because they have no jobs, to take a break from the everyday frustrations of the Ontario economy we are now in.

It is very, very difficult for people to think about what \$16.5 billion means. What is a billion dollars in terms of the realities of the woman or the man who is on the main street of our small towns who can't find a job? And we're asking ourselves, is it okay for us to borrow 16.5 of those billions of dollars?

The magnitude of this number is huge by anybody's standards, it seems to me, maybe with the exception of the United States and a fellow by the name of Ross Perot, who by himself is a billionaire with a tremendous personal wealth capacity, a huge capacity. I don't know what his total net worth is, but perhaps he could give us the money in the province of Ontario. Doesn't that strike us all as slightly odd? Of course, it is the same North American community that has given him that tremendous wealth.

Hon Mr Laughren: I don't think he's a New Democrat.

Mr Elston: Somebody thinks Mr Perot is not a New Democrat. I think he is not a Democrat at all, but then we will soon find out as the press finds out more about H. Ross Perot as he runs to become President of the United States, an economy with which we are engaged in perhaps not mortal combat for the jobs in North America's economy but certainly a devastating struggle for a piece of the action.

When we get the authority to borrow \$16.5 billion, as this Treasurer will, because we all recognize the fact that he's got to have it, isn't it interesting that we've got to have \$16.5 billion while I've got people at home who this spring couldn't borrow \$25,000 to fund their farm operations? I couldn't get people money if I tried in the magnitude of \$10,000 to keep their family farms going for another year. We couldn't find another \$55,000 or \$60,000 to keep a couple of plants going in my area, so that the women and men who are on the line there could continue to earn an income.

Now, \$50,000 compared to \$16.5 billion is a huge, huge number and the concern I expressed before about the taxes is a concern that is often relayed to me, but there's a second concern that's attached to concern about paying taxes, that is, that the money that is spent by the government of this province—again, I'm not going to be partisan on this, but government in general—is not spent for the people, they think, who pay the actual tax dollars. "What do I get from all of those expenditures?" What am I going to tell the people in Chepstow they're getting out of this borrowing of \$16.5 billion? What is it?

My difficulty is that, first of all, none of those people probably will ever see \$1 billion, let alone \$16.5 billion. What is that I tell the people about the priorities that are attached to the expenditures of this \$16.5 billion? Basi-

cally, what I have to tell them is that it falls into a giant black hole called the consolidated revenue fund to be mixed there—it's probably spent before it gets in, by the way—but it's mixed and is sent out at a speed that is dizzying to even those people who are—

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): Try a Carl Sagan analogy there: billions and billions.

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): Oh, Cam, please keep quiet.

Mr Elston: This is the first time one of my speeches has ever mobilized any member of the audience. I'm afraid I'm going to have to take lessons on how to cool my speeches out.

Mr Scott: I may have to run in Burlington South.

Mr Jackson: You would be welcome to try.

Mr Scott: I'd probably clean your clock, my friend.

Mr Elston: Oh, my God. I think we have a challenge here. It could be that the member for St George-St David will be running in Burlington South some time. This is sounding rather ominous, and it all comes about as a result of me talking about \$16.5 billion. I'm not sure where the connection is, but we're about to get to it, I'm afraid, someplace along the line.

What I was talking about was my constituents wondering: "Where does the money go? What do I get out of this \$16.5-billion expenditure?" The feeling is: "I pay taxes, I work hard, I don't get anywhere, I don't get ahead. I don't find myself being able to predict that I can provide a decent living for my kids, for my family, for my extended family. I can't do the things in my community that I thought were important and worthwhile. The world changes. I lose my job, maybe in fact lose home, lose family members as a result of the economy, and my local representative is in Queen's Park tonight approving a measure that allows the government of Ontario to borrow \$16.5 billion."

This year alone, the budget projection deficit is \$9.9 billion. Most people don't think this year, unlike what they said last year of the Treasurer's projection which in those days was phrased in terms of "spot on," that the \$9.9-billion deficit projected for the current year is spot on. That might be a little bit difficult. I think, as with most treasurers, what they do is move the spot. The spot moves.

Mr Paul Klopp (Huron): I told him about Round-up; he got it confused with "spot on."

Mr Elston: The member for Huron, who now resides just temporarily in the Premier's seat, has told me he was talking to the Treasurer about the agricultural industry and discussing Round-up with him, but we couldn't afford to buy Round-up in our part of the country because there was no money for our farm people to borrow. While we're talking about borrowing \$16.5 billion, it was tough for people to get money to put their crops in this year. Not everybody had that difficulty, but a lot of people had the difficulty, and a lot of people had difficulty because there wasn't funding in place quickly enough under the Minister of Agriculture and Food's program to put the money out in the spring planting season. Maybe if this \$16.5 billion had

been borrowed first it would have been there for my constituents. Maybe it would have been there for a lot of farm constituents right around the province.

2310

What the people are really concerned about is that they pay their taxes but they don't seem to get anything back for it. There are a couple of problems, and it is partly because we've become accustomed to all the programs that we do pay for in this province.

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): Who created them?

Mr Elston: Some of them brought in by the Conservative government, some brought in by our government, some now brought in by the New Democratic Party government.

But in the end, the people don't see the result of the expenditure any more. There is no measurement of an effective type of fiscal arrangement any more that says to the individual taxpayer or consumer of our government services, "This is value for your dollar." I don't know how the Treasurer's going to stand here in this House at another time and say, "For the \$16.5 billion I can point to this and this and this as value for the dollar."

I see the Minister of Education. The Minister of Education right now heads a department which is most under attack, because there is a real sense that there isn't value for the dollars being spent, and he is spending a lot of money, like his predecessors have, on trying to provide educational services for our province. But a lot of people in my constituency and a lot of people in the city of Toronto, who I see on a daily basis, are talking about not getting the results that should be coming from the dollars that we spend.

Mr David Winninger (London South): They're talking about your 12 trips last year, Murray.

Mr Elston: The honourable member for London South is criticizing me for having taken 12 trips on legislative business last year. I did take 12 trips. I don't know what the cost of those 12 trips was. Why don't you tell me? What was it?

Mr Winninger: It's \$3,195.

Mr Elston: Thirty-one hundred dollars for doing business around the province. That's 12 trips. Those were "luxury" fares all around the province. I did it because in the days when I was in the opposition leader's office, I chose to use my legislative trips to take me from one place to another around this province so I could talk to some men and women. I don't think it's worthwhile to really dwell on it too much, but \$3,100 for 12 trips isn't that much, except to say that the honourable member for London South is right to identify that expenditure as part of the \$16.5 billion that will have to be found for this current fiscal year. It's part of the taxation costs. There isn't any question about that at all.

From my point of view, everyone of us makes some expenditures which we're either prepared to measure against rational expenditures or we're going to be condemned for not expending anything. If he wants to condemn me for having used the 12 trips, that's fine; I guess

I'll have to wear that. But I want to tell the people of the province—

Hon Mr Laughren: You're a bit defensive.

Mr Elston: The Treasurer says to me, "You're a bit defensive on the 12 trips." Well, I'll tell you, I feel defensive in this place about the expenditure of taxpayers' money because it's costing a lot of money for each member in this House on an average basis, and every time we spend money as members it's something that we can't put in the field to provide the government services. And I do feel touchy about it, I really do, but until I can find airfare in this province that costs less to give me a plane ride from Sudbury to Kingston than it does to take a plane fare from Toronto to London, England, then maybe we'll have some other debate at that time.

I've gotten away from the point, but it does talk about the expenditures of money here and I am defensive about it because, to be quite honest, the whole world is reflecting on the amount of money spent by their elected officials, not only at this level on their own operations—

Hon Mr Laughren: You shouldn't be.

Mr Elston: Well, I am, because we are spending money and people are saying, "What value do we get from you guys?" That is the real question. They say, "What are you doing talking there at quarter after 11?" It's actually probably a better time to talk here than if it were in prime time. "What are you doing talking there? What value do we get from you? What value do we get from the Minister of Education's department? What value do we get from the Minister of Northern Development and Mines' department?" Those are all things we ought to be defensive about, because there isn't a lot of money out there to be collected or, as the member for Huron was describing to the Treasurer, to be rounded up.

What value is there in all this? The expenditures made by the members here or by the Minister of Education are trying at least to provide value added for all our offices, for the kids that the Minister of Education is responsible for—or maybe it's responsible to; I suppose in this line of business we're responsible to the children, because in the end what they take from the expenditures that are made to provide them with some educational services will end up forming their experiences in school, also providing them with the backdrop for what will become of them in later life, I believe.

What value is given from having a bunch of people around here, 130 members, some with more assets, to be quite honest, than others have to play with, some bottom lines in these expense accounts or sheets which are out here on our desks tonight which are—

Mr Stockwell: Unbelievable.

Mr Elston: Well, no, the bottom lines are actually sort of reduced in size because of certain status, as in executive council or House leaders' roles or chief whips or parliamentary assistants.

When we start asking the question, should we be borrowing \$16.5 billion? there's only one answer: There is no question that we have to borrow it. We have to provide health care, we have to provide education and we have to

provide other services, but maybe it's a time when we ask ourselves, do we have to provide everything we are doing?

I happen to have a position which requires—at least which has forced me, I guess, in some ways to reflect upon the absolute essential nature of providing health care services in this province. Every time I hear about the possible decanting of one service or another out of our health field, I somehow feel like I have lost part of my culture.

The great thing I like about Ontario is that I can walk around any part of North America and look at those other people and say, in the province of Ontario, if you fall ill, you don't have to worry about whether or not you can afford to go to a hospital or a doctor or another type of practitioner; you can go; you can get access to those services.

It is not a punishment to become ill as it is in some other places, notably our great neighbour to the south of us, where indeed some 40 million people—and now, because that was a figure I used to use in the Health ministry, probably more than 40 million people—are without any kind of support in health services at all. Another group of people, a large number of people, don't have substantial coverage for health services. Another group of people of course can afford to buy whatever there is that is offered in that great country to the south of us.

I guess we got distracted a wee bit by my colleague from London South, and perhaps he'll want to go through his entire list when he stands up to tell us what he spent money on in London South and other places, but really the borrowing cannot be avoided because that's where we find ourselves.

But the exercise that the member for Nickel Belt, the Treasurer, is going to have to go through is weeding out the places where he doesn't necessarily have to spend the money. So far the exercise which he has undertaken has been trying to find bits and pieces of money—and that has been the way with Treasurers for as long as I can recall, which is really only about 11 years; that's my experience here—has been a sort of broadcasting of a net over the entire operation and pulling in to him what he can.

The exercise which was brought to my attention by several of my then cabinet colleagues was one of really setting priorities in which you establish clearly and firmly what the government believes ought to be the real priorities of expenditure and saying, for times when our fiscal situation prevents us from paying for everything we see, that at least these several areas are going to be protected from the erosion that could cause a collapse of the system we know, and which can have devastating effects on the individual men and women of this province who need the support we should be offering.

The borrowing probably has to be carried out because the federal authorities are cutting back in their transfer payments, but can we expect any differently because, I'll tell you, in the end, whether it's a municipal tax, a provincial tax or a federal tax, I only have one wallet, and as one taxpayer all three levels of government will take the money from me, and they will take it from my constituents, and they will take it from the constituents of the member for Nickel Belt, and they will take it from the

pockets of the member for London South and from his constituents: one pocketbook.

Our problem right now is we have a country and a province that cannot find exactly where we want to put our real asset base to work. We want to spread it all over every place, and maybe some of the things we've been doing are not now essential. Education, I would argue, is extremely essential. I would argue that health care is extremely essential. I would argue that the member for London Centre in her role as Minister of Community and Social Services is putting a lot of work into an essential area. But maybe, Mr Treasurer, you can't keep going to all those places if you expect to be doing a good job in the ones that really count for the women and the men and the children of this province.

2320

Borrow \$16.5 billion? I guess so. But what is \$16.5 billion when you don't have \$16.50 to buy yourself the next month's rent, the next meal, make the next payment on your mortgage, on your car or in fact even decide whether or not there is \$16.50 to get yourself a little gift around one of the important events in your year?

What is \$16.5 billion? I don't know. For a lot of people it really is not something that they even want to think about. All they know is that they don't have resources. All they know is that they can't just stand up in the House some day in their own place and say, "Give me \$16.5 billion," like we can. We're privileged. But it is our responsibility and it is our obligation to those people to set clear priorities for how we spend those \$16.5 billion, so they actually get to the women and men who need our help. That, in the end, is probably the reason that all of us who may be voting against this in some ways will feel just a touch guilty because we know the Treasurer has to have his fix of dollars.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I thank the honourable member for Bruce for his contribution and invite comments and/or questions.

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): The member for Bruce referred to the unfortunate timing of the introduction for second reading being five after 11 in the evening.

The Treasurer introduced for second reading a bill which basically has one section, and it says that the government "may borrow in any manner provided by the Financial Administration Act such sums, not exceeding a total aggregate amount of \$16.5 billion, as are considered necessary to discharge any indebtedness or obligation of Ontario."

What is important here is that we're dealing on second reading with a bill authorizing the borrowing of \$16.5 billion at the same time as the government House leader is introducing proposed rules that would restrict the right of the opposition to debate this particular type of legislation to approximately five-and-a-half hours. It is important for the people of Ontario to realize that the new rules on this type of bill, introduced for second reading to authorize \$16.5 billion of borrowing, would restrict the opposition to a mere five-and-a-half hours debate. The people of Ontario do not yet realize the significance of the restrictions that

are being placed on the members of this Legislature who are trying to do their work on behalf of the people of Ontario.

If you can just conceive, Mr Speaker, that they would want us to be limited to five-and-a-half hours debate to approve their \$16.5 billion worth of borrowing, it's a shame, and the people of Ontario do not yet realize it and we in opposition are trying to make them aware of it. We hope they realize it before it's too late.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): I just always enjoy listening to the member for Bruce. It's such a sort of warped view that one is able to have a sense of humour when one is listening to it.

Indeed, his memory is failing him, because when you go back to when the New Democrats took power on September 6, it was just after the Liberals had forecast a surplus in the budget of the province of Ontario. Then soon after, when they started to analyse the books—at that point there was still some integrity left with the government—there was some sense that in fact there wasn't a surplus; it was a deficit.

Now mind you, what's happened since then is the Liberal policies have been implemented by the New Democrats. Let's face it: There isn't any doubt that the reason we have gone into debt is in part, and large part, because of the Liberal squandering of the wealth of Ontario.

Mr Scott: Squandering?

Mr Cousens: They just threw it away, Ian. I couldn't believe it, so for them to stand up with such righteous indignation about the way the government's spending is not without having some guilt of their own. The first thing is to understand that he who is without sin casts the first stone. If you do, you know what it's going to feel like. But for the New Democrats there isn't any doubt that you have drawn the correct conclusion.

I will not support this bill. I cannot tolerate the way these New Democrats, under Floyd Laughren, the Deputy Premier, spend money with such abandon, increasing the debt of Ontario more than all the provinces combined. We in Ontario are now leading as far as deficit is concerned. Then you come along and just want to borrow more for the bad spending habits.

You haven't learned any of the lessons. You haven't understood what it is to balance the budget. If you do this with your own personal accounting, you're going to be bankrupt. Well, you're doing that to the province of Ontario. We are going to have a hard time getting out of the problems that you're creating for us when we take power a few years from now.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I think it's interesting to note that slipped in this little piece of legislation is subsection 1(2). It says, "The authority to borrow conferred by this act is in addition to that conferred by any other act." That means this is just the tip of the iceberg. There are other ways the Treasurer can get at borrowing.

Let me tell you something: We talk about wonderful words around here like the consolidated revenue fund because the people out there don't understand that's just a

bottomless pit into which all the money goes. We talk about order in council, which sounds like a delightful thing where the Lieutenant Governor comes in and gives his sanction and his blessing to borrowing of revenues by the government.

These people have been dipping in, through what is known as orders in council, to increase the fees for registering a document for all the real estate processes by \$2. They've increased the probate fees by a spectacular amount for people who have an estate over \$50,000, because they're rich. I suggest to you that what the Treasurer is doing tonight is asking for the authority to borrow \$16.5 billion and in fact what he's doing is he's dipping into the pockets of people secretly through these cabinet orders.

We will only see the result of that when we go to buy a home or when we die or when we go to buy—the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations is now going to allow you to use credit cards to buy booze in the liquor store and groceries. What do you think is going to happen? That is in fact an indirect tax on the people of this province.

When you stand here and try to put through this simple bill at 11:30 at night with the limited debate, as my colleague has said, the \$16.5 billion, you are not telling the public the true facts. You have access to an awful lot more money and you people will spend, spend, spend, spend. The taxpayers don't mind paying taxes when they see some results but they're not seeing any results.

Mr Scott: I'd like to congratulate the honourable member for Bruce on his remarks. In the course of them, the Treasurer made an interesting observation because someone was referring to the fact that the Attorney General and the cabinet have increased legal fees, in some cases by up to 300%, in order to raise revenue. The Treasurer of course laughed that off and said, "Who feels sorry for the lawyers?" I just want to bring to the attention of the people of Ontario—

Hon Mr Laughren: If it is not the lawyers, what is it?

Mr Scott: No, he still thinks it's funny because he thinks it's a tax on lawyers. The fact is the lawyers are simply the tax collectors for the government. If for example a single parent has to go to court to get support and the fee to commence that proceeding has been raised by 300%, does the Treasurer really think the lawyer pays that fee? Of course the lawyer doesn't pay it. He says to the client, "I can't commence the proceeding until you bring in that money, which the Treasurer wants, and if you don't, I can't commence it."

So the Treasurer is really quite naïve, isn't he? He thinks somehow it is a tax on lawyers. If it were, I'd be delighted to pay it as one of them. It's a tax on clients. The worst thing is, it's a tax on people who have family law disputes, who need to go to court to get custody, who have their young kids in trouble with the law. The Treasurer, to bail himself out of this mess he's in, has decided those people had better start paying. He thinks he can laugh it all off and the people will buy it if he says, "The lawyers are going to pay." No one who's ever been to a lawyer will believe that for one single minute. The client pays the fees.

The Treasurer doesn't understand the most straightforward things about how money's expended in the province.
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The Speaker: The member's time has expired.

Mr Scott: The people of Ontario had better understand that. Not only is he getting us into a mess; he doesn't understand the problems that he's creating.

The Speaker: As excellent as the contribution may be, the time has expired.

The member for Bruce has up to two minutes to respond to the statements made.

Mr Elston: I want to thank the honourable member for Markham, the honourable W. Donald Cousens, who obviously was not here when I was speaking. I don't know where he was. I wasn't casting stones or aspersions or anything else on anybody but merely noting for his edification that the people of the province have become accustomed to certain programs. There is a custom in this province so far, by each of the political parties that are running for office, trying to tell people that there is for them more and more and more to pay for their favourite programs. We can't continue to do that.

Or we keep asking everybody if they will pay the bill later for the borrowing of \$16.5 billion today. That was my point. I wasn't casting aspersions on anybody. I didn't say that any of us have been blameless in that. But we are all to blame for letting people think or believe that in fact there is a neverending trail of money trees in this province that is going to pay for everything that people ask us to give.

To be quite blunt, as a member from Bruce county, as a member in this Legislative Assembly, as a member who wants to do the right thing for our people, for my kids, we've got to tell people that we can't give them anything; that whatever service is provided in this province will be paid for one way, one day or another. It will be paid by me in forgoing an old age pension, it will be paid by me in forgoing my Canada pension, it may be paid by me forgoing my member's pension, but one way, one day the things that we tell people we are giving them will be paid for in this province by us or by our children or this province will be taken away from us.

It's about time we learned that lesson.

The Speaker: Further debate?

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): I think the significant part of this bill is that it says that the borrowing authority expires at the end of December 1993. That may be true, but the cost of borrowing \$16.5 billion does not end at the end of December 1993. The cost of borrowing this much money along with the cost of carrying the accumulated annual deficit that this socialist government is leaving to this province as a legacy will go on long past December 1993. In fact it will probably go on past all of our grandchildren and great-grandchildren. That is the tragedy of this Bill 16 that is before the House tonight.

As I stand here at 25 minutes before midnight tonight to make a few comments on Bill 16, I'm happy to note that in the House are the Minister of Education and the Minis-

ter of Community and Social Services, because I would like to give them each an example of why I am opposed to borrowing \$16.5 billion.

We are not in this province today looking after the people that we need to look after in terms of priority from the very beginning. Yes, this government is spending more money than it's receiving. This government is not balancing or even attempting to balance its books. Admittedly, when this government came to office it inherited, instead of what it thought was an \$11 million surplus from the previous Liberal government, what was the beginning of a deficit, which last year was just under \$10 billion, which this year is just over \$10 billion, and we're very fearful that next year it may be as high as \$14 billion.

I think that one of the significant facts about where we are today in Ontario with our annual deficit and our accumulated debt is one simple set of figures. When the Conservative government went out of office in 1985 it was 118 years since Confederation. In 118 years since Confederation this province had accumulated \$30 billion in debt. In the next five years under the Liberal government we increased that \$30 billion to \$40 billion. In the two years that the Bob Rae socialist government has been in office we have added another \$20 billion. So this is very significant from the fact that it took 118 years to have a \$30 billion debt. We now have another \$20 billion added to that.

Most people learn at a very early age that, as one other member has said but it's actually an expression that we have used a lot in our family, you simply spend within your allowable income. You don't borrow from the future for the present. I wouldn't mind if I felt that this government was borrowing because it was managing the money it does get in income across the province, if it was managing that money well. Obviously we are aware of the fact that this government has no idea what it's doing with money in terms of priorities.

I would say to the Minister of Community and Social Services that in the city of Mississauga we have an organization with which I know she is familiar, and that is Community Living. Community Living Mississauga has had an accumulation of what is now a five-year waiting list to service its clients. They have an inordinate number of clients on their waiting list. Community Living Mississauga, because of its reduced funding from the province over the last five or six years, has been placed in the unenviable position of having to close its waiting lists. They are simply saying that if a waiting list is five years long, what is the point of adding more names to it? They are closing their waiting list at the same time that the region of Peel is growing 20,000 people a year.

Twenty thousand people a year is more people than the majority of the 843 municipalities in this province have as their total residency. This Minister of Community and Social Services has inherited a situation which I plead to her to remedy, and if this government is going to borrow \$16.5 billion, surely there should be some remedy for the people who most need it. I would suggest that in a perfect world, if there was a money tree at Queen's Park, we could do everything for everybody. We recognize that is not possible. We simply say, and I'm saying on behalf of my residents and

particularly the people who need the services of Community Living Mississauga, please prioritize in terms of human need. Please decide that those people who are not in a position to have an equal opportunity because they have all kinds of frailties and developmental disabilities need the help and support through programs.

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When those programs are not available, they don't have a choice of supporting themselves, going out to work, freeing their parents of responsibility for them. When these clients who need this special care cannot access it, the total burden falls on the parents. I'd like to tell you, Madam Minister, because I do appreciate the fact that you're here 15 minutes before midnight, that I have two particular young men in mind tonight.

They're both 20. They've both been on a program where they're bussed every day to a day school program. They're both very developmentally disabled. One of them cannot walk or speak or feed himself and wears diapers. The other is not quite that gravely disabled. Never in 20 years has either of these families reached out and asked the government at any level—municipal, provincial or federal—for any help. For 20 years these families have looked after their children with their tremendous disabilities. They've been grateful for a few hours on a daily basis of respite when those children have been picked up in a bus and taken to their school environment, where they've been able to interact with whatever limited ability they had with other children.

When these children become 21 they are no longer eligible for these day programs in these schools. There are no other programs available for them. It's not a matter of them falling through the cracks; it's just the fact that once they're 21, the programs do not exist.

Community Living Mississauga has recognized that the government doesn't have unlimited funds also, so it has developed a program called Supported And Independent Living. I know that your staff have met with the proponents of SAIL, and I know that you have been briefed by your staff on that program. The theory behind the SAIL program is that the individual families involve a circle of support in the community, not asking directly for individual funding for each one of these young children, as they are, because although they're 20 or 21 or 30 or 40 years of age, they simply don't have the ability beyond that of very young children.

Community Living Mississauga has asked for funding for a coordinator of this SAIL program. Even that is not being granted to Community Living. So they cannot even offer an alternative self-help kind of organization where these families can get organized to provide alternative programs.

Where do we get off in a province as rich and as wealthy as Ontario in 1992 not helping the people who need the help the most? Where do we find the money to spend on many other programs for healthy, able-bodied people who do have alternatives, who will always survive, because if they are physically and mentally able there will always be something they can do? Where and why is it that we have programs for those people and we don't have

programs for these other people who in no way can help themselves?

You see, the real tragedy evolves when those people who are so frail physically and so developmentally disabled become equivalent to what we would refer to as adults, when they become 40 and 45 years old and their parents who are now maybe in their late sixties, and in some cases of some families that I've been trying to help as old as in their seventies, are still trying to care for their children because there is no outside source of help.

We have a moral responsibility in my humble opinion to look after these people before we look after anyone else. In an imperfect world where there isn't endless funding, I simply plead with you to look again on behalf of Community Living Mississauga at its SAIL program, at the very least, and see if you can find the funds to be a catalyst to making that program successful so that it can help a lot of the people they presently have on their waiting list.

Having said that, I hope also that these young men whose example I have given you, who have no future of programs outside of their family, will have some kind of program available to them after the age of 21. Those families are not saying: "We need an institutional setting. We need all-day or all-night care." They're just asking for programs that involve a few hours. I think that is an obligation that you have, that I have, that everyone in this Legislature has; that is, to make sure these people's needs are met.

I say also to the Minister of Education that when he is looking at announcing funding for any kind of new initiative in education across this province he should look first at equalizing the opportunity for education in this province.

Interjections.

Hon Mr Laughren: Oh don't be mean. Margaret has a right to speak. You have a right to speak, Margaret. Don't let them bully you.

Mrs Marland: I appreciate the Treasurer telling me that I have a right to speak. It's actually very confusing, Mr Treasurer, because I am being handed a number of notes, as you can appreciate.

To speak about the equality of opportunity for education, I say to the Minister of Education tonight, in this bill, Bill 16, your Treasurer is asking to borrow \$16.5 billion. Surely in that \$16.5 billion that this government is borrowing, you could find some way of equalizing the opportunity for education in this province.

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By that I mean an example in my riding, in the Dufferin-Peel Roman Catholic Separate School Board, there is a school called St James school. It's a very old school. I have written to every Minister of Education for the last seven years and invited the Minister of Education to come and visit this school. I asked the Liberal ministers of Education and I've asked—I think you're the third Minister of Education for your government. We've invited each and every one of you to come to visit St James school.

It is a small school in Port Credit and the standard of physical plant that those students have would be equivalent

to some kind of temporary summer school in northern Ontario, or the kids maybe came for five or six weeks in the summer and were all in portables and temporary accommodation. That's what St James school is about.

I have talked about this school as an example of underfunding in education for a long time in this Legislature. I've talked about the fact that when they come to their annual Christmas concert they have to hold it in a church; they do not have an auditorium or even a gymnasium. They do not have a large room in which to have an assembly. The largest room they have is two portables put together. You can appreciate that two portables do not have the height in the ceiling for sports, so they're not able to have a full sports program other than when the weather is good enough and they can be outside.

In that same school board, the Dufferin-Peel separate school board, over 40% of their students are in portables. Now, wouldn't you think with a \$10.9 billion deficit that this province could promise the students at the Dufferin-Peel school board something better than to go through all their grades in school in portables, but unfortunately that is the story.

We actually now have students graduating from grade 12 and grade 13 in the Dufferin-Peel separate school board who have never been in anything except a portable. I think if we really believe in the future of this province, we have to guarantee the right to equal education, and every professional teacher in this province—and there's a number in this Legislature—I'm sure would agree that to teach in a portable, or to learn in a portable, is not the same as in a proper school building.

When we look at the inequities of standards for basic needs in this province, I really feel that this government is just carrying on the problems of reduced standards and unsatisfactory non-solutions that the previous Liberal government practiced.

The fact is that in the region of Peel we have the largest public school board in Canada, and the Peel Board of Education, as you are well aware, has just cancelled its junior kindergarten program. Whether or not you are in favour of junior kindergarten philosophically from an educational point of view is one issue, but what a ludicrous situation this government has put the Peel Board of Education in.

Barely three or four weeks after the Peel Board of Education decided to cancel junior kindergarten and lay off over 300 teachers affecting over 6,000 junior kindergarten children, this Minister of Education tables in this House a bill which will mandate, make compulsory, junior kindergarten in all public school boards by 1994. Here we are in 1992, and two years from now the Peel Board of Education is going to have to restructure and gear up again, rehire and organize for junior kindergarten; I suppose by then in excess of maybe 7,000 students.

This minister has said he has something like \$51 million in contingency funds, I understand. What sense does it make for this minister to sit back and say: "Well, I've got this money in my pocket, but I haven't quite decided who is going to get it yet. In the meantime, if you can't balance

your budget, Peel Board of Education, then you're going to have to do whatever you have to do to balance it, because it's illegal to budget for a deficit."

So the Peel Board of Education started cutting many very serious programs. It was cutting English as a second language, and in a board where a very high percentage of all the immigrant children who arrive at Toronto international airport end up arriving in our schools in Peel, English as a second language is a very necessary program. Then it was faced with the decision of cutting the special education programs. How is it possible, again, for any government with any compassion to sit by and watch special education programs or English-as-a-second-language programs cut?

We're back to the same argument: Wouldn't it be great to reduce class size? I remember when the Liberal government spent something like \$50 million or \$60 million reducing class size to 25 around this province for normal kids. When I say "normal," I mean children who do not require special education. If you are a parent, you know that a class with 30 children or 25 children in it doesn't make a great deal of difference in terms of the opportunity for individual learning and individual teaching for those children. It makes a lot of difference if you're reducing the class size to a small class, which is 12 to 15.

The Liberal government spent \$50 million or \$60 million reducing class size for normal children at the same time that some of these examples I've given you about the Community Living clients were not being addressed, at the same time that I was pleading for help for people with special needs.

This government is simply going on with the same kind of programming, and this is the government that said it had the greatest social agenda of any political party in the history of this province. This government is not demonstrating its social agenda nor its moral responsibility to people in need. You only have to talk to the parents of the children in my riding whom I've given as an example or go and visit some of the schools that do not have the same educational opportunity because the children don't have the same physical plant as children in other parts of this province outside the region of Peel.

When you look at this bill before us now to borrow \$16.5 billion, which is about 30% of the total budget of this province, you have to ask why. Is there no revenue at all? I suppose part of the answer this year is no. There is revenue, there is still money coming in to this government, but albeit because of this government's policies now identified in legislation, for example the labour law reforms, this government is driving business out of the province. As businesses close and go into bankruptcy and new businesses are not attracted to come into this province, certainly we are losing money from revenue.

The Speaker: To the member for Mississauga South, I don't wish to interrupt wisdom, but it being 12 of the clock, this House stands adjourned.

The House adjourned at 2400.

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winner, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaitre, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
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Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
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Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
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Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
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Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
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S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

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St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	
Sarnia	Tuget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
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Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessinger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
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Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
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Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
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Second Session, 35th Parliament

Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 24 June 1992

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Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mercredi 24 juin 1992

Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Wednesday 24 June 1992

The House met at 1333.

Prayers.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

HIGHWAY SAFETY

Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora): My statement is directed to the Minister of Transportation. Minister, only last week I spoke to you regarding the dangerous situation on the east end of the Kenora bypass. This conversation followed three serious accidents, in one of which a young man lost his life.

Well, the news from Kenora at 10:05 this morning was not good: the same corner, another accident. Two people from Saskatchewan were injured and are at this moment in the Lake of the Woods District Hospital.

There was a commitment made to the people of Kenora on September 15, 1989, almost three years ago, that: "The new east connection will begin immediately following the completion of the bypass. It will consist of an interchange using the existing highway as the main road and having bypass traffic use ramps to access the bypass."

Minister, the people in my riding are growing increasingly impatient. As people are killed or injured on this corner, you continuously drag your feet. How many more accidents will it take before we see the equipment on site to get the project under way? We need action not eloquence, and we need it immediately.

HERSHEY CANADA YOUTH TRACK AND FIELD MEET

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): Smiths Falls, home of Hershey Canada, recently hosted the second annual Hershey Canada youth track and field meet for over 300 students in Lanark-Renfrew.

The man originally responsible was Donald P. Cohen, founder of the Hershey youth program. He has organized a national track and field program as the way to promote friendship, participation and sportsmanship through physical activity. The main idea is not to participate to win but rather to win through participation.

The track meet is for youth between the ages of nine and 14. Sprints, long distances, the standing long jump and the softball throw are some of the events competed in. A regular pair of running shoes is all an enthusiastic youth really needs. Dr Cohen's encouragement of fitness is at a level that doesn't stress fancy uniforms but rather the importance of dedication and hard work.

To the many people from Hershey Canada, from president Rick Myers to Jim Sheridan of Smiths Falls, and all the communities of Lanark-Renfrew, I commend their dedication and personal efforts towards such a worthy cause, the future of our children.

LABOUR DISPUTE

Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie): Today I would like to share with my colleagues information about a very serious labour dispute concerning the Sault Star, the local daily newspaper in my riding. On Friday, June 19, 65 employees from Local 746 of the Communications Workers of America were locked out. Subsequently, the Sault Star hired replacement workers to fill in while the lockout continues.

This lockout and the hiring of replacement workers is an excellent example of why we should focus on labour relations reform in Ontario. If the proposed amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act were already in place such an incident would never have occurred.

The Sault Star lockout is an extremely serious and contentious matter. It will last indefinitely as long as the company maintains these replacement workers on its payroll. A lockout does not lead to a speedy or a satisfactory labour resolution.

In this generation these offensive tactics are a step backwards for labour relations. We should be focusing on progressive attitudes and procedures where management and labour associations are concerned. With these critical changes to the OLRA, incidents such as the Sault Star lockout will be left in the Dark Ages where they belong.

MINISTRY OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): Yesterday afternoon I received a brown envelope from a concerned employee of the Ministry of the Attorney General. The envelope contained a new organization chart for the director of communications with the following notation:

"Even though there is much protest against the rising court fees and there seems to be no hiring of new crown attorneys, the Attorney General's office has given a director of communications, Anji Husain, permission to hire five new middle managers."

These new employees' responsibilities include media and question period analysis.

At a time of restraint when women will be forced into legal clinics, when lawyers are being asked to throw more dollars into the legal aid pot, when court fees are raised to taxation levels, what do we see? We see the Attorney General, the minister of inertia, calling on new spin doctors to create the impression of action where none exists.

The process started on June 9 with a news release stating, "Ministry announces major review of legal aid as court system faces massive financial problems." Yet the details of not one new initiative were actually confirmed. We see words like "examining," "exploring," "developing."

This minister needs spin doctors to make an illusion of action out of inertia.

1340

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I would like to share with the members of this Legislature what the people of Dufferin-Peel think about the NDP government changes to the Labour Relations Act.

I have received over 600 letters and countless telephone calls from concerned citizens within Dufferin-Peel and beyond who are terrified that these new labour laws will unfairly tilt the balance of power. No one believes there's anything in this legislation that will create jobs. Ninety-five per cent of the people who completed surveys felt that the government should deal with the economy and job creation. No one believes that labour law reform should be this government's top priority.

People are scared. They think this new legislation will hurt our already struggling economy. They fear for their jobs. They fear for their families' jobs. They fear for their friends' jobs. They fear what this government will do next to crush our once proud province.

This government preaches about its great consultative process. When will they start listening to the people who are concerned about its priorities. The people of my riding and the province have spoken. Above all else they want a strong economy and they want jobs.

This government must listen to the people of this province. Unless this government starts facing the real problems our constituents have to deal with, the NDP will continue to make Ontario an economic dinosaur in the 21st century.

REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF SUDBURY

Ms Sharon Murdock (Sudbury): Most people when they think of Sudbury unfortunately still think of the time a number of years ago when we were the practice grounds for the American astronauts. They couldn't be further from the truth.

Twenty years ago, because of past forestry and mining activities and such natural events as forest fires, approximately 10,000 hectares of land surrounding Sudbury was laid barren. Today, in 1992, the regional municipality of Sudbury has won two more awards for its regional land reclamation program. We won the 1992 United Nations Local Government Honours Award, which was presented at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro this month. Second, we won the United States 1992 Chevron Conservation Award presented in Washington, DC. I should point out that we were competing with 214 other municipalities throughout the world for the international award.

Through a massive regional land reclamation project, 3,000 hectares of the most damaged land has been revegetated. It's been a \$15-million project employing 3,200 people from a wide variety of government grants as well as private sector contributions.

I'm sure members of the House will join me in congratulating the regional municipality of Sudbury on the two awards it has won, the tremendous achievement it has claimed and the environmental naturalization of the Sudbury area. As well, I invite you all to come and visit us and see how green we are.

CROSS-BORDER SHOPPING

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): The increase in Canadian consumer purchases in the US has led to declines in retail sales in Ontario, especially in our border communities. Cross-border shopping has a negative impact on our economy as valuable consumer dollars leave our province and go towards helping the American economy. Last year Canadians made some 59 million trips to the US. An estimated \$2-billion to \$3-billion worth of goods was purchased in the US by Ontario residents.

A group in northwestern Ontario, the Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce citizens out-shopping committee, has embarked on a crusade to keep those Canadian dollars at home where they will create jobs and a stronger economy. The group is lobbying both the federal and provincial governments to proclaim July 4 as Shop Canada Day. Just last Friday, the federal House of Commons unanimously voted to proclaim Shop Canada Day. As well, the group is selling sweatshirts that read "Shop Canada—It Makes a Difference."

My honourable colleague the leader of the official opposition and member for Fort William and I would like to encourage the Ontario Legislature to also proclaim Saturday, July 4, as Shop Canada Day.

MINISTRY OF NATURAL RESOURCES POLICIES

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): My statement is directed to the Minister of Natural Resources. It has to do with the statement he made the other day with regard to zebra mussels and the preventive attitude he is taking towards them.

Some time ago, we had the opportunity in estimates to deal with this very important issue and at that time we indicated the importance of prevention. Since that time, zebra mussels have entered Lake Simcoe and many small lakes in Ontario. I would have thought if the ministry had taken some initiative two years ago, there would have been a lot of preventive measures taken in our small lakes in Ontario.

The other part of what I want to say is the fact that nurseries are closing in Ontario and fewer trees are going to be planted. I've been getting a great deal of correspondence from the people in Midhurst and area with regard to the closing of the Midhurst nursery. The indication I have is that Midhurst nursery is one of the most productive and efficient operations in Ontario. Mr Minister, you can look forward to many petitions and letters from people in that area with regard to that very issue, and I hope that by the end of 1992-93 you will have enough information that you will reverse your decision and not close that nursery at Midhurst.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): I rise today to honour my colleagues on the local council in the town of Pickering. I do so because I feel it's important for politicians from all levels of government to recognize their fellow politicians. It is important because, despite our political differences, we are all in the business for one reason: to serve the community.

Last week I was honoured to be invited to meet with this council in a public forum. Although my commitments in the Legislature made this meeting difficult to schedule, I was able at the last minute to appear in the council chambers and they received me graciously and warmly. I was happy that council gave me the opportunity to address them but, more important, to do so in front of the constituents we all serve. I believe this mere gesture alone was an important message to send to the community—that is, that not all politicians are out to discredit one another.

There is no question that the line that divides local and provincial jurisdiction is a fine one. It is important that we work together to ensure that the people of our community are receiving the best representation possible. After last Wednesday night, the people of Pickering can feel good about that.

Whether the issue is development of environmentally sensitive areas or the siting of landfill sites, it is important that the lines of communication between the province and the municipality are open. After all, it is only through communication, negotiation and resolution that people are well served.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

PROTECTION OF IN-CARE RESIDENTS

Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship and Minister Responsible for Human Rights, Disability Issues, Seniors' Issues and Race Relations): Today it is my pleasure to table the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Unregulated Residential Accommodation. As the members will recall, Professor Ernie Lightman was appointed within 24 hours of the coroner's inquest into the death of Joseph Kendall at Cedar Glen in Orillia. Dr Lightman, an economist by training, is a professor of social policy at the University of Toronto and has published widely in both academic and popular journals.

The commissioner consulted extensively by travelling to seven communities across the province. He visited a variety of rest, boarding and retirement homes, met with residents, interest groups and members of the public, and reviewed 230 written submissions. The consultation process was thorough, open and well organized.

After analysing the issues that were raised, the commissioner produced the comprehensive 340-page report entitled *A Community of Interests*. This report includes 148 recommendations.

Research estimates that 47,500 potentially vulnerable adults live in unregulated accommodation in Ontario. Most of these residents are senior citizens or persons with psychiatric histories or developmental disabilities. These individuals are some of the most vulnerable people in our society. This government is committed to protecting their rights and their dignity.

My colleagues and I look forward to carefully reviewing Dr Lightman's report. I would like to acknowledge that Dr Lightman is in the studio today, along with his wife Leah Cohen and their daughter Naomi. Thank you very much, Ernie.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Stop the clock, please. I understand the statement the minister just made was not distributed to the opposition. I'm sure there's been an oversight. If the minister could attend to it as quickly as possible, by the time we reach response time the members will have had an appropriate amount of time to prepare for that.

Start the clock.

1350

CHILD CARE SERVICES

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services): I am pleased to announce today that the Ministry of Community and Social Services will provide \$110.5 million in Jobs Ontario Capital over the next two years to very significantly expand and improve the social service infrastructure in this province. This funding represents more than 120 renovation and construction projects, creating employment equivalent to an average of one year for about 1,500 Ontarians.

Funding for these projects is new and is part of Jobs Ontario Capital, a five-year, \$2.3-billion fund announced by my colleague the Treasurer in the 1992 budget. This fund will support economic restructuring and promote community and social progress. Because helping Ontarians to get back to work is such a high priority of this provincial government, the project is being fast-tracked to create jobs on an immediate basis.

Most of the capital funding I am announcing today—about \$97 million—will be used to build new non-profit child care centres and to renovate and expand existing non-profit child care centres. As a result, Ontarians will benefit in the short term from the employment this construction creates, and also in the long term with more child care spaces available to working parents. Of course, in addition, the staff working in these community-based centres will also swell the workforce.

Mr Speaker, \$77 million of this new child care capital funding will directly support my ministry's previous commitment to fund up to 20,000 new child care fee subsidies over the next three years. Those fee subsidies are part of the Jobs Ontario Training fund. The training fund is creating work and training opportunities for people on social assistance and people who are no longer eligible for unemployment insurance benefits. My ministry is helping to make sure that people who want to participate in the program have access to child care.

Other projects being funded with the dollars I'm announcing today will provide community care for elderly people and people with physical and developmental disabilities as part of the long-term care initiative being led by my colleague the Minister of Health. Funding will also be provided for renovation or construction of facilities providing service to victims of wife assault, to children's services and to projects for young offenders.

The specific projects receiving funding will be announced over the next few months. In many of these projects we have partners in the communities who will be contributing funding, and we look forward to the opportunity to work closely with them. In fact, when provincial

funding is combined with municipal and other contributions the total value of the projects I'm announcing today exceeds \$118 million. Clearly this is an excellent example of governments and communities working together to create jobs and improve the quality of life for all residents of this province.

I had the pleasure this morning of announcing one of these projects in the St Lawrence neighbourhood of downtown Toronto. In that location, funding from the provincial government and the city of Toronto will combine to build a child care centre to provide families in the area with badly needed services.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The Minister of Municipal Affairs.

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs): Mr Speaker, before I start, the House leader for the official opposition asked that there be an additional two minutes in reply for each of the opposition parties, so that when they reply it would be seven minutes for each opposition party by unanimous consent.

The Speaker: Agreed? Agreed.

WETLANDS

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs): I am pleased to introduce today a wetlands policy statement under section 3 of the Planning Act that will give municipalities strong direction on the protection of provincially significant wetlands and will encourage them to protect other wetlands.

The policy states that no development should be permitted in southern Ontario in provincially significant wetlands. In the northern boreal region, no development should be permitted unless there is an environmental impact statement that shows there will be no loss of wetland functions either directly or indirectly.

Wetlands maintain and improve water quality, protect shorelines from erosion, aid in flood control, furnish fish and wildlife habitat and bring substantial social and economic benefits, such as outdoor recreational and tourism-related activities. More than any other habitat, wetlands contribute to the ecological diversity of the landscape. They accommodate fish, wildlife and plant species, some of which are rare, threatened or endangered.

Wetlands south of the Canadian Shield have been disappearing rapidly as a result of pressure from various kinds of development. It is estimated that more than 75% of the original wetlands in southern Ontario have already been lost. While we have an abundance of wetlands in northern Ontario, this does not compensate for the loss of those wetlands south of the Canadian Shield. Furthermore, the government also views the conservation of northern wetlands as vital to the long-term environmental, social and economic health of the province.

There has been extensive consultation in the development of the wetlands policy statement. Individuals, interest groups and professional organizations across the province who are concerned about the escalating loss of wetlands reviewed drafts of the policy in 1989 and again in 1991 before submitting their comments. The policy has been clarified and strengthened to meet many of the concerns

and suggestions expressed by this wide cross-section of the Ontario public.

The wetlands policy comes into effect June 27, the day it appears in the Ontario Gazette. It will be jointly administered by my ministry and the Ministry of Natural Resources.

While making a public statement in a wetland this morning my colleague the Minister of Natural Resources indicated that over the next few months our ministries will consult other ministries and interest groups to develop wetlands implementation guidelines. The guidelines will assist planning jurisdictions such as municipalities and planning boards in implementing the policy statement. Those guidelines will be issued in the fall.

The wetlands policy statement is but one part of a comprehensive government program to protect wetlands in all areas of the province. This policy will complement other existing programs, policies and legislation.

PUBLIC HOUSING LOGEMENTS PUBLICS

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): I'm pleased to tell the members of the House about a new planning process to improve the quality of life for people living in public housing communities across Ontario.

Plus de 200 000 personnes vivent dans les logements publics — soit environ la population de Thunder Bay, Kingston et Barrie réunie. Ce processus de planification est conçu pour aider les gens qui vivent et travaillent dans les logements publics à trouver des solutions à quelques-uns des problèmes de longue date dans leur communauté.

Today I'm releasing a document called Planning Together, which outlines key issues identified by public housing tenants and gives direction to local housing authorities to help them work with tenants and community service providers to find community-based solutions.

These issues, which have been known for a long time, are tenant selection and transfers, discrimination, racism, harassment, property management, safety and security and receiving access to community services.

A fundamental problem underlying these issues is a lack of tenant participation. Right now, public housing tenants have no consistent or official role in the management of their communities. We think tenants should have a say in the way their communities are run.

That's why the Ontario Housing Corp, the board that oversees public housing in Ontario, is asking each of the 56 local housing authorities to form a local planning committee. These committees will be made up of tenants, housing authority staff and housing board members and community service providers.

The committees' mandate is to reach out within the public housing community to develop a local action plan, and I'm confident that these efforts will produce practical, community-based answers.

Les communautés se sont attaquées à ces problèmes de façons diverses et les solutions novatrices qu'elles ont trouvées constituent une grande partie du processus de Planifier ensemble. Nous savons que nous pouvons apprendre du passé et de ce que d'autres ont essayé.

An advisory group of tenants, housing authority staff and community service providers have worked very hard on developing this process. I'd like to acknowledge and thank the members, who join us in the gallery today, for their contributions. Among those who are able to join us today are Doris Dauphin, Joanne Lefortune and Evelyn Shore, who are tenants, Mary Garrett, who's a community agency representative, and Rolly Sauve, who is a housing authority representative. Thank you very much for your hard work and your commitment to the planning process together. I hope this process will strengthen the voices of public housing tenants.

In turn, I want to let people know we are committed to making local housing authorities, the Ontario Housing Corp and the Ministry of Housing more accountable to tenants. As we begin this local planning process to create stronger and healthier communities, I'd like to invite all my colleagues, regardless of party affiliation, to encourage public housing tenants in their ridings to participate.

1400

RESPONSES

WETLANDS

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I wish to reply to the statement by the Minister of Municipal Affairs concerning wetlands. We on this side of course are happy that the government is finally moving on the wetlands policy. Over one year ago in this Legislature I urged the minister to move on this and to get on with it. But we are suspicious that on the day the environmental groups gave the NDP a D for its environmental performance we are finally seeing something about wetlands.

I tell you, on this side we're a little concerned that the municipalities may not be given the tools to implement this policy, and we would like to urge the minister to assure the House that the municipalities will not only be consulted but will be given the tools they need to carry out this important policy.

We are also concerned that the Sewell commission may be superseding this whole statement, so from that regard we think it's about time they moved. We want to see the results.

PROTECTION OF IN-CARE RESIDENTS

Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland): I'd like to make a few remarks on the Lightman report today. My congratulations go out to Dr Lightman for the most extensive and informative report on rest and retirement homes in Ontario. The fastest-growing segment of our population, seniors, has been subjected to housing accommodation that is far less than satisfactory for far too long.

Dr Lightman has indicated that we as a society have adopted an attitude towards our most vulnerable citizens, those with developmental disabilities, psychiatric histories and seniors of: out of sight, out of mind. The warehousing of these individuals is no longer acceptable. We must recognize their basic needs of quality of care and reasonable rates for the places they call home.

I was encouraged by Dr Lightman's suggestion that we not overregulate the physical facilities and thus create an-

other government-funded institution. What we must do is recognize the rights of the individuals in these facilities and ensure a quality of life for them.

Please, Minister, don't let this report be a dust collector. I urge the government to act now, before one more atrocity is committed to the most vulnerable individuals.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I too would like to commend Dr Lightman for his commission's report today. There are a number of positive things in there, including a bill of rights. However, one thing that gives me and our caucus great concern is the fact that Dr Lightman does not encourage a separate piece of legislation to cover the rest and retirement industry. For instance, their recommendation is that these rest and retirement residents would come under both the Landlord and Tenant Act and the Rent Control Act.

This brings its own set of problems because, for instance, under the Landlord and Tenant Act, a landlord is required to give 24 hours of written notice before entering the tenant's unit. This is simply not practical and in fact is dangerous in the case of the residents of rest and retirement homes because quite often they would need their medication and they would need checkups, and the operators could not do this if they are restricted by the Landlord and Tenant Act.

I urge the Minister of Housing and the minister responsible for seniors' issues to look at one piece of legislation to govern rest and retirement homes so they can be specifically addressed.

PUBLIC HOUSING

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I would like very briefly to reply to the Minister of Housing on her announcement on the public housing efforts to improve the quality of life for tenants. This announcement is very welcome, particularly the section that says they are going to ensure tenant participation. I urge the minister and the government to take some of the money they've been pouring into the non-profit and co-op sectors and start spending it on the crumbling infrastructure of Ontario Housing Corp stock. It desperately needs it, and unless you're going to do that, the rest of it is camouflage.

CHILD CARE SERVICES

Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau): I'd like to respond to the announcement of the Minister of Community and Social Services on the capital announcement. As usual, this is a reannouncement. In fact, we don't even know what it's a reannouncement of because we've had 20,000 child care spaces over three years announced twice: \$77 million. We've had an announcement of \$10 million to replace the commercial day care centres that will close rather than convert, an announcement made as late and as long ago as last December. No one knows whether these things are totally included or they make up the total.

The other questions that are asked about this announcement: Are all these dollars going to be directed to licensed child care centres? Very many people in the community want to know that. Are they directed to formal as well as informal settings? And, the big question of the day, will the

municipal partners pick up these components of the child care system? We understand maybe not. As usual, then, the announcement leaves many more questions than answers.

There are many people in this announcement. There are the elderly and disabled. May I say, I think this is a token allocation to people who have been waiting a long, long time. We have almost \$100 million for child care centres and we have \$7 million for community residential alternatives for two very needy groups—the aged and the disabled. They get less than 10%.

The other groups that are mentioned are the victims of violence and those who serve in children's services and the young offenders. We all know they have real needs.

But there is a very major crack in today's announcement. This government made a great flourish when it made the jobs for youth announcement on June 5, but in today's announcement we see not one mention of youth. We see not one long-term strategy for the youth of this province. They have other needs besides jobs. The youths I'm talking about are the youths who are homeless in this province. In fact, there are 6,000 in this city at this very moment. There is not one dollar directed to a youth centre or a youth shelter, and they are really, most of them, in very makeshift settings. There are real needs here. They are truly community based. There are many success stories and they are done in spite of this government's efforts. This government yields to the ad hoc hockery process when it deals with youth.

PUBLIC HOUSING

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): I'd like to respond to the Minister of Housing's statement. I indicate to the minister that I would have been happy to attend if I had been invited earlier than 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon. I couldn't change my schedule at the last minute to attend.

In essence, this statement is based totally on the wrong premise. The very fact that in the press release the minister refers to healthier public housing communities says it all. We do not need public housing communities. We need to have assistance for people who require housing, who have the basic need for that housing, which is unaffordable and unattainable for them. To put them in segregated, concentrated communities is totally wrong. It makes those people live with a stigma. This report from the Ministry of Housing announces the problems. It talks about vandalism, youth gangs, alcohol and drug abuse, anti-social behaviour, break and enter, child abuse, weapons. It also talks about name-calling, graffiti and physical violence.

Those are the words from the Minister of Housing. The Minister of Housing's solution is to build more of these—more concentrated, segregated social housing.

The solution our party supports is yes, to look after the people who need help, without question, but to give them a direct shelter subsidy allowance, give them the money so they can choose where they live, that they don't have to live in a social housing complex with all these problems identified by the minister, so they can choose to live in the communities they've always lived in and can have access

to the same kinds of buildings people who don't need subsidized housing need.

The way that is achieved is by treating everybody like a human being with the dignity they deserve. The dignity people who require assisted housing need is the dignity to choose where they live so they're not living in these concentrated, segregated communities with the associated problems—problems that are clearly identified in this report.

When this minister is identifying the problems and saying that we're going to build more and more of these communities, why is she adding to the existing problem by creating more of these communities? Give the people who need help the direct shelter subsidy allowance and let them choose where they wish to live.

1410

CHILD CARE SERVICES

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I would like to first respond to the Minister of Community and Social Services in her continuing pursuit of putting the private day care operators out of business and displacing the children who are being served in those centres and the parents who have, at least until recently, had the free choice in this province to put their children in these centres.

First of all, any expenditure in this Legislature which creates meaningful jobs is a worthy project and worthy of support. But what is implicit in this minister's announcement today is that in spite of 250 private day care centres which have closed in the last three years, many of which are still sitting idly, all conforming to the proper zoning, all available and ready and wanting children to go in them, this minister is going to build the same facilities across the street. Now there's real good NDP management.

You are so choked up on your own ideology that you won't even allow the bricks and mortar to have a memory of the private sector as it relates to private day care centres; \$100 million dollars for day care expansion when you know that there are thousands of vacant spaces sitting out there ready for you to put those children and those subsidies in.

PROTECTION OF IN-CARE RESIDENTS

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): Now I'd like to change the tone of my voice and thank Mr Lightman for his outstanding report. It's 150 recommendations. It represents a body of extensive research which will help guide all parties in this House. However, what is of concern to me, having attended the press conference this morning, is that there are no costs, no guidelines and, we can only surmise, no commitment from this government.

Bob Rae started saying in 1982 that the golden years of seniors are in jeopardy unless we move quickly to give them a bill of rights, until vulnerable adults are given a bill of rights. He reiterated it in 1986 and in 1989, yet the minister came to a press conference today and said: "I have to read the report. We need time to study it."

The truth is that what this government will move on quickly is putting all these regulated homes under rent control. I have news for you. The death of Joseph Kendall could not have been avoided by putting these facilities

under rent control, yet we're going to put them now under the Landlord and Tenant Act.

Dr Lightman says we should have a system to fast-track evictions of these residents because they could be causing disturbances with other tenants. They could be causing disturbances because we are housing an increased number of psychiatric patients who are being moved out of institutions and placed in communities without any planning on the part of this government to ensure that they have housing. These people cannot move into the rhetoric of a government; they need accommodation.

Nowhere in this report does it deal with and nowhere has the government confirmed its commitment to an abuse registry so that these seniors and other vulnerable adults can be moved out of these residences and put into emergency shelter. Nowhere is there a reference to those emergency shelters and a commitment to really ensuring the safety of the Joseph Kendalls of this province.

RESIGNATION OF COMMITTEE MEMBER

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): Today I submit my resignation from membership on the standing committee on public accounts and on the standing committee on estimates.

By way of explanation, there were numerous reports in the media yesterday to the effect that the three parties had reached agreement on new rules for this House. That statement is patently incorrect. What has happened is that there has been what I believe to be a rather humiliating surrender to the government. The only justification for that surrender I can submit to you, sir, is that when the power of the state has a gun at your head, it is a rather imposing experience.

If I just might, I am all the more saddened by this time in the House because these new rules are being brought forward by a party that has participated, over the past 30 years in this House, with eminent politicians like Dalton Camp, Farquhar Oliver, Jim Renwick, Elie Martel, Bob Nixon and Mike Breagh to create a more independent and a more relevant Legislature. The current government is determined, in its new Ontario, to have all the power to itself. I simply say that the people of Ontario should take the appropriate caution.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): To the member for York Centre, he may note that for any member who wishes to resign from any particular committee, it's not necessary for that member to announce that resignation in the House. However, I do appreciate the fact that he has informed the House and understand the concerns that he has expressed very clearly.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. The member for Prescott and Russell has the floor. The very patient member for Prescott and Russell is waiting for an opportunity to gain the floor. I would be pleased to recognize him if his colleagues would allow me to do so.

Mr Jean Poirier (Prescott and Russell): Mr Speaker, may I seek unanimous consent to talk about Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day?

The Speaker: Do we have unanimous agreement? Agreed.

SAINT-JEAN-BAPTISTE DAY FÊTE DE LA SAINT JEAN-BAPTISTE

M. Jean Poirier (Prescott et Russell) : Comme vous le savez, aujourd'hui, le 24 juin, c'est la journée de la Saint Jean-Baptiste, et contrairement à certaines des rumeurs, ce n'est pas seulement la journée des Québécois et des Québécoises mais c'est également leur fête.

Ce matin j'écoutais les médias de langue anglaise avant de quitter mon chez-moi et tout le monde souhaitait une heureuse fête nationale aux Québécois et Québécoises. Mais ça ne fait que confirmer que des fois, chez mes frères et soeurs de la communauté de langue anglaise, on connaît mal la communauté globale canadienne-française à l'échelle du Canada. Peut-être qu'on connaît moins bien le million de francophones hors Québec, peut-être qu'on sait moins bien que cette communauté francophone de l'Ontario a célébré, en 1989, ses 350 années de vie communautaire dans cette superbe province.

À titre de Franco-Ontarien j'ai un souhait à faire tout haut.

1420

I have a wish to make as a fourth-generation Franco-Ontarian in a community that's been here for over 350 years in Ontario. In this difficult time of constitutional negotiations where the clock is quickly running and solutions seem to be harder to find than expected, I can only hope that more and more people of the English-language community can take the time to join their other colleagues from that same community who have understood and do understand that the francophone community in Quebec and outside of Quebec, and particularly this one in Ontario, have contributed a lot to this province.

We are Ontarians. We are proud. I come from an area that even dates from the French regime, la seigneurie de Longueuil. I hope that in the coming year we will come together, English and French, and that we will recognize what the world outside of Canada has always recognized in this fine country: that this is indeed one of the best countries in the world and that we can do it together, English and French.

Merci, Monsieur le Président.

M. Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & Grenville-Est) : I want to address the same subject as my colleague the member for Prescott and Russell. As one whose ancestors have been here since 1666, I certainly reinforce the sayings of my colleague.

C'est le 24 juin, la Saint Jean-Baptiste.

Au nom de mon parti, je souhaite à tous nos francophones canadiens, qu'ils demeurent au Yukon, au Nouveau Brunswick, en Colombie-Britannique, ici en Ontario ou n'importe où dans notre beau pays, bonne fête à l'occasion de la Saint-Jean.

Je profite aussi de l'occasion pour souhaiter à la communauté francophone de Toronto et d'Ottawa, qui célèbrent leur Semaine francophone, une excellente joie de vivre, sans compter les plusieurs communautés à travers l'Ontario qui célébreront, soit aujourd'hui soit en fin de

semaine, cette fête qui nous permet de revivre nos origines culturelles ensemble et en français.

Je suis fier que nos Franco-Ontariens peuvent s'unir en ce jour pour fêter ensemble notre langue et culture françaises, une langue, pour plusieurs d'entre nous, préservée depuis plus de quatre siècles.

Qu'est-ce que l'avenir réserve pour la francophonie canadienne? J'ai l'espoir que la dualité linguistique continuera d'être une caractéristique du Canada. Nous devons évoluer pour demeurer compétitifs dans un marché mondial. Les Canadiens doivent faire l'effort pour conserver et même renforcer la dualité linguistique. Sinon, nous aurons perdu un de nos atouts tout particuliers à nous ici, les Canadiens.

En plus, le Canada continue à poursuivre une richesse multiculturelle et une diversité d'héritage. C'est ce qui nous donne tout spécialement une identité culturelle, sans compter nos trois groupes d'origine dont nos autochtones, nos francophones et nos anglophones. Je crois que c'est ce qui nous unit en tant que Canadiens.

Bon anniversaire et bonne Saint Jean-Baptiste à tous et chacun.

L'hon Gilles Pouliot (ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones) : Monsieur le Président, c'est aujourd'hui le jour de la Saint Jean-Baptiste, une journée très importante pour tous les Canadiens français au Canada. La Saint Jean-Baptiste, vous savez, c'est pour nous, depuis près de 150 ans, une occasion de célébrer notre francophonie, notre culture, et de nous affirmer non seulement en Ontario, mais d'un océan à l'autre. Ce qui était au début une occasion de célébrer le solstice d'été, le jour le plus long de l'année où les jours plus doux nous revenaient enfin, est devenu depuis ces temps une occasion de célébrer notre joie de vivre.

Cette année c'est doublement important, puisque nous commémorons et célébrons aussi le 125^e anniversaire du Canada. Aujourd'hui, ce 24 juin 1992, les célébrations auront lieu partout au Canada, mais plus particulièrement en Ontario, à Ottawa, notre capitale, cette ville superbe où on attend comme à tous les ans plus de 500,000 participants venus non seulement de l'Ontario, mais de partout au Canada, et de quelques états des États-Unis aussi, pour nous aider dans la collectivité à célébrer ce jour mémorable.

Ici à Toronto, au forum de la Place Ontario, vous pourrez assister ce soir à une représentation donnée par six artistes franco-ontariens, un spectacle formidable, Monsieur le Président. On vous invite à y participer, ainsi qu'à Sudbury, à Hearst, à Kingston, à London — des défilés, des soirées, des feux de joie ont été organisés partout en province.

Je vous rappelle aussi que notre gouvernement s'est engagé non seulement à reconnaître cette réalité de nos 543,000 Franco-Ontariens, mais aussi à vous assurer que dans l'avenir, les services qui ont été acquis vont continuer de l'être. On remonte la pente. En ce jour de la Saint-Jean, nous en sommes fort reconnaissants.

My friends, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day is indeed a special occasion not only for francophones but for everyone to celebrate. I wish to echo the sentiments of my friends Mr Villeneuve, Mr Poirier and others as well. We have so

much to be thankful for. I only wish that sometimes we would stop and look at ourselves the way other people look at us. I am the luckiest person in the world, but it was easy, for I was born in Canada.

Bonne Saint Jean-Baptiste.

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I wonder if I could ask the indulgence of the House to add a couple of words, given the significance of this day in our sister province of Quebec and of the situation in which we now find ourselves.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Agreed.

Hon Mr Rae: If that's agreeable to the House, Mr Speaker, I promise I will be very short.

In addition to celebrating a day which is of great importance to the 500,000 francophones who live in our province and who have made such an enormous contribution to our life as a community for literally hundreds of years, I think it is worth perhaps recalling on this day, which is a day of great emotion and significance in our sister province of Quebec, that we say directly to the people of Quebec we want to build a Canada with you.

Our whole understanding of Canada must include Quebec, it does include Quebec and we celebrate Quebec's life in the country as a very positive part of our national life and certainly as a very important part of our definition and understanding of Canada. We are going to be doing everything we can to create a process of constitutional reform which will allow us to have one country and which will allow the country to remain united. Ontario remains very deeply committed to that policy and that practice of inclusion and of building a partnership with all of our sister provinces, including the province of Quebec.

Monsieur le Président, je veux dire tout simplement, non seulement à nos concitoyens francophones de la province d'Ontario, une communauté d'un demi-million de personnes qui a contribué beaucoup à la vie publique, à la vie nationale et à la vie provinciale, mais aussi à nos concitoyens dans la province du Québec, en cette journée si importante et historique et émotionnelle pour tous les Québécois, que nous ici en Ontario, dans la province-soeur et fraternelle de la province du Québec, voulons toujours créer un Canada uni. Nous allons travailler pour renforcer les valeurs canadiennes que nous partageons. Surtout en ces mois, en ces jours et en ces semaines si importantes, nous allons travailler de concert comme Ontariens et comme Canadiens avec le gouvernement et avec la population québécoise pour créer un Canada plus fort et plus uni. Merci beaucoup, Monsieur le Président.

1430

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): Mr Speaker, might I have unanimous consent to briefly say some words on behalf of the life of Paul Michael Semple?

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Agreed? Agreed.

PAUL SEMPLE

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I rise on behalf of all members in the House today to commemorate a hero. Paul Michael Semple, a Ryerson photography student with a promising career, had everything to live for.

On Monday of this week, Paul joined his friends in responding to a call for help in the streets of Toronto. As he rushed in the direction of the screams he heard, he saw a woman who had been assaulted and struck over the head by a gang of four youths. Paul immediately hurried to her assistance and in the ensuing struggle was fatally stabbed. Paul was pronounced dead upon arrival at Toronto Western Hospital.

According to his friends, Paul was a good-natured student. "The kind of guy who wore his heart on his sleeve," is what the *Toronto Sun* said this morning. He was extremely compassionate. Paul's death was senseless, but today we honour Paul as Toronto's great hero who made the supreme sacrifice of his life in the act of aiding an assaulted woman and her child. On behalf of all members of this House I extend our sincerest condolences to Paul's family and friends. Those wishing to do so may make a donation to the Paul Semple memorial fund at the office of development and alumnae at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I'd like to join with the member for Burlington in paying tribute to Paul Semple for this act of courage which I think every member of this House commemorates today as we speak of this unfortunate incident.

We ask very often that people in our society not simply allow incidents of this kind to pass, not simply look the other way. There is a parable in the Bible that talks about those who would walk on the other side of the road and ignore someone in trouble. We have an example of a person this week who has in fact ended up giving his own life to defend others, a person who was prepared to get involved in assisting another.

There are people in our society who are particularly vulnerable to assault. Unfortunately that group of people is a growing segment of the population: those who are now subject to this kind of assault. But this gentleman obviously saw people who were in some trouble. He could have turned the other way. He could have sought help in a different way, and perhaps it would have been too late in that instance. But he decided to take it upon himself to intervene where many would be tempted to turn the other way. Unfortunately, in this case he has paid with his life.

Those who have perpetrated this crime no doubt will be sought by the police and hopefully brought to justice. But what is important in our society, I believe from this instance, is that it will send perhaps the wrong signal. It'll send a signal out there that if people are prepared to become involved in an incident of this kind, if they are prepared to go to the aid of a fellow woman or man or child, they could be placing themselves in a position of vulnerability, even a position where death might be near. It is our hope that people don't draw that conclusion from this instance, and the best we can do, I suppose, because there is anger in many of us—I certainly have personal anger at seeing this circumstance coming about here in Ontario and our country, anywhere in the world—but also there is a feeling of loss of an individual who cared so much about others.

I watched, as I'm sure all members of the Legislature did who were able to watch a newscast, the people who knew this gentleman, who had worked with him, who had had him as a student and spoke very highly of the fact that this person did care about others. Certainly I'm sure the sympathy of everyone in this Legislature and the appreciation of everyone in this Legislature goes out to him and his family.

Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship and Minister Responsible for Human Rights, Disability Issues, Seniors' Issues and Race Relations): I too would like to rise, on behalf of the government, to express our condolences to the family and to his friends. Although I had not met this young man personally, he did live in my riding of High Park-Swansea.

I think what we should be reminding ourselves is that there are individuals in our society who are willing to go out—risk their lives—to assist and to help other individuals. He went out in the middle of the night when he heard the screams of a woman, and he wanted to come to her assistance. We often forget that people will be good neighbours, will try to assist and will try to help. Instead, we always hear about the individuals who do wrong.

This young man, as my colleagues have stated, was a person who had high potential, who would have made a very good adult in finishing his career. We are all very deeply shocked and deeply regret the loss of this needless death, and we certainly wish things in our society were not so that they would bring about an incident of such.

However, we must remember that people must continue to try to be good neighbours, try to be good citizens, and I think this individual shows all of us that we must continue to strive for those goals.

I wish the family well and I know all of my colleagues on this side of the House extend our condolences to his family and to his friends and to all of his colleagues. I hope we can reflect on this incident to make sure that we can continue to strive to make a society that would not require such a needless death.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The kind and thoughtful remarks by the member for Burlington South, the member for St Catharines and the member for High Park-Swansea will be forwarded to the family of Mr Paul Semple.

ORAL QUESTIONS

AIR QUALITY

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My question is for the Premier. The Premier might be interested in knowing, before I place my question, since we have been pressing him to answer a number of questions on the environment, that this particular question in fact was intended for the Minister of the Environment and in her absence I shall have to direct it to the Premier.

The Premier I'm sure is well aware that it has been almost two full years since the clean air program was initiated. The aim of this program was to revise the outdated regulation 308 of the Environmental Protection Act of this province dealing with air pollution. This particular program

was the result of an extensive government and public review that dated back to 1985. According to the economic analyses that were undertaken on the proposals, benefits would emerge not only for the environment but for the economy, and the proposals and the new regulations would remove uncertainty from those planning in the industrial sector and would provide for growth in the environmental protection industry of the province.

There was a six-month consultation proposed on the draft regulations. That six-month period expired a full year and a half ago. We have seen nothing of the draft regulations since then, and I would ask the Premier if he can tell us what the status of this particular draft proposal is. Where does it stand now?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I can only tell the honourable member that, as far as I'm aware, this matter is still being reviewed by the minister. The minister has been very much engaged on a number of fronts. The clean air front is certainly one of them, and I'm sure she will be coming forward with proposals for cabinet discussion and for public discussion, but that's as much as I can tell the honourable member about where matters now stand.

Mrs McLeod: When the Premier uses words like "considering" and "discussing" it raises our continuing concern about a lot of words and no action at all.

I was perhaps particularly concerned with an announcement that was made by the Minister of the Environment and the Attorney General of the province a little bit earlier this month when that announcement focused solely on reporting the number of convicted environmental offenders in Ontario for 1991. It seems to me that while the Minister of the Environment has occupied her time establishing a brand-new reporting service on environmental polluters, she has simply failed to take any positive and proactive steps to work with industry to actually achieve sound environmental management.

I would ask the Premier why this government fails to actually follow through on work that had already been done, specifically on the clean air program. Why has it taken a year and a half for us to see any result at all? Why is there no action contemplated? Is there any kind of alternative program, or is there simply no action at all?

1440

Hon Mr Rae: Perhaps the member is now discovering why I refer many of these questions to the Minister of the Environment. But I would say to the honourable member that when she says no action is being contemplated, I think she reads too much into my first answer.

What I said was that this was an area which the minister is still obviously very actively reviewing within her ministry. To the best of my recollection there's been no recent cabinet discussion on this question, though I can assure her that there has been very active cabinet discussion on a number of other environmental issues which the minister has been very actively engaged in promoting and on which I think that quite soon we are going to be able to report some very considerable progress.

Mrs McLeod: I think on this issue, as on other environmental issues that we've been directing towards the Premier in the past weeks, he would prefer to have the questions referred to the Minister of the Environment so that he does not have to explain the complete lack of action of his government or in fact the complete retreat from environmental promises which his government, under his leadership, has made in the past. This is yet another of those issues in which the record of promises has been broken completely.

I would refer to what now seems to be a totally discarded Agenda for People, but I'll refer to it anyway, in which the NDP said it would overhaul the air pollution laws. Then in the June 19, 1990, document, also apparently discarded, Greening the Party, Greening the Province, there was a promise to speed up air pollution regulations by completing current programs more expeditiously than is planned.

Now, two full years later, on a program that was already essentially in place, the only action this government has taken on the issue of air pollution has been the announcement asking the federal government to ban a list of 21 toxic chemicals, many of which are currently not used, some of which were banned already by the previous government or are within the jurisdiction of the province to unilaterally ban itself.

The indecisiveness and the inaction of the Minister of the Environment and this government on these environmental issues are having dramatic impacts on both the environment and the economy of this province, and I would ask when this Premier, this minister, this government are going to stop talking about what they plan to do while they retreat from all their past commitments. Specifically, when is this government going to begin to take some positive and some proactive steps to protect the air quality of this province?

Hon Mr Rae: The answer to that is: Soon. But I would say to the honourable member that I think much of her rhetoric is a little excessive, given the record of the minister, given what she has done and given the clear commitments that have been made. I think we saw yesterday with respect to a number of issues that the criticism of the minister that I've heard is that she's taken action and it's action with which some people disagree. I don't think this minister could ever be accused of inaction. This is a minister who has acted. She has taken tough decisions that were left on the back burner by previous governments for years on end. She's acted well, she's acted effectively, and I'm proud to have her as our Minister of the Environment.

Mrs McLeod: The only rhetoric on environmental issues is in the continued non-answers of this government, whether through the Premier or the minister.

TRANSFER PAYMENTS TO MUNICIPALITIES

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I would turn now to the smoke and mirrors of the budget and another set of critical issues. The budget was delivered a full two months ago, but still hundreds of thousands of people in this province remain unemployed. Hundreds of economic renewal projects, many of them related to

municipal infrastructure, particularly municipal sewer and water infrastructure, remain mired in a bureaucratic maze and millions of dollars for economic renewal remain unallocated.

On Monday, fully four months late, the Minister of the Environment finally announced that just 30 municipalities would receive money this year for sewer and water capital projects. At least twice that many are actually ready to put shovels in the ground on these projects. Across Ontario, communities like Moose Creek and the town of Roxborough are ready with important developments, but they stagnate because this government's budget for municipal water and sewer projects has either been chopped or is simply being dribbled out a little bit at a time.

Can the Premier explain why his government is helping just 30 municipalities with these extremely important sewer and water capital infrastructure projects? Is it because this is indeed all the money there is for these capital projects, or is it because his government just can't get organized to get the projects approved?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I find it ironic that the member would choose a week in which we announced several environmental projects across the province, in which we've announced tens of millions of dollars of public expenditure to proceed this year to say there are more projects we could have funded. By definition, there will always be more projects to fund than there is money. That's a reality which the member, when she was a minister, knew full well, though the economic circumstances when she was in office were completely different from the circumstances in which we find ourselves.

Our capital budget is large; our capital budget is substantial. It's the highest in Canada in terms of all the provincial governments. It's a very substantial budget in terms of where we're at. I can tell the honourable member that we are doing whatever we can to respond to municipal needs as effectively as we can.

It's very easy—and Lord knows, we all know how easy it is—to stand up and say: "Just spend more money. Here's a project that wants approval. There's another one over there." We have approved dozens of projects, funds are going across the province and the member knows full well that the major criticism we received from her group last year was that we were spending too much, not that we were spending too little.

Mrs McLeod: My questions are very specifically related to the announcements this government is making. That's why I've chosen this time. The purpose of these questions is to expose some of the smoke and mirrors of the budget announcements that are being made. I would remind the Premier of a budget that trumpeted all the job creation that his Jobs Ontario Capital funds and Jobs Ontario Training funds were going to bring about. We are questioning the priorities and the management of this government to actually be able to do more than just announce and reannounce the same programs over and over again. We want to see where the real job creation is. We want to see where the priorities are.

In my supplementary, I take the Premier to another announcement that has just been made within the hour. That was the announcement of the Minister of Community and Social Services of \$110 million in capital for child care spaces—undoubtedly needed child care spaces—but the minister has only actually announced one specific project. She speaks of future announcements that are going to be made and the partnerships with communities that are going to make these projects possible.

We keep hearing over and over again that this particular partnership has already broken down, that municipalities cannot afford to support even their existing child care spaces. I remind the Premier that these are the same hard-pressed municipalities that can't afford to carry out those capital infrastructure projects their communities need. In many communities that reality is causing child care to pay a price.

I would ask the Premier what assurance he can give us that municipalities will in fact be willing partners in these new projects, or is this last capital fund announcement just more smoke and mirrors?

Hon Mr Rae: In response to the Leader of the Opposition, I can say to her that we understand the fiscal position of the municipalities. In many cases their position is as difficult as ours, though I must say in many instances, if we look at their overall borrowing ability, many of them are doing better than the province in relative terms. That happens to be a financial reality.

The member is ignoring the fact that the province announced in the last budget the creation of 20,000 new subsidized child care spaces. Those subsidized spaces will be fully funded by the provincial government.

Mrs McLeod: I was not ignoring that fact at all. I was taking the Premier back to the reality of the pressures that municipalities are facing with existing child care spaces.

Let me try one more focus on the government's budget, which is now, as of next week, at the end of its first quarter. One of the other major job-creation projects announced in that budget was the Jobs Ontario Capital and Training funds. This was the fund in which the government was to set aside \$176 million to train people currently unemployed. So far the only announcement has been this week's announcement of 271 jobs in Guelph. The problem we know this government is finding is that the agencies that are to do the training simply can't participate in the program. To do the training, they first have to commit to finding jobs for the people they will train. Because of the desperate situation every community across this province is facing economically, there are simply no jobs for those people.

1450

I would ask the Premier what assurance he can give us that there are going to be anywhere near the 10,000 jobs that were promised to be created through the Jobs Ontario Training program. We ask over and over again, where are we going to find the jobs created that are needed for people today?

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): That's 9,700 to go.

Hon Mr Rae: The member for St George-St David, whose contributions to the debate are always worth listening to, says we have—

Mr Scott: Well, why don't you answer the question?

Hon Mr Rae: Perhaps you'll just permit me to answer. He says we have 9,700 to go. I would say to him that we know we have many more announcements with respect to the Jobs Ontario Training fund, and we know full well that there are a lot of people out there who are willing partners and who want to be partners with us in the training initiatives. We saw that in the youth announcements which I made in cooperation with the chairman of the Bank of Montreal, Mr Matthew Barrett. He was there with us with respect to the youth employment announcement. We've had more buy-in and more participation from the private sector than ever before.

The honourable member has also failed to mention the 1,000 pre-employment spaces we've created, and the extensions we're doing of apprenticeship programs and the kind of money we're putting into those programs. I would only say to the honourable member that we are determined to move ahead on all these fronts, on the Jobs Ontario funds: the jobs training fund and the jobs youth fund. We're moving in each of these directions, and we're moving substantially with the assistance and participation of the private sector, of voluntary groups, of non-profit groups and everyone else and it's going very well. It's not going as well as the Liberal Party would like, but in our view it's going as well as possible, given the very tough circumstances we inherited from that same Liberal Party which was in government during the fat years.

RACE RELATIONS

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): My question is to the Premier and regards what has been viewed as a most inflammatory comment made at the NDP convention by the member for St Andrew-St Patrick. When asked about identifying blacks for a youth employment program, she responded by saying, "No one seems to have a problem identifying us when they want to shoot us." Premier, do you condone Ms Akande's comments?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I can only say that the member for St Andrew-St Patrick—and I don't know all the context of the remarks she made—is somebody who's serving the province extremely well. She's worked very hard on the youth employment program and has worked very effectively on that plan. She's somebody who I think is well known for being outspoken and very direct. I would say that in terms of the contribution the honourable member for St Andrew-St Patrick has made to this province and to the whole question of improving the condition of people of all backgrounds and races in this province, Ms Akande has my support.

Mr Harris: Premier, yesterday I asked the Solicitor General about Ms Akande's statement, because the Metropolitan Toronto Police Association had condemned her remarks as grossly irresponsible.

The Solicitor General, the top cop in the province, in spite of the fact that the Metropolitan Toronto Police Association had issued a press release earlier, said he was not aware of the comments that were made or of their context. I find that, in and of itself, shocking.

Premier, would you not agree that if you're truly serious about improving race relations—and I believe you are—that Ms Akande should apologize to the police in this province?

Hon Mr Rae: It's my sense—

Interjection.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order, the member for York Centre.

Hon Mr Rae: It's my sense, from everything I've seen, that when you look at the overall context of the comment, I would say to the honourable member that there was no mention by Ms Akande of the police in any way, no mention of the police at all.

Mr Harris: Mr Premier, it is in view of the overall context of what's happening and of the role you've assigned her that makes it so important.

When you announced your task force on racism, Ms Akande shared the stage with you. Her role as parliamentary assistant was to address the problems of racism in our province. Premier, far from helping the situation, Ms Akande's remarks have only fuelled the fires, and in my view and in the view of most Ontarians and anybody I have talked to, she only has two options: She can admit that she made a mistake and apologize, or if she stands behind these inflammatory, derisive remarks and is not prepared to withdraw them, she should admit that she is not the appropriate person to act on behalf of the Premier in the task you have given her, and she should resign. Premier, if she's not going to apologize, will you ask her to resign?

Hon Mr Rae: If you look at the contribution the member for St Andrew-St Patrick has made with regard to the youth employment effort and the work she's done in that area, I think it's important to reflect on that when you think about the contribution she's made.

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): This is what you said about Shelley Martel. Get real.

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): If you can accept a liar in your cabinet, I guess you can accept that.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Harris: There are a lot of people in this province, Premier, who really don't understand at all what's going on.

The Speaker: Would the leader of the third party resume his seat, please. The member for Leeds-Grenville, what was heard was an unparliamentary remark. It is not helpful and it's certainly not parliamentary language to say in the House that another member is a liar. I would ask the member to withdraw the remark.

Mr Runciman: Mr Speaker, even though it's accurate, following your advice, I will withdraw it.

RETAIL STORE HOURS

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): My second question is to the Attorney General. Mr Attorney General, you have given, and directed your office to give, local merchant Paul Magder an ultimatum: either pay \$1 million in fines before his appeal is heard or close on Sunday while the rest of the province is free to open. Can you explain to me, Mr Attorney General, why officials from your office are insisting that Mr Magder's be the only store in the whole province that must close on Sunday before you will drop that request for the \$1 million in fines before his appeal is finally finalized?

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): In view of the fact that this issue is currently before the court, I am reluctant to comment on it. But I will say this: There are a number of issues, including a contempt issue, which are currently before the court. The court will deal with that contempt issue as it feels appropriate. It would be most inappropriate for me to express an opinion on that issue at this point in time. I think the leader of the third party knows that.

Mr Harris: Surely you would agree with me—and nobody's disputing the fact that Mr Magder apparently broke the law, however ridiculous and unfair that law was for him and his business and in his circumstances—that he is legally entitled to ask for an appeal, which is what he is doing. I suggest to you that you have unfairly prejudged his case by demanding he pay \$1 million in fines before the Supreme Court has finally passed judgement on this whole affair.

Attorney General, you have admitted, I think, that your government and the old Sunday closing law were unfair. What I don't understand is why you have directed your officials to insist, as a condition of dropping the demand for the payment of the fines, that Mr Magder do something you've told everybody else in the province they don't have to do; that is, close on Sunday.

Hon Mr Hampton: I can confirm that apparently there is something near \$1 million in unpaid fines. That is the subject of a contempt hearing before the senior courts in Ontario. The court has been conducting hearings into that matter. I can confirm that is part of the matter before the court at this time and I feel it would be appropriate to let the courts of Ontario handle this issue.

1500

Mr Harris: Yesterday, Mr Attorney General, you dropped Sunday opening charges against music store owner Marty Herzog. Yet you continue to harass Mr Magder, who has long been a thorn in the side of the Ontario government, for a period when three different parties have been in power. Given that insisting on bankrupting Paul Magder appears to most in this province to be nothing other than petty revenge, would you not agree that today you drop your silly condition of telling Mr Magder he cannot open his store on Sunday when everybody else can as a condition of not having to pay the \$1 million in fines?

Hon Mr Hampton: I expect that at some time in the near future courts in Ontario will have an opportunity to

rule on this matter. I believe it should be left in the courts' hands at this time.

RACE RELATIONS

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): My question is to the Premier. Can the Premier help me and the people of Ontario understand what his parliamentary assistant, Ms Akande, intended when she said in Hamilton last weekend that no one seems to have a problem identifying the black community "when they want to shoot us"?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I wasn't there when the remarks were made. I'm not aware of the question that was asked or the context of the answer. All I can say is that in everything Ms Akande, the member for St Andrew-St Patrick, has done—if you reflect on the words of the Lewis report, it talked about the fear and concern that's present in the black community, and I think that's the context in which perhaps her words should be understood.

Mr Conway: It is because I have the Premier's parliamentary assistant's words before my very eyes that I re-ask the question. Can the Premier help me and the people of Ontario understand what his parliamentary assistant meant or intended when she said last weekend in Hamilton that "No one seems to have a problem in identifying us"—namely the black community—"when they want to shoot us"?

Hon Mr Rae: I don't think I can add further to the first answer I gave the honourable member.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville): The Minister of Labour is now in possession of a report from the task force on agriculture-labour relations. The task force represented both producers and workers in the agricultural industry, and it told you that agricultural labour relations had to come under a separate act, that agriculture was very much different from most other sectors. After meeting with the agricultural groups, why is it still your ministry's position that you want to keep all your options open and especially the option of regulating agriculture under the Ontario Labour Relations Act?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): The member should know that the report will be available to all members of the House I think probably either Friday or Monday, and it seems to me that he might wait to see what recommendations we actually make as a result of the report.

Mr Villeneuve: Mr Minister, you have to realize that it's your responsibility to the people out in Ontario's rural community and not to Ontario's labour leaders such as Bob White and other very special interest groups that your government seems to cater to quite a lot. Farmers don't need the added insecurity of Bill 40 hanging over their heads during a growing season. What they need is assurance from the Minister of Labour that all references to agriculture will be removed from your present Bill 40 and that the right to organize will be recognized in a separate agriculture-labour relations act, along with the prohibition

of lockouts and strikes. Would you not today, Mr Minister, assure our rural community that there will be special legislation and Bill 40 will have nothing to do with agriculture?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I have a strong feeling that most of the rural community already has some assurance that they've had a good hearing and that their thoughts and views and recommendations have been listened to by this government.

LABOUR FORCE DEVELOPMENT BOARDS

Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent): My question is to the Minister of Colleges and Universities regarding the geographic boundaries of the local labour force development board in Essex and Kent counties. According to the report, the city of Windsor, Essex county, Kent county, Chatham and southern Lambton will comprise one local board. Kent county council and Chatham city council are concerned about the potential inequities this could cause for Kent-Lambton area residents, especially considering the greater number and diversity of the industries in Essex and Windsor. There is also some fear that the needs of Kent and southern Lambton would be dwarfed because of the greater number of apprentice training positions available in Essex county and Windsor.

As representatives of both Essex and Kent counties, along with my colleague Mr Hope, the member for Chatham-Kent, we do see some of the merits in these points. So I ask the minister, could the county of Kent, the city of Chatham and the southern Lambton area be grouped together to form a separate local labour force development board?

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Colleges and Universities and Minister of Skills Development): First of all, I should say that the local board consultation that was held by two separate travelling panels ended its work at the end of May, has been working on its report back to the ministry and will be completing that report very soon. That report will then go before the first Ontario Training and Adjustment Board structure for consideration later this summer or in September. But in the first instance—

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): Where is the legislation?

Hon Mr Allen: That's coming in due time. It's all on course; it's all on track. The question he asks, however, pertaining to Kent county, which I must say the member for Chatham-Kent has brought before me on many occasions, does raise the question of the number of boards and their boundaries. We have indicated very clearly throughout the consultation that it's going to be very difficult to move beyond the number of 22 boards we have, that it will not be easy to reduce the scale and size of given boards, and that with regard to the concerns that individual regions have, we will work out balanced labour market policies that will address all of the different components in each labour market area, regardless of its size or strength vis-à-vis other groups and components.

Mr Hayes: I must say to the minister that I'm not totally pleased about the answer, but if an additional board isn't possible, is the minister flexible enough to consider

changing the geographic boundaries within which the board operates?

Hon Mr Allen: The question as to the boundaries is one I've answered on many occasions. These were boundaries drawn to talk to, but they're also boundaries that are not cast in stone and it is possible to look at variations of them in order to adapt to what might well be better labour market areas than the ones that are presently defined.

RACE RELATIONS

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I have another question for the Premier. Mr Premier, if you have nothing to say to me, the Legislature and the people of Ontario about the conduct of your parliamentary assistant in respect of her statements at Hamilton, what do you suppose that says about your leadership on a matter and issue that is one of extreme sensitivity to the people of Ontario at the present moment?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I have tried to provide effective leadership on the question of relations between all the people in the province over the time that I have been Premier and before that time. It may be a leadership that the member for Renfrew North doesn't agree with or doesn't like, but I've tried to do so in terms of the appointment of the Lewis commission, in terms of the actions we've taken, in terms of the efforts we've made with respect to youth employment and other issues. When you look at the overall record of the government, or my record as leader of the government, I think you'll find that my leadership has been there very clearly.

Mr Conway: Mr Premier, your parliamentary assistant said in this province a few days ago, "No one seems to have a problem in identifying the black community when they want to shoot us." To date you have taken no action. You will not say whether you think that is inappropriate for your parliamentary assistant. Do you not think, Mr Premier, as the leader of the government, that you have a first-order obligation, consistent with the high standards that were articulated in your November 1990 throne speech about integrity in government, to stand in your place as Premier of Ontario and say that what your parliamentary assistant said in Hamilton last weekend was inappropriate and unacceptable and that she should, as a matter of honour, on her own behalf and on behalf of her government offer an apology to the people of Ontario for those remarks?

Hon Mr Rae: I will only say to the honourable member that when I consider the overall contribution the honourable member from St Andrew-St Patrick has made, when I consider the fear and the anguish that I think she has expressed over her life and over her career, when I think of the contribution she has made, that's the record I consider in responding to the comments that were made by the honourable member.

1510

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): On Monday I had this question of the Premier. It's certainly given the Premier an opportunity to meet with the member for St

Andrew-St Patrick to find out the total context of the comments she made that have alarmed many, many people. I'm concerned that it has not alarmed the Premier more, but I wonder if the Premier could make a commitment that he will meet with the member for St Andrew-St Patrick to follow this up further and come back to the House with a full report. If you're not prepared to do that, why have you not already made that short effort of talking to your parliamentary assistant to understand fully the context in which she made these statements?

Hon Mr Rae: I meet often with the member for St Andrew-St Patrick. I haven't happened to have had a conversation with her since the convention. I am sure that opportunity will arise.

Mr Cousens: Inasmuch as this is very much an issue of importance to the House and to the people of the province, would the Premier make a commitment that he would meet with the member for St Andrew-St Patrick on this particular issue and report back to the House tomorrow on his action and on his understanding of what she said and what she thought it meant and possibly corrective action on his part that could lead to what our leader has suggested, either an apology or a resignation from this member in that particular capacity.

Hon Mr Rae: I'm sure that opportunity will arise.

Mr Conway: My question is again to the Premier on this matter. I want to say, Mr Premier, that I know something of the work that's been done by the member for St Andrew-St Patrick and I appreciate her efforts on behalf of her constituents both in St Andrew-St Patrick and elsewhere. Having said that, Mr Premier, she's your parliamentary assistant. She's working within the guidelines established by your government, guidelines that expressly call for that which will increase respect for government, guidelines that call for a reduction of cynicism and guidelines that seek to curtail arrogance and the abuse of power.

Mr Premier, let me repeat. Your parliamentary assistant said at Hamilton last weekend, "No one seems to have a problem in identifying the black community when they want to shoot us." Ordinary Ontarians are wondering and are asking what was intended by those remarks made by your parliamentary assistant and dealing with the very sensitive question of race relations. Do you not think that, as a minimum, you should ask your parliamentary assistant to apologize for those remarks, having regard to your own guidelines of November 1990?

Hon Mr Rae: Mr Speaker, I would say to the honourable member that of course I will talk to the honourable member and to others about exactly what it is she said and what it is she meant. But I would say to the honourable member that one also has to consider the context of the debate in which this was said—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. The honourable member for Renfrew North.

Mr Conway: Let me say that I know the Premier is a smart and honourable man. I know as well that the member for St Andrew-St Patrick is a good and decent and

concerned, public-spirited individual. I accept that, and we understand generally speaking the context in which these remarks were made.

Does the Premier not understand, given the context, given that we're talking about race relations in Toronto and in Ontario in the spring and summer of 1992, that it is altogether inappropriate and completely inconsistent with the Premier's own guidelines for anyone, any of us, most especially the Premier's own parliamentary assistant, to say what the honourable member for St Andrew-St Patrick said in Hamilton last weekend? Surely the time is now, on a matter of principle, for the Premier to stand up and say: "It was wrong. It was inappropriate. On behalf of my government, I apologize." Will he now do that?

Hon Mr Rae: Before I do anything, I will certainly want to talk to the member for St Andrew-St Patrick and to others. But I would say to the honourable member, let us reflect as well on what Mr Lewis talked about in his report in terms of the fear and the anguish that exist in the black community—if I may say so, a fear and an anguish that have been described not just by the member for St Andrew-St Patrick, but by many, many other people inside the black community and outside the black community. I think we have to be sensitive to that as well, and I see that as part of my job as Premier as well.

The Speaker: New question? The leader of the third party.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): To the Premier: This very question was put to you two days ago by the member for Markham—two days ago. Yesterday this question was raised in your absence by myself to the Solicitor General. Today, three days later, you are telling this House you haven't had a chance to think about it, to look at it, to talk to your parliamentary assistant.

Now, Mr Premier, the issue goes beyond your parliamentary assistant. Condoning these remarks for three days now makes them your remarks, makes them yours as the Premier on behalf of the government. Now, three days after this has been raised by the parliamentary assistant, speaking on your behalf as your parliamentary assistant, and confirmed in the media by Ms Akande that the "they" she was talking about was the police—in case you're having difficulty with the context, Ms Akande confirmed in the media yesterday that the "they" she was referring to was the police—will you now as Premier apologize to every police officer in Ontario?

Hon Mr Rae: I will undertake to do what I said I would do in response to other questions that have been asked on this. I will obviously discuss the context of the remark and what it is that Ms Akande said, and then I will report back to the House.

1520

Mr Harris: Mr Premier, this was the answer we got on Monday. Now two more days have gone by with absolutely no action, with no comment from your parliamentary assistant, with no comment from the Solicitor General, the top cop, who says he didn't even know about the remarks even though the police association issued its

press release earlier. We find that hard to believe. Now today, Mr Premier, you say you'll look at it.

Would you not agree with me, Premier, that your government's, yours, your parliamentary assistant's and the Solicitor General's silence on this matter is in fact condoning the comments and condoning the statements? Would you not agree that no one is going to be perceived as able to bring parties together and no one is going to be perceived as being able to provide a sound and reasonable voice if not only are they not part of the solution but indeed their rhetoric is part of the problem? Will you deal with that, Mr Premier, in issuing your apology now, the apology of the Solicitor General for suggesting to us yesterday he'd never heard of it and the apology or the resignation of the parliamentary assistant?

Hon Mr Rae: I will do what I undertook to do in answer to previous questions.

PROPOSED HIGHWAY

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): I have a question for the Minister of Transportation.

Interjections.

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): I'm trying to hear the question.

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): He wants a road to his dump. That's what he wants.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. Would the member take his seat. The member for Durham West.

Mr Wiseman: I have to chuckle because for the first time in a long time the member for St George-St David has actually come very close to the question. It has to do with a road. It has to do with the building of Highway 407 and its relationship to M6, which is a landfill site on the boundary of Pickering and Markham.

It seems that the Interim Waste Authority has sought to locate a landfill site on what can only be referred to as the preferred site for the 407. I would like to ask the Minister of Transportation what communications the Ministry of Transportation has had with the IWA with respect to this road.

As well, it should also be known that the 407 is planned to go through the middle of one of the sites north of Whitevale. I would also like the minister to respond to that in context as well.

Hon Mr Pouliot: Terribly complex indeed, but most insightful. The member for Durham West follows this important dossier really on a daily basis. Yes, the Ministry of Transportation, in its relationship with interim waste management, recognized the possibility for overlap.

The Interim Waste Authority is an arm's-length agency presently conducting a six-stage study. What we want to make sure of here is that there is no overlapping and that the environmental concerns are well taken into consideration each and every step of the way, and yet allow Transportation to proceed with this important project.

Mr Wiseman: A few weeks ago I rose in this House to talk about what I branded the Liberal road—it started nowhere, went nowhere, had no direction—the Taunton-Steeles connection. Not only is it a Liberal road that has no direction—no end and no direction—it seems that in order

to give it some kind of meaning they were going to connect the Taunton-Steeles connection with Whites Road and the building of Whites Road would be right through the middle of another landfill site to the south of Whitevale. I'd also like to have the minister's comments on that, given that there is an environmental assessment completed on that road.

Hon Mr Pouliot: The member for Durham West is right on. There has to be a beginning, a middle and an end to each project. Taxpayers in the province of Ontario cannot be asked to be patient endlessly. They want to see a shovel in the ground. We're almost there. The site selection—there are two sites here—will take place by 1993. It will allow the important link of Durham West with Metropolitan Toronto. I find the question very insightful. Stick with us, we're almost there. You will see shovels in the ground, real work being done under this administration.

RACE RELATIONS

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I have a question for the Premier: Some 20 months ago in your first speech from the throne you, in very eloquent phrases, reminded the province that your government's first challenge was to earn the trust and the respect of the people of Ontario, that your government's integrity would be measured by the way this government is run and your relations with the people you serve. "Our task is to guard against institutional arrogance and the abuse of power wherever they exist."

You went on, I thought quite helpfully, to observe that when the Rae government makes mistakes, it will admit them. Mr Premier, I understand the difficulty and the delicacy of this situation, but how—

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): You are really so sensitive.

Mr Conway: I'm being very, very honest with my friends opposite. To have a parliamentary assistant to the Premier say what Ms Akande said for whatever reason, under whatever pressure in Hamilton last weekend is, I submit, a clear breach of the Premier's own self-described standard of conduct that's contained and outlined in that speech from the throne.

Does the Premier not agree that the time is now to admit that his parliamentary assistant made a mistake and that he is prepared to give the public an explanation and an apology for that mistake?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I listened very carefully to the member's question. I would only say to him, I'm not sure what I can add to what I've said before. That is to say that obviously we all are aware of the fact that the things that people say can have a different impact on different people and can be taken in different ways by different people. We also understand the importance of that in what it is that people say.

I also think one also has to have some appreciation, as I've said before, of the words that are contained in the Lewis report and elsewhere of the sense of very, very deep concern that exists in the black community and elsewhere which has been expressed by a great many people with

respect to their situations. I would say to the honourable member that obviously we'll all reflect on what's happened. I'll reflect on what's happened. No one in this House has a monopoly on any particular set of issues or set of concerns. I certainly have come to understand and learn that.

I would say to the honourable member that obviously I will listen and reflect on what he's had to say and what others have had to say. That's exactly what I now intend to do.

1530

Mr Conway: We're not talking about any person on the street who might have had an opinion on these subjects; we are talking about the parliamentary assistant to the Premier of Ontario who said these words—let me say again—"No one seems to have a problem in identifying the black community in this province when they want to shoot us." That wasn't an ordinary, regular person on the street; that was the Premier's parliamentary assistant. He doesn't seem to understand that there is a difference. His own standards of conduct, so eloquently offered here some months ago, recognize that and give to the Premier a leadership responsibility in enforcing that conduct for ministers and parliamentary assistants.

Will the Premier give me the assurance that tomorrow, in this House, he will stand and make a statement to the assembly and to the people outside this chamber as to what was intended when the parliamentary assistant to the Premier made those comments and what, if anything, the Premier of Ontario is going to do about it?

Hon Mr Rae: I will obviously take into account what the honourable member has had to say. An issue which has taken up as much of this period of questions as this issue has is one to which we will all respond.

The Speaker: New question the member for Dufferin-Peel.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): We've spent all this time trying to improve the integrity of this place. I hope the Premier will review what he has said today because tomorrow we'll be back at it, I can assure you.

CHARITABLE GAMING

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): My question is to the minister responsible for native affairs. Mr Minister, your government has recognized the aboriginals' right to self-government. Now it would appear you intend to allow reserves, not the province of Ontario, to regulate the operation of charitable gaming. I refer to statements that have been made specifically with respect to the Gaming Services Act which we are debating today. My question to the minister is, what assurances can the minister give the people of Ontario that the gaming practices on native lands will be regulated the same as on non-native lands?

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): The member has raised a very important question and one that I'm sure he will understand I have to be careful in responding to. As you will know, there is a case being tried involving a Shawanaga first nation at this point.

However, I would point out to him, without commenting on that case, that we have in Ontario, in a statement of political relationship that was signed by the Premier, my-

self and the chiefs, and in our discussions at the constitutional table, recognized the inherent right of self-government for aboriginal people. That means we in this province, and I guess if the constitutional passage goes through, we across Canada—the federal government and other provincial governments—will have to deal with aboriginal governments on a government-to-government basis. That means in recognizing the inherent right, we will have to negotiate arrangements for how that right will be implemented, which laws will apply when and under which jurisdictions.

I can't give a more specific answer than to say that the implementation of the inherent right is a matter for negotiation over a period of time prior to its being judicable before the courts.

Mr Tilson: It at least seems to have been said that the Gaming Services Act isn't going to apply to reserves. Those statements have been made. You've made some statements. I realize there are continual negotiations, but we need for you to be clearer on this subject, notwithstanding that you're entering into these negotiations. We need to know what other pieces of provincial legislation are going to be exempt under the natives' right to self-government—the Highway Traffic Act?

Hon Mr Wildman: I don't think the member heard my first answer. If you deal on a government-to-government basis and you recognize self-government, then—

Mr Tilson: I heard your first answer. It bothers me.

Hon Mr Wildman: I don't know. The member says he's bothered by that. I would say the member should be aware that all members of the legislative committee of this House on the Constitution unanimously endorsed the concept of the recognition of the inherent right to self-government. That entails with it, inevitably, the negotiation of the transfer of jurisdictions from one government to the other and the negotiation of an orderly implementation and transition to determine which laws will apply in which cases and in which jurisdictions.

That is not an answer I can spell out right now and it is an answer that all aboriginal leaders and leaders of the provinces and the federal government are attempting to grapple with at the constitutional table. It's not a matter that can be put forward in two minutes and 45 seconds in this House. I don't think the member is really serious in putting this question before this House.

ARTS AND CULTURAL FUNDING

Mr Will Ferguson (Kitchener): My question is to the Minister of Culture and Communications. Madam Minister, you might be aware that a number of months ago the clay and glass gallery in the city of Waterloo held a ground-breaking ceremony in order to construct a new world-premier facility. It's the first gallery of its kind. Recently the gallery has run into severe economic financial difficulties, and as a result the city of Waterloo council was approached as late as last week in order to secure some additional funding so that the gallery could continue to build and hopefully have an opening date set soon.

I want to say to the minister that there are a number of construction workers who depend on this facility being completed for their livelihood at the moment.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): Is that the question you are asking? You said you would ask a different question.

Mr Ferguson: I understand that the member for St Catharines has a little bit of difficulty recognizing that or understanding that. Could the minister advise me whether there will be any capital funds flowing from the minister to assist the completion of the gallery?

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): I must tell the member that there are many galleries, there are many museums, there are many facilities that are in a bit of financial difficulty. It's not unusual in a time of recession that many individual facilities find themselves in this position. However, the money just isn't very prolific in my ministry right now for major capital programs. There are many applications already into my field offices. Some have been into my field offices since 1989.

I would like to suggest to the member and any other members who have these galleries that would like to have capital money to go through the process. They should contact local offices—in this particular case one of my field offices is located in Kitchener—and the field services staff would be more than willing to discuss their needs and their concerns and put in an application, should it be necessary.

Mr Bradley: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I'm willing to seek unanimous consent of the House to allow the member for Kitchener to ask the question that he said on Friday, June 19, he was going to ask in the House. It says "MPP Blasts Firefighter Hiring Plan." He said he was going to ask a question in the House about that. If he wishes, I'm willing to have unanimous consent.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Is there unanimous consent for the member for Kitchener to ask a question? Afraid not.

MOTIONS

COMMITTEE SITTINGS

Mr Cooke moved that, notwithstanding the order of the House approving the dates of committee meetings during the session, the standing committee on regulations and private bills be authorized to meet following routine proceedings today for the purpose of considering Bill Pr50 and that the standing order requiring five days' notice be waived.

Motion agreed to.

1540

PETITIONS

REVENUE FROM GAMING

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I have a petition which has approximately 75 signatures on it, people from Guelph township, Puslinch township, Uxbridge, Peterborough, Mount Albert, Harriston, Clifford and Mount Forest, and it reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the above-mentioned implementations;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a 'quick-fix' solution to its fiscal problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I have affixed my name to this petition.

HOSPITAL SERVICES

Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North): I have a petition that is signed by approximately 3,000 members from the Hamilton-Wentworth area and it reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, do hereby request the Minister of Health for the province of Ontario to restore the service provided by Chedoke Hospital in the city of Hamilton to the level enjoyed by the community prior to 1978."

I attach my name hereto.

TRAILER PARK RESIDENTS

Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North): This petition is signed by a little over 2,000 members, again from the Hamilton-Wentworth area, and it reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the operations of Courtcliffe Park year-round trailer park in Carlisle, Ontario, have fallen under receivership through no fault of the residents; and

"Whereas the receivership company has petitioned the courts to have all operations of the year-round park wind down and have all 400 tenants evicted as of July 1, 1992; and

"Whereas all investigations show that relocation options are inadequate and investment in the park's viability is less of a burden on the social services system than full closure of the park;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Make available financial assistance through the Ministry of Housing or any other ministry that may be of assistance; provide the means to allow the residents to continue to be self-sufficient and continue to contribute to the community; allow residents to retain affordable housing by assisting to make operations viable at Courtcliffe Park; initiate a provincial inquiry into the circumstances leading to this crisis, resulting in a provincially regulated mobile home industry."

Again, I hereto attach my name.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas investment and job creation are essential for Ontario's economic recovery,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"To instruct the Minister of Labour to table the results of independent empirical studies of the impact that amendments

to the Labour Relations Act will have on investment and jobs before proceeding with those amendments."

These petitions have been signed by individuals of Phillips Cables, the Toronto Construction Association, the Mississauga Construction Association, Albany International Canada Inc, Allpriser Ltd, Canada's Plumbing and Heating Price Guide, and G&W Electric Ltd. I have signed my name to these petitions.

SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the Ministry of Education is planning to amalgamate certain art-related courses at the year one secondary school level into one course in a proposed program called the Transition Years; and

"Whereas we, the undersigned residents of Ontario, including secondary school students of the aforementioned courses, feel that this decision is unacceptable on the grounds that it eliminates the in-depth study of the affected courses; and

"Whereas we understand that the aforementioned decision was taken in recognition of the difficulties faced by some students during their transition from elementary to secondary school, but reaffirm that this plan is the incorrect one; and

"Whereas we believe that this decision jeopardizes the value of all the above programs to future students in the first year and later years of secondary school;

"We petition Her Majesty's Legislative Assembly:

"That the Ministry of Education reconsider the aforementioned decision so that first-year secondary school students in Ontario may continue to enjoy the level of instruction that they receive in the affected art-related courses for many years to come."

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Mr Paul Wessinger (Simcoe Centre): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas we, as citizens of the province of Ontario, believe the constitution of any genuinely democratic society truly belongs to its people and that our views on any changes to Canada's Constitution must be heard and final approval of such changes must be given by the citizens of Ontario;

"Whereas up to this time there has been very limited opportunity for input from grass-roots Ontarians,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We request of you who administer the affairs of the province to make available every opportunity for the people to see and understand fully what the new Constitution, and/or any amendments thereto, will mean to each of us, and then will make provision for a final 'say' by the people of Ontario by way of a binding referendum."

LANDFILL SITE

Mr Paul Wessinger (Simcoe Centre): I have a further petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas the Innisfil landfill site is situated on an aquifer of which the water is distributed through an under-

ground system of rivers and springs, and at the base of the dump are the headwaters of Lover's Creek, which meanders through the natural countryside and eventually deposits its waters into Lake Simcoe; and

"Whereas the Innisfil landfill site is situated on a parcel of 50 acres of land of which 15 acres are natural wetlands; and

"Whereas there are signed affidavits to state the Ministry of the Environment directed soils laden with oils and gas to be disposed of at the site; and

"Whereas from the period from 1969 until 1990 there has been little if any monitoring of what has been dumped into the site,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"To close the Innisfil landfill site and have the site brought back to as natural a state as possible."

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a petition signed by 48 residents of Middlesex county petitioning the Legislature to "reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

I have affixed my signature as required.

HYDRO PROJECT

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): I have a petition signed by 1,495 constituents and summer residents.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas it is the intention of Ontario Hydro to erect a new hydro transmission line (Sudbury to Toronto reinforcement project) in part along a proposed new transmission line corridor in the lands between the French and Magnetawan rivers of central Ontario;

"Whereas the proposed routes for the new Hydro transmission corridor would:

"(a) cross the Loring Deer Yard, the largest winter concentration complex for white-tailed deer in the province of Ontario, and (b) cross the Parry Sound wildlands in addition to the existing corridor, and that these areas are of unique biological interest and figure prominently in the current and future tourism potential of the area,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We request, in view of the impact the proposed routes would have on the ecology and economy of the lands between the French and Magnetawan rivers, that Ontario Hydro expand the use of the existing transmission line corridor for the new hydro transmission line of the Sudbury to Toronto reinforcement project."

I have affixed my signature thereto.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Mr Brad Ward (Brantford): I have a petition signed by 53 residents. The petition is formulated by the Citizens Initiatives and Referendum Committee and it reads:

"Whereas we, as citizens of the province of Ontario, believe the constitution of any genuine democratic society

truly belongs to its people and that our views on any changes to Canada's Constitution must be heard and final approval of such changes must be given by the citizens of Ontario;

"Whereas up to this time there has been very limited opportunity for input from grass-roots Ontarians,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We request of you who administer the affairs of this province to make available every opportunity for the people to see and understand fully what the new Constitution, and/or any amendments thereto, will mean to each of us, and then make provision for a final 'say' by the people of Ontario by way of a binding referendum."

1550

LANDFILL SITES

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I have here six petitions signed by approximately 200 people, and they read as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly:

"Whereas the official plan of the township of King states that 'the township of King has traditionally been a rural municipality within the region of York,' and that 'the township possesses a significant amount of land which has historically been, and remains, devoted primarily to agriculture,' and

"Whereas this document also states that 'agriculture is an important land-based activity within the township,'

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We oppose the provincial government's proposal to take prime agricultural land in King township and turn it into Metro and York region's megadump."

I have signed this in support.

DRIVERS' LICENCES

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I have a petition with 52 signatures from constituents in my riding of Dufferin-Peel. It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the recent death and injury of five youths within the riding of Dufferin-Peel has deeply disturbed the residents; and

"Whereas these deaths might have been prevented if legislation concerning graduated licensing had been in place; and

"Whereas we would like to prevent further deaths and injuries to our new drivers and young people;

"We would like to petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to:

"Bring forward legislation to introduce graduated licences within the province of Ontario."

I have affixed my signature to this petition.

PESTICIDES

Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot): I have a petition, and it's to the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"We feel that the urban cosmetic use of synthetic pesticides and fertilizers is unnecessary since viable alternatives exist. Pesticides are being registered, marketed and used with inadequate, incomplete, obsolete and invalid testing. No pesticide has been proven absolutely safe. Pesticides have been linked to a number of serious health problems in terms of both acute and chronic toxicity. Many people are vulnerable to these effects, including children, the elderly and the environmentally sensitive. Pesticides and fertilizer nitrates contaminate surface water and groundwater and have been linked to a number of serious adverse effects on the environment. The manufacturing of some pesticides and fertilizers contributes to global warming. Pesticides adversely affect a wide variety of non-target beneficial organisms. Insects, fungi and weeds are becoming increasingly resistant to pesticides.

"Therefore, we request the House eliminate the use of synthetic pesticides for cosmetic reasons in urban areas of Ontario immediately or by 1993 at the very latest."

LANDFILL SITES

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): This is to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has released a list of 19 proposed sites in the region of York as possible candidates for landfill, two of which are in the riding of Markham;

"Whereas the decision to prohibit the regions of the greater Toronto area from searching for landfill sites beyond their boundaries is contrary to the intent of the Environmental Assessment Act, section 5(3);

"And whereas the government has promised each person in Ontario the right to a full environmental assessment, including the right to a review of all options as it pertains to waste disposal in Ontario,

"We, the undersigned"—some 250 people, residents of that area—"protest and petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario repeal Bill 143 in its entirety and allow a more democratic process for the consideration of future options for the disposal of greater Toronto area waste, particularly the consideration of disposal sites beyond the boundaries of the greater Toronto area, where a 'willing host' community exists who is interested in developing new disposal systems for the greater Toronto area waste."

I have affixed my name to this petition and hope the government understands the importance of it.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas independent and non-partisan economic studies have concluded that the proposed changes to Ontario labour legislation will increase job losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery and the maintenance of a sound economic environment in the province,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"That the Ontario government declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to the labour legislation in the best interests of the people of Ontario."

REVENUE FROM GAMING

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I have a petition of eight names from residents in my riding. It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the amateur sports teams and charitable organizations across Ontario derive their financial support from the proceeds of bingos and various Monte Carlo nights; and

"Whereas the NDP government is planning on legalizing casinos and other forms of gambling; and

"Whereas this action will render it increasingly more difficult for amateur sports teams and charitable organizations to raise funds to support amateur sports and charities; and

"Whereas the volunteers who operate these facilities are not looking for handouts and seek only to raise funds to support their amateur sports teams and charitable organizations,

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to ensure that the government maintains the ability of these amateur sports teams and organizations to continue to raise needed support money through bingos and various Monte Carlo nights."

I've affixed my signature to this petition.

FRENCH-LANGUAGE SERVICES

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas the province of Ontario is experiencing a severe economic recession;

"Whereas the placement of bilingual signs on Ontario's highways without consultation and at a cost of more than \$4 million represents a blatant misdirection of taxpayers' dollars, which should be used to address the current pressing economic and employment needs of Ontario citizens;

"Whereas citizens of Ontario are increasingly being denied essential services, such as medical treatment, for lack of funding;

"Whereas Bill 8, the French Language Services Act, does not mandate bilingual highway signs, leaving interpretation to the discretion of the Ontario Transportation minister who, as the minister responsible for francophone affairs, is empowered to grant exemptions under the act,

"We, the undersigned, do petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that the Ontario Transportation minister's directive to replace existing highway signs in Ontario with bilingual signs at a cost to taxpayers of more than \$4 million be revoked immediately."

That is signed by over 100 from the riding of Lanark-Renfrew. I affix my signature.

REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

STANDING COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Mr Runciman from the standing committee on government agencies presented the committee's eighth report.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Pursuant to standing order 104(g)(11), the report is deemed to be adopted by the House.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON REGULATIONS AND PRIVATE BILLS

Mr White from the standing committee on regulations and private bills presented the committee's report and moved its adoption.

The committee begs to report the following bills without amendment:

Bill Pr17, An Act respecting the City of North Bay.

Bill Pr30, An Act to revive The Sher-Bassin Group Inc.

Bill Pr41, An Act to revive Port Elgin Sportsmen's Club.

Bill Pr43, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

The committee begs to report the following bill, as amended:

Bill Pr32, An Act respecting the City of North Bay and the Township of East Ferris.

Motion agreed to.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

DISTRICT OF PARRY SOUND LOCAL GOVERNMENT AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI RELATIVE AU GOUVERNEMENT LOCAL DANS LE DISTRICT DE PARRY SOUND

Mr Cooke moved first reading of Bill 77, An Act to amend the District of Parry Sound Local Government Act, 1979 / Loi modifiant la loi intitulée The District of Parry Sound Local Government Act, 1979.

Motion agreed to.

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs): I believe there's a unanimous consent that I move second reading of the bill.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): That may be awkward in that we are in a portion allotted for introduction of bills. I have no way of knowing if there are other bills which need to be introduced. I'm wondering if the minister could stand that down for a moment.

Hon Mr Cooke: Sure.

TOWNSHIP OF UXBRIDGE ACT, 1992

Mr O'Connor moved first reading of Bill Pr56, An Act respecting the Township of Uxbridge.

Motion agreed to.

1600

LIVESTOCK, POULTRY AND HONEY BEE DAMAGE
COMPENSATION ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 SUR L'INDEMNISATION
EN CAS DE DOMMAGES CAUSÉS AU BÉTAIL,
À LA VOLAILLE ET AUX ABEILLES

Mr Buchanan moved first reading of Bill 78, An Act to provide Compensation for Damage to Livestock, Poultry and Honey Bees / Loi prévoyant l'indemnisation en cas de dommages causés au bétail, à la volaille et aux abeilles.

Motion agreed to.

Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food): This bill provides for a new act which will replace the former Dog Licensing and Live Stock and Poultry Protection Act. Amendments under the new act have three main purposes: to increase maximum compensation rates paid to farmers for predator damage to livestock and poultry, to expand the classes of predators for which compensation can be paid and to introduce other housekeeping amendments to bring the act in line with current needs.

The amendments proposed here are part of our ongoing efforts to bring legislation in line with current realities. The changes we recommend today were developed in consultation with farmers and others who will be directly affected by them.

I trust that members will also support these much-needed amendments.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

DISTRICT OF PARRY SOUND LOCAL GOVERNMENT
AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI RELATIVE
AU GOUVERNEMENT LOCAL DANS LE DISTRICT
DE PARRY SOUND

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs): Mr Speaker, if I might now, with unanimous consent, move second reading of Bill 77.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Do we have unanimous consent to move second reading of Bill 77? Agreed? Agreed.

Mr Cooke moved second reading of Bill 77, An Act to amend the District of Parry Sound Local Government Act / Loi modifiant la loi intitulée The District of Parry Sound Local Government Act, 1979.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for third reading.

CORPORATIONS TAX AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI
SUR L'IMPOSITION DES CORPORATIONS

Deferred vote on the motion for second reading of Bill 11, An Act to amend the Corporations Tax Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'imposition des corporations.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): We now have a deferred vote on Bill 11 from yesterday. We will have a five-minute bell to call in the members.

1609

The House divided on the motion for second reading of Bill 11, which was agreed to on the following vote:

Ayes—60

Abel, Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Duignan, Ferguson, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Haack, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Klopp, Kormos, Lankin, Laughren, Lessard;

Mackenzie, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Martel, Martin, Mills, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Pouliot, Rae, Rizzo, Silipo, Ward (Brantford), Wark-Martyn, Waters, Wessinger, White, Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

Nays—36

Arnott, Beer, Bradley, Brown, Callahan, Carr, Cleary, Conway, Cousens, Cunningham, Daigeler, Eddy, Elston, Eves, Fawcett, Grandmaître, Harris, Jackson, Jordan, Kwinter, Mahoney, Mancini, McLean, Miclash, O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Poirier, Poole, Runciman, Ruprecht, Sola, Sterling, Stockwell, Tilson, Turnbull, Wilson (Simcoe West).

Bill ordered for third reading.

ONTARIO LOAN ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 SUR LES EMPRUNTS DE L'ONTARIO

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 16, An Act to authorize borrowing on the credit of the Consolidated Revenue Fund / Loi autorisant des emprunts garantis par le Trésor.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): We are resuming debate on the second reading of Bill 16. The honourable member for Mississauga South, Mrs Marland, had the floor. Further debate? The honourable member for Scarborough-Agincourt.

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): I'm pleased to join the debate on the bill, which is designed to provide the Treasurer with the authority to borrow, on behalf of the people of Ontario, \$16.5 billion, and to express our concern about the government proceeding with it and to express our concern about where this bill is leading us, and that is to continue to run up substantial debts in the province. Because it flows directly out of this year's budget—and I'm pleased the Treasurer's here—we will be pointing out our concerns about his financial plans which lead to the \$16.5-billion budget.

I think I will start in terms of our concerns about your plans, with some of the assumptions you've built into the budget that I hope we will have a chance to substantially explore.

The Treasurer will know that he has assumed in this year's budget revenue from sale of assets, I believe of about \$1.2 billion. We understand where the money will come from—from the sale of SkyDome and from Suncor—but if I'm not mistaken, that's about \$200 million of the

\$1.2 billion. There's another \$1 billion the Treasurer plans to get through the sale of public assets: land and, I gather, other assets as yet undefined. Then, as we look ahead to the next fiscal year and the fiscal year after that, the Treasurer's assuming a similar amount of money in both of those years from the sale of public assets.

The Treasurer will recall that when he issued his Ontario Fiscal Outlook, in that document—that was issued, Treasurer, I think in January—you indicated then, if I can find it here, and I will find it in a moment, on the sale of government assets that you were in a very preliminary stage of identifying what they were and how much revenue might be realized from that.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): They still are.

Mr Phillips: The Treasurer says they still are. That's our concern: Fundamental to the integrity of the budget is the Treasurer's ability to identify, this year, next year and the year after, public assets in the range of \$1.2 billion. If I'm not mistaken, in terms of revenue realized last year from this source, total revenue from this line last year was \$93 million. Total revenue from this line the previous year was \$97 million, but the Treasurer's planning now to raise \$1.2 billion in this budget, \$1.2 billion in the next budget and \$1.2 billion in the following budget. Treasurer, I would say to you that we are anxious to see the list of those assets. We're anxious to determine if it's realistic that we can be selling off those sorts of public assets.

We have a substantial concern about how realistic the Treasurer's numbers are in that area. The Treasurer also knows, I think, that we've got some significant questions about the fiscal stabilization number. I think most of the members are familiar with that: The Treasurer has requested from the federal government a total of \$1.2 billion in what's called fiscal stabilization. My problem with this, as the Treasurer knows, is that the opposition has been asking the Treasurer to provide us with that document. On what basis are you making that application? The Treasurer will know we asked for that in December, we asked for it in January and we asked for it again in March, because a second element of his financial plan—an important element—is receiving from the federal government \$1.2 billion in fiscal stabilization. I've said to the Treasurer that I believe—

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): The absconding debtor.

Mr Phillips: One of the honourable members said that what the government wants is \$1.2 billion from the absconding debtor. I would say to my colleague that it's an interesting comment, because if you look at the budget—and the Premier has almost made a career of attacking the federal government—where is the largest increase in revenue by far? Mr Speaker, where would you think that's coming from? Remember the “absconding debtor” line? It's not coming from anything the Treasurer is doing to raise revenues locally.

The largest increase—in fact, I think it's fair to say that over half the increased revenue coming to the province of Ontario this year will come from payments from the fed-

eral government, which is an extraordinary statement and one that I think many people in the province wouldn't appreciate because they think the federal government has dramatically cut back the provincial government, when the Treasurer is anticipating revenue from the federal government going from last year's \$6.3 billion to this budget year's \$7.7 billion.

Hon Mr Laughren: Stabilization.

1620

Mr Phillips: Those are your estimates, Mr Treasurer.

So I'm saying, as we debate the bill to provide the Treasurer with the authority to borrow \$16.5 billion, the second area of significant question we in the official opposition have is around this fiscal stabilization and the applications that have been made. How realistic is it that the province will receive that? It was curious to many of us to see, I think perhaps one to two days after the Treasurer presented his budget, that unnamed federal sources said, in essence, that he must be kidding; that the likelihood of him receiving \$1.2 billion in fiscal stabilization in this fiscal year is virtually impossible. So when the opposition have raised questions about where the numbers came from in the budget, that's another reason we raise it.

The third area we have questions about is on what the Treasurer I think called cash rescheduling. I think that was the term that was used.

Hon Mr Laughren: That's close enough.

Mr Phillips: The Treasurer can help me. Here it is: “rescheduling of cash payments.” In the Fiscal Outlook document which was released about three months before the budget, in that document the Treasurer will recall that he said the government had a legal obligation for certain payments to be made to the teachers' pension and the public service pension. These are legal obligations under those two pension acts.

We now see in the budget what's called a rescheduling of cash payments, where the government will reschedule part of its matching contribution to the teachers' pension plan from the first business day in January to the first business day in April of each year. Surprise, surprise: The first business day of April is next fiscal year. So what's happened is that \$565 million of payments that are due this fiscal year have been conveniently, to use the term here, rescheduled.

It's like all of us. We sometimes reschedule our cash payments too where we can't quite meet the payments.

Hon Mr Laughren: It's happened to me.

Mr Phillips: It's happened to many of us here. We reschedule our payments. We say to the bank, or to our credit card people, or to whoever we owe money, “Do you mind if we kind of rag the puck a little bit here for three months?”

The problem with that is that the payment doesn't go away; you just kind of postpone it. I will say to the Treasurer that we in the opposition—and I understand the Treasurer will be appearing before our standing committee on finance and economic affairs some time in the weeks ahead, which we appreciate—are going to want to identify the implications of this rescheduling of cash payments,

because if what we're doing is simply artificially delaying payments that are going to have to be legally made—and I understand you have to pay the interest on this to the teachers' pension, pay the interest to the public sector pensions—and what it means is that we are loading up the next fiscal year, it is important to array that before the people of the province.

As we look at the budget—and I will say, as I've said publicly, I trust the Treasurer; he's a person of integrity; there's never a question of that—there are three or four areas which require at the very least illumination and where I hope, when all of the year unfolds, none of us in the opposition will feel that we were—

Hon Mr Laughren: Duped.

Mr Phillips: —in any way misled, duped.

Frankly, I know the pressure that was on the Treasurer—there's no question—from the Premier's office: "The deficit must be below \$10 billion, Treasurer." He probably used his first name, but I don't think I'm allowed to use that here. "Furthermore, you'd better get last year's deficit up a bit so it looks like it's coming down," which he very successfully did, I might add. He was able to get last year's deficit up from, I think, \$9.7 to \$11 billion, so this year's deficit is substantially lower only because last year's was substantially higher.

I hope, for the Treasurer's integrity and reputation, that in the interest of ensuring that the deficit was below \$10 billion, we won't find when we look at this as the year unfolds that on fiscal stabilization, on the continuous sale of public assets and the rescheduling of cash payments we in the opposition weren't duped, to use the Treasurer's expression, because integrity's a very fragile commodity.

Other concerns we'd have on this borrowing bill: There are a couple of other elements in the budget that I'm not sure have been as fully illuminated as they might be. It's now less than a week away, July 1, which I think is next Wednesday—a week today—when, for the information of all those people who may be watching, your personal provincial income tax will be going up more than 5%. The provincial rate of income tax, as I say, will be going up in excess of 5%. That's not just for the over-\$53,000 people but for everybody in the province.

I will say to the Treasurer that he has been personally careful on this matter, but we've now got at least two members of the NDP caucus who have, in my opinion, sent out information that was not correct, if I can choose my words carefully, in saying to their constituents, "Don't worry; if you're making less than \$53,000, you're paying no more personal income tax." That's not true. That is not true. As you know, Treasurer, we had in mid-May a session in here where the Minister of Education, Mr Silipo, acknowledged that he was incorrect in his constituency communication and committed to correct it.

Just so everyone is aware—and this is the irony, because I find it unfortunate—there's an incredible battle between the provincial NDP government and the federal Conservative government. As I've said other times in the House, the public are getting increasingly cynical about all of us politicians blaming other levels of government. In

this particular case it's really ironic because, as the NDP members will know, you all ran on the basis of eliminating income tax on those living at or below the poverty line. It is the most ironic thing to me that Mulroney, the Prime Minister, reduced personal income tax on the working poor and the Treasurer has made the decision to move in and recoup that—not only recoup it, but for every dollar they reduced it the Treasurer in 1992 is recouping \$3. So the working poor felt, "Finally I'm getting a little bit of a break; my personal income tax is going down"—

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): Thanks to Brian Mulroney.

Mr Phillips: Thanks to Brian Mulroney, thanks to the federal government. Then surprise, surprise, on July 1 the Treasurer will move in.

Hon Mr Laughren: Private transfers.

Mr Phillips: The Treasurer said "transfers." The problem I have is that I know you've got the battle with the federal government and I understand that, but I just say to the Treasurer that if he was going to really show Brian Mulroney what's what, it's an odd way to do it: tax the working poor.

Hon Mr Laughren: Look what he did to us.

1630

Mr Phillips: The Treasurer said, "Look what he did to us," but I say that if I'm the working poor, I'm caught in the middle of it.

Hon Mr Laughren: No, no.

Mr Phillips: The Treasurer said, "No, no," but how else am I to interpret it? The Treasurer just said, "Look what he did to us; therefore, look what we're doing to him." What we're doing to him is that we're taking up the personal income tax on the working poor.

Hon Mr Laughren: He did it to the poor. That's a strange argument for a Liberal.

Mr Phillips: Strange for a Liberal? I think if you tracked the Liberal administration, there was a systematic reduction in the personal income to the working poor. Certainly, Treasurer, I think you will recall quite clearly the basis on which you ran, as I've said many times. I assume you played a fairly important role in the drafting of the Agenda for People. I carry this with me all the time because it was the document that was the manifesto; it was the commitment.

"We are proposing that individuals or families living at or below the poverty line should not pay Ontario income tax. The cost of this move for the current tax year is estimated at under \$200 million, less than one third the cost of the tax break given to wealthy Ontarians by way of special treatment of capital gains."

The point I'm making here is that I understand that in tough times you may not be able to deliver every element of your agenda, but it's ironic in the extreme that you chose to go in the opposite direction. I don't think the people living at or below the poverty line ever thought for a moment that you would increase the taxes on them.

Hon Mr Laughren: The Ontario tax reduction.

Mr Phillips: The Treasurer says, "The Ontario tax reduction," and for some people who are—I just go by the document the Treasurer provided. He's asking me to respond to the questions he's thrown at me and I have to do that—

Hon Mr Laughren: No, you don't

Mr Phillips: —but the Treasurer said, "What about the tax credit?" I look at this document and it says—this is for 1992—that if you're out there right now and you're making \$40,000—now the dreaded Brian Mulroney actually reduced your taxes by \$30 this year, but Treasurer Laughren has stepped in and he's increased your taxes by \$95, right on July 1. We're exactly a week away. You'll all see that, the people out there who are at \$40,000.

At \$30,000, again the Prime Minister came in and said, "We've given you a tax reduction." Now it's \$20 and I'm not saying that's huge but that's all obviously after-tax dollars, and Treasurer Laughren stepped in and increased the taxes by \$55 for 1992. So those people who were expecting a modest break have seen it disappear. Imagine you are making \$10,000, and the Treasurer has actually increased taxes on those people.

The point I make is this, and I hate to say it, but any time that I get a government document now, I get out the magnifying glass. Actually the Treasurer laughs at it, but there are documents that you actually have to have a magnifying glass to see the fine print on. It is more difficult than dealing with some door-to-door salesperson.

Interjection.

Mr Phillips: I'm serious, Treasurer. The document that explained—and people out there may be under the impression that if you're earning less than \$53,000 you pay no more tax.

Hon Mr Laughren: It goes into 1993.

Mr Phillips: You have to get the fine print out to realize that's 1993, not 1992. That's an amazing surprise, because we're dealing with the 1992 budget, but it's in 1993.

Interjection.

Mr Phillips: The Treasurer says "Modestly," but it is essentially a 1992 budget. That was one part. The other part where you really had to get to the fine print was that you should be aware that the reason you're paying no more taxes is because "While the federal government has cut your taxes, we've increased them," but it's never spelled out. There's a little, wee fine line that says, "The reason you're paying no increased taxes is because the feds have cut it and we moved in."

Treasurer, if this had ever been in reverse, if you'd ever cut the tax on the working poor and Mulroney had dared to step in, there would have been—whatever is parliamentary to say, Mr Speaker.

Mr Jean Poirier (Prescott and Russell): Gerry, go ahead.

Mr Phillips: No, I won't say it, because I think we want to have a civil debate in the House in terms of the personal taxes.

The other element of the budget that the Treasurer and I have had our discussions on is the jobs. Believe me, I'm

not saying, "Spend more money." I'm just saying, Treasurer, that the people out there want to know what to realistically expect.

I don't have to tell anyone in the House the misery that's occurring out there right now. The unemployment rate in Ontario is 10.9%. In reality, it is at least 13%. I think the Treasurer would acknowledge that, because there are at least 100,000 who have dropped out of the labour market. That takes the unemployment rate up by 2%, Treasurer, as you know. So the real unemployment rate is running around 13%.

The youth unemployment rate, which I've spoken on often in the House—people speak lots in the House; not necessarily everybody hears it—publicly in the documents is running around 18%. In reality, Treasurer, it's around 25%, because a huge number of those young people have dropped completely out of the labour market.

I understand the proposal the government has put forward for summer jobs. I realize the difficulties with finances and I realize how challenging the solution is. The fact is that the summer program you've announced will create about 10,000 jobs. That's 1% of the youth labour force, as you know. I'm not belittling it. I understand it's a significant amount of money. The real solution rests, as we all know, in getting the economy rolling.

I will say to the Treasurer that on the job side, every month we expect the unemployment rate to drop. The May figures were the most disappointing numbers I've seen in years, without exaggeration. As you know, Treasurer, it was about now that it was your expectation the economy would begin to turn. I've hoped you were right.

I will say, though—and this is where each time I raise this you shake your head no—that on the capital side in your budget there are three elements to your capital program: your Jobs Ontario Capital fund, your base capital spending and your Jobs Ontario Homes fund. That is your job creation program in the budget. All I say about that is that if you add up those three programs in this fiscal year, the one we are now into, it is less money than you spent last year in those same three programs.

The Treasurer shakes his head, but this is according to your budget: "I am announcing today the Jobs Ontario Homes fund with a commitment to support 20,000 new non-profit housing units. These homes will be allocated over three years"—so I tend to think one normally divides three into 20,000 and you may get 7,000 units a year—"and are in addition to the 10,000 non-profit homes that were provided in last year's budget."

What I'm saying is there were 10,000 homes provided in last year's budget. I believe there is money in here for 7,000 homes this year. If I'm wrong, I know the Treasurer will correct me when we get into the debate, but my point is you're holding out hope for those in the construction trades and you're saying you have a substantive capital program, the largest in the history of the province. Last year's capital program was supposed to be \$4.2 billion, as you recall. You cut \$400 million out of it. Why did you cut it out? According to your own documents, you cut it out in order to balance the reduction in revenue, so it wasn't cut for any reason other than that.

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My point is this: I think the only thing worse than doing what you're doing is doing what you're doing but leaving the impression that you're doing more. I believe you have a responsibility to the people of the province to be candid with them and say, "Listen, our capital program in 1992-93 is a little bit less than it was last year, and the reason it's a little bit less than last year is we don't have the money, but we'll do the best we can with it." But to leave the impression that it is a substantial program in new job creation is holding out false—not only false but incorrect—hope. There's less money spent in the capital area in this budget than on last year's budget.

The reason for my raising these various issues is to illustrate for the Treasurer why we have concerns about his financial plan and to say that, frankly, it is our hope the public auditor will have an opportunity to look at—I'm glad to see the Treasurer agreeing. He has no problem with that and I never thought he would. I am anxious that when he comes to committee—I appreciate the chance to outline for him orally the issues that I raised in a letter to the committee so he has an understanding of the things we would like to see when we arrive at the committee.

This gets us to the servicing of the debt. The challenge I think we all have when we talk about debt is that the numbers are so large they become difficult to internalize; they become difficult for each of us and we sort of say, "Well, does that have any impact on me at all?" I think that's the challenge the federal government has. The federal debt is \$420 billion now—

Interjections.

Mr Phillips: It's around that, and that number, it seems to me, is so large that individuals have difficulty relating to it and have difficulty in figuring out, "Does that have any meaning for me?" Consequently, I think various parties have let the national debt rise.

In your speech from the throne this year you had a line that I thought was appropriate. I'm paraphrasing, but I think it's very close. In there you said that every single dollar we spend on interest is a dollar we can't spend on health care or on community services or on education, and it's true.

The problem the federal government is in, as the Treasurer knows, is that for every dollar of taxes the federal government raises, it spends 34 cents, and it's probably approaching 35 cents, just to pay the interest on the debt. They never pay the debt down; that's just to pay the interest on the debt. So with every dollar we're paying to the federal government, we're paying 34 or 35 cents to service the debt.

As I say, what does that mean to us? Frankly, the way I sometimes try to think of this is putting it in my own terms. I try to think of me as an individual. What we've done, and what we're all doing, is to continue to spend more money than we are raising. I think we know in our own personal lives that if you do that over a long period of time, you've got a problem, and the federal government has a real problem that it is almost incapable of managing now.

As the Treasurer knows, the deficit of the federal government has been running at \$30 billion a year. No matter whether it's good times or bad times, it's still at that level. The problem we're getting into here—and I thought the Treasurer himself in this Ontario Fiscal Outlook document articulated it quite well. I hope I can find this quickly before you get impatient, Mr Speaker. The Treasurer asked in the document, "What kind of problems does a larger debt load present?" and what are we talking about in debt load?

When the Rae government took over the debt of the province, as I guess we all know, the debt of the province was running at about \$42 billion. At the end of this fiscal year, two years, it will be \$63 billion. I have not seen a real up-to-date one, but I would think the Treasurer's projections right now would probably indicate that two more years from now it will be around \$84 billion or \$85 billion.

In other words, the debt will double in the first four years of your regime and that is serious, serious to this extent: I think all of us have to begin to realize there are about 10 million people in the province, that the per capita debt when the Rae government came in was around \$4,000 per capita, and that at the end of four years it will be around \$8,000 per capita. I think we all have to begin to think that is our own debt, that we owe that money and that we're going to have to pay the interest on that each year. If it happens to be that you are in a family of three or a family of four and there's one wage earner in that family, that one wage earner will be required to pay the debt on \$30,000 to \$35,000 worth of debt each and every year.

It was the Treasurer himself who said in his document that the first problem with this kind of debt is the interest that must be paid. "Over the longer term, borrowing at high levels means the public debt interest will rise as a share of revenues. If the province were to continue on the 'no-change' track," interest payments "would increase from 11.6% of revenues in 1991-92 to about 20% of revenues within four to five years."

I'm afraid, Treasurer, you may be on that track where for every dollar of revenue we raise, 20% of it will go to servicing the debt. As the Treasurer knows, the cost of borrowing may also increase if our credit rating goes down, and the credit rating has gone down in the province. It's gone down twice. Just so all of us know the cost of that, each time our credit rating drops one point, the cost per billion dollars' worth of borrowing is \$2.5 million. We've dropped it twice, so the cost of borrowing \$1 billion has gone up about \$5 million. When you realize that our total debt is going to go to \$80 billion and the increased cost per \$1 billion is \$5 million, we're talking about the potential here of a \$300 million expenditure. So we're talking of substantial amounts of money as a result of our credit rating dropping.

Where is all this leading, Mr Speaker? It leads to us having concerns about the Treasurer's plans to borrow \$16.5 billion. It leads us to repeating the concern we had a year ago when, if you remember, Mr Speaker, we said that last year's budget was wrong. We said: "You're heading down the wrong track. You've got to begin a program of restraint." The Treasurer, I think, said, "No, we're going to

spend our way out of the recession." The Treasurer shakes his head, but that's exactly what—

Hon Mr Laughren: I said we can't spend our way out of a recession.

Mr Phillips: No, this was a year ago. You've changed your mind, I know. I'm talking about what you said a year ago. I know you're saying now you can't spend your way out of the recession, but a year ago you said you could spend your way out of the recession.

Hon Mr Laughren: Being disingenuous.

Mr Phillips: He's distracted, Mr Speaker, but I'm talking about what you said 12 months ago, not what you said a month ago. The Treasurer said, "We're going to spend our way out of the recession," the Premier said, "We're the only jurisdiction in North America that's right; all the other ones are wrong," and we on this side said, "No, you really have to begin a restraint program." We were frankly not listened to. We went through the charade of the budget hearings last summer, and we are where we are. Now the Treasurer is beginning to change his tune, and he is saying: "We can't spend our way out of the recession. We have to get our spending under control."

1650

I will say to the Treasurer that for the reasons we've articulated I hope we're wrong. I hope the fiscal stabilization comes through. I hope very much that the Treasurer will identify for us the assets he's going to sell that will raise that billion and a half dollars each year. I hope he can articulate for us that the rescheduling of these cash payments will not simply delay, until next year, this year's problem.

But we are now running the risk of the province not being in control of its finances. The Treasurer said in the budget, if I'm not mistaken, that on the economy, on the job side, the spring will be the time. Here we are. "Job gains expected to resume in spring." We're now, as of the 21st, out of the spring. I'm hopeful that when the June numbers come out in early July the Treasurer will have been right. The Treasurer says job growth over the 1992 second quarter to the 1993 first period will be 125,000 net jobs. I will say to the Treasurer right now that jobs are running 60,000 behind. So you've now got 10 months to create 185,000 jobs, I think, as the Treasurer will appreciate.

The other thing I would say is that the Treasurer, I think, in this document said, "Housing to lead economic recovery"—again, gosh, I hope you're right—"69,000 starts predicted in 1992." The Treasurer will know that the figures released for the month of May, seasonally adjusted, projected for the year on the basis of year-to-date numbers, show that housing starts in the province are going to be well less than 50,000.

The reason we're raising all these things is because a year ago the Treasurer said he was right, the opposition was wrong, and frankly I think even he in his more candid moments may say he was pretty close to being wrong last year, that last year's budget simply didn't work.

What we're saying to the Treasurer this year is that the people of Ontario are counting on him. They're counting on the job starts. They're counting on the 125,000 incre-

mental jobs. They're counting on the housing starts. They're counting on the fiscal stabilization. They're counting on you finding the billion dollars a year of land and other assets to sell. They're counting on this cash rescheduling.

Because we've got our doubts about that, we have difficulty in supporting the Treasurer's bill to go to the market for \$16.5 billion. The Treasurer knows that we will continue to pursue these areas with him. I appreciate the support he has for us also in engaging the public auditor to look at the accounting practices he's used.

But there's a burning issue out there right now. It is clearly jobs and the need to get Ontario working again. I would say to the Treasurer that my concern is that the budget is so far not producing it. Time is going by very quickly and I would hope we would see the signs of a strong upturn in jobs and the economy very quickly, or else this budget will unravel even further than I'm afraid it might.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments.

Mr Stockwell: I think some of the issues that were brought forward by the member for Scarborough-Agincourt have been here since this government was elected. The member has brought into question some of the government's numbers, statistics, promises and arguments it had put forward during the 1991 budget, and now during the 1992 budget.

It has been very clear in my mind and, I suppose, to everyone—financial analysts, the banks, all leading sectors—that fundamentally this Treasurer has been virtually wrong on every count, whether it's housing starts, deficits, debt financing, job growth—regardless. It's very difficult to find anywhere in any budget where this Treasurer has been right.

I suppose the difficulty of standing here and debating today the 1992 budget or the borrowing of money is that we are debating on some figures that I think are morally wrong. They're known to be wrong from across the floor. This Treasurer knows in his heart of hearts, as the Premier likes to say, that the numbers he has put forward are absolutely and totally inaccurate. He knows they're inaccurate; we know they're inaccurate, and one day during the next 12 months he's going to have to admit they're inaccurate.

I find it very frustrating having to sit here and debate these numbers and argue about the deficit and so on and so forth, when the member from Scarborough points out very clearly, without debate, how wrong this government has been when it came to the financial matters of this province. But that's the job we've chosen and I'm certain we will continue this debate.

The Acting Speaker: Further comments and/or questions?

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): I'd like to congratulate the member for having outlined one of the basic problems of all the economic forecasts of this present government. When you take a look at them, whether it's the budget, the throne speech, any of their bills or the press releases that accompany them, I think you have to have a copy of George Orwell's book, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*,

handy and open it to the page where they talk about New-speak and doublespeak, because that's the impression I get when I hear the forecasts from across the floor. Everything is stated in a way that is acceptable to the public.

The intentions are good. The programs are written in such language that unless you really analyse it, you find it difficult to oppose. But when you look at what the effect will be, you have to start reanalysing yourself and rethinking whether you can support it or how you can show your opposition. It's one thing to oppose; it's another thing to prove that your opposition is based on something reasonable.

One of my basic problems is that the language accompanying the budget presents a completely different picture than an analysis of what the effects of the budget will do. For instance, the first two budgets this Treasurer brought forward have made a \$10-billion deficit commonplace. Just think back to before this government took power. It would have been outrageous to even think of presenting a \$10-billion deficit, much less implementing it.

The Acting Speaker: Further comments and/or questions.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I, too, want to congratulate my colleague for a very clear presentation of just what this budget is all about. What it did for me, and what I hope it did for people watching, was to demonstrate just how dramatic and necessary it is for people in this chamber to have the opportunity to stand in their places and explain to the people of the province about particular things, most importantly, the question of deficits and borrowing.

As you know, in a short time we'll be voting on rules that will limit significantly the rights of the minority—ie, the opposition and the third party—to investigate, to explain to the people of Ontario just how dramatic this borrowing will be, not just on the present situation but on their children and their grandchildren.

It amazes me that the press, who would have great consternation if we were to interfere with their rights to report freely and totally, are not even here. They're not concerned about it. The fact doesn't seem to bother them about the rights of their parliamentarians to investigate in the most fundamental way the cost, not just to the present generation but to future generations.

In fact, these rules do not even allow you, Mr Speaker, if they intend to invoke closure, the right to come to the assistance of the minority to assist us and allow us to do the job we're supposed to do. I find that really passing strange because it's so essential. It's essential to a free and open democratic society, and we're finding that the walls are just simply being closed in on us. We're finding that this may very well become a situation where the government just rules by edict. Surely that's dangerous when they're borrowing \$16.5 billion.

1700

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant. Seeing none, the honourable member for Scarborough-Agincourt has two minutes in response.

Mr Phillips: I appreciate the comments of the members. The message for the Treasurer is one I hope he will take seriously: that the opposition is growing increasingly suspicious of the government. I repeat what I said earlier in my remarks. Your personal integrity's never at stake, but I don't get a government document any longer that I don't look at with a great deal of suspicion. There are certain items of high principle for me. I resent extremely deeply the use of the OPP investigation. I can never forgive the government for that and I never will and I can't stop myself from resenting that. There are certain things in the way the budget's presented that I think if you had examined it, Treasurer, on reflection you wouldn't have let happen.

My colleague from Brampton South mentioned the rule changes. I can understand in the orderly conduct of a government why you'd want them, but I know the Treasurer in opposition believed strongly in the role of opposition. I actually think that if he hadn't been in Europe when these were developed we may not have seen the rules that we saw. I believe that.

As I say, I continue to have confidence in the Treasurer, but I increasingly view with scepticism the actions of the government. Sometimes when you'll see the opposition in a particularly angry mood, it's because increasingly the trust is sapping from the place.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on Bill 16, second reading? The honourable member for Carleton.

Hon Mr Laughren: Here we go, the leading edge of the eastern wedge.

Mr Sterling: As the Treasurer says, perhaps I am a leading wedge.

I'd also like to acknowledge for my colleague the member for Etobicoke West, Mr Christopher Stockwell, when he rose in response to the member for Scarborough Centre's remark, that the Treasurer's remark was, "Now we get the voice of reason," and I think that's a tremendous compliment for the Treasurer of Ontario to pay—

Hon Mr Laughren: He was a great critic.

Mr Sterling: —to my colleague Mr Stockwell, because Mr Stockwell understands exactly what this—

Hon Mr Laughren: He should be the critic.

Mr Sterling: I think he was a good critic, actually.

Hon Mr Laughren: He should still be.

Mr Sterling: And maybe he should still be the critic. Maybe we should have somebody else still as the Treasurer as well, but I guess it's always a matter for debate, Mr Speaker.

Today we are discussing Bill 16, which gives the Treasurer and the government of the day the right—which they must come to this Legislature for, thank goodness—to come here in order to get the right to borrow \$16.5 billion. Now a billion is 1,000 million, so we're talking about 16,500 million dollars, which is what this government is seeking to get authority to borrow from various and different sources.

I want to talk about perhaps two things. The need for the government to come here and ask for such a large authority to borrow is in fact an acknowledgement of its

failure to manage the province's fiscal resources and control its spending, an acknowledgement of its lack of ability to do that in a meaningful and a responsible manner. To have to come here and ask the Legislature to borrow about what was being spent some seven or eight years ago in total, in my view is a sad day for Ontario. That \$16.5 billion represents approximately a third of the budget of Ontario at this time.

The government borrowing money not only acknowledges its inability to control the expenditures of the province and its lack of ability to pay for those expenditures but it also is an acknowledgement that the government has no future plans next year in order to be able to meet its spending plans, because this power extends not only to the end of 1992 but to the end of 1993.

I suppose the Treasurer has no option because of the decisions he has made along with his colleagues to come here and ask for this authority. We understand that. But there is a side-effect to this: If the Treasurer of Ontario has to go out and borrow 16,500 million dollars, that means the private sector has a very much more difficult time going out and competing against the government in order to borrow those selfsame dollars. By the government having to go out and borrow 16,500 million dollars, what this Treasurer in effect is doing is forcing the interest rates up because he is competing—

Hon Mr Laughren: They're going down, Norm.

Mr Sterling: They would be going down faster if the Treasurer wasn't in the same market as the private sector, and he knows that. Although inflation is very low, thanks to the federal government's policies and not this provincial government, this government has forced inflation up. That's what all the economists are saying: that governments are the largest inflationary pressure in Canada and in Ontario.

It has a double-barrelled effect: (1) some future government is going to have to pay this back because it seems that this government is incapable of managing the resources and the fiscal matters of this province, and by the time this government leaves office in 1995, which we predict it will do, it will have doubled the debt of Ontario. When they came in, there was a debt of approximately \$43 billion. By the time they leave the debt is probably going to be around \$85 to \$90 billion. So thanks to you, the next government, in order to service that debt, in order to pay the interest and to pay the principal back, is going to have to go to the public and ask them for approximately \$5 billion to \$7 billion a year in order to pay off your over-spending.

I don't want to talk a long time on this particular matter. I just want the public to understand that as we go on and borrow more and more money, as required by this government through its fiscal policies and its management of the financial affairs of this province of Ontario, be it the Liberal Party or the Conservative Party which is elected in 1995, our problems will be exacerbated by this government because it is adding a terrific amount of debt while it is in office. They're going to double the debt in five years and they're going to require the next government to add

perhaps two or three points to the sales tax in order to just service the debt that is going to be added by them to the provincial consolidated debt.

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We of course will not be able to support this borrowing power which we are giving to the Treasurer, and in closing, I would just like to ask the Treasurer—because he will have an opportunity to respond to my remarks—if he still sticks by his predictions of a \$9.9-billion deficit for the fiscal year 1992-93. We know last year he was off by \$1.2 billion. Can you imagine the Treasurer being off by \$1.2 billion?

I can understand a person being out by a couple of hundred dollars or even a couple of thousand dollars, but being out by \$1.2 billion? How many Lotto 649s would you have to win in order to make that up? That's a huge amount of money the Treasurer was off his mark on last year, and I'd like to know how many thousands of millions of dollars the Treasurer's going to be off by this year. We'd really like to get an update.

Last year, as you remember, as late as December, I think as late as January of this year, the Treasurer was saying, "Everything seems to be on line," but then when we got his statement with regard to the budget, all of a sudden he was out by \$1.2 billion. In three months, how can you miss the mark by \$1.2 billion?

Even if you accepted that it was a small percentage of the total budget over a year, the Treasurer was saying in December and January: "No, we're right on line. I'm only going to be causing a debt in this year of \$9.7 billion." But we find out two or three months later that he was \$1.2 billion out. We'd like to know from the Treasurer whether or not his prediction of a deficit of \$9.9 billion is still accurate.

The Acting Speaker: Questions or comments? Seeing none, further debate? The honourable member for Brampton South.

Mr Callahan: There are people in this province today, and in order to maintain their confidence in politicians, they have to be able to have a vision for the future. They have to be able to see that at the end of the tunnel there's some hope, not just for them but for their children.

The Treasurer in his first budget talked about trying to fight inflation. He brought in a budget that was geared towards creating jobs. Yet we've seen day after day my colleague in the House indicating that 420 jobs are being lost, I think he said daily. That budget didn't do the job and he's back here for the second round. He's talking about borrowing a significant amount of money, money that most Ontarians would be staggered by, \$6.5 billion.

One has to say to oneself that a government can govern in terms of its own political philosophy, but when its own political philosophy does not meet the acid test of being able to give Ontarians some belief that there is a present and a future that's not burdened with a mortgage that will never be paid off where we'll get ourselves into the situation in the United States where they're in the trillions—that's the T-word, Mr Treasurer. We're now in the B-word. The next one is the T-word.

I think people recognize that the New Democratic Party's philosophy is that government can do it better than anyone else.

Hon Mr Laughren: Nonsense.

Mr Callahan: The Treasurer says, "Nonsense," but we have seen time after time the introduction of particular types of initiatives in this House that have at least driven the private sector out of being a partner. One thing that makes me proud to be part of my party is the fact that we believe you have to care for people. There are areas where government should truly be involved. Medicare is a clear example of that. We have the finest health care system in the country and in the world. But you can't intrude into it totally. You have to have that fine balance of partnership. You have to have a partnership between the private sector and the government.

I once had a friend who said that government has no right to get involved in anything that perhaps can't be done better out there in the private sector. I don't want to fall too far to the right and say that everything should be done by the private sector, because clearly there are areas of concern. There are people who, not because of their own misdoings, cannot survive in our society. There are areas of concern that are very necessary, such as health, where there is public involvement, as it has taken place through medicare.

When the government of the day allows its political philosophy to be so inundating that it can't see the possibility of partnership with the private sector in this smooth balance, you then find that government, because it takes upon itself all these responsibilities, soon finds it is placed in a position such as the Treasurer finds himself in today, having to borrow \$6.5 billion.

At the same time, I think the anger of the taxpayers I've experienced and that we've all experienced is not so much the question that they're being taxed; they understand that. I think if people see value for their dollar and they understand that things are coming from that dollar, they're prepared to allow you to borrow and they're prepared to be taxed.

Unfortunately, Mr Treasurer—and all the blame certainly doesn't fall at your feet, because you've taken office at a time of a recession—but I have to go back to the premise that no political party has the right to simply follow its own political philosophy and sort of just let everybody flow in the wind.

I find that's what's happening, Treasurer. I hate to say it. There's no room for for-profit day care and yet people want that choice. They want to be able to select that. Yet we heard today that there's all sorts of money being allocated for non-profit day care.

Non-profit day care obviously is good. I've sat on committees where we looked into the issue of parents being on the boards of directors of these non-profit day care centres and perhaps having a greater interest, but I have to say that this is a fallacy that's being blinded by the New Democratic Party's philosophy, "The government knows best."

A friend of mine once indicated that if we get to the stage where it's just a government-run operation, it'll cost government twice as much to run something as it would the private sector. We're losing the confidence of the business community. We're losing the confidence in fact of even the union rank and file.

I have up in my office—and I wish I'd brought them down for this debate; perhaps it's more appropriate for a debate on the Ontario Labour Relations Act amendments—these letters that are being received from union rank and file saying: "We don't agree with the provisions of the Ontario labour relations amendments. We want you to stop it."

I suppose what we have to tell them is that the government of the day, as it does in everything—and this is why we're in this conundrum of having to borrow an ever-increasing debt—has decided that these amendments will be put through and in fact will come about. Of course, with the rule changes we have, obviously that's going to be a very simple task for the government because it's going to have muzzled us. They're going to have muzzled the representatives of the people of the 130 ridings in this good province.

I have to say to you that many of the problems of this debt that we are going to see ever increasing over the next budgets that are brought in are going to be a direct result of the government trying to become the provider of everything.

Mr Treasurer, I say to you on behalf of the residents of my riding who are New Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives—on behalf of the same makeup of citizens of this province of the 130 ridings—please examine the question of government and realize that there has to be more than just the philosophy of the NDP government. If you do that I think you will find you will give a ray of hope and the debt will not continue to increase. I thank you, Mr Speaker, for the opportunity to participate in this debate.

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The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments on the member's participation in the debate? Seeing none, further debate.

Mr Stockwell: The member for Carleton was speaking earlier about which member would be the voice of reason when it comes to the finances of this province. I have some concern when the Treasurer suggests it's unreasonable to attack their position as I personally and, I suppose, our party have taken when it comes to finances, deficits and budgets in Ontario. Quite frankly, I think the Treasurer has little, if any, room at all to lecture anybody when it comes to budgeting, deficits and projections. I'm not sure how far you have to go back to find a Treasurer who has been absolutely as clearly wrong on projections, deficits and numbers as this particular one.

Hon Mr Laughren: Two years.

Mr Stockwell: The Treasurer suggests two years. I don't think you're right any more, because once this deficit comes in this year, it's going to easily exceed the deficit or projected revenue Mr Nixon suggested this province would have and what eventually turned out. I think he

probably was about \$2 billion or \$2.5 billion off the mark. There's some debate about how much he skated on those figures. The NDP says this much and the Liberals say this much, but the real fear is that this Treasurer is going to be \$4 billion or \$5 billion off the mark this year. We're basing our borrowing capacity—

Hon Mr Laughren: That's what you said last year and you were wrong.

Mr Stockwell: I was absolutely dead right last year. You chatted on at length during the year to anyone who would listen about being spot on when it came to the \$9.7-billion deficit. If anybody was spot on, I was when I suggested your deficit would be considerably higher than \$9.7 billion, Mr Treasurer. When I told you that you said we just don't know what we're talking about on this side of the House. In the end, who didn't know what they were talking about? We had something in the neighbourhood of \$11 billion in deficit. If this Treasurer hadn't made half a dozen restructuring programs during the year that deferred expenditures to the following year, your deficit would have been exceedingly higher than \$11 billion.

Furthermore, as we go into this, the absconding debtors, as the member for Scarborough was speaking about earlier—the federal government, which you claim owes you another \$1.2 billion, which everyone in this room knows you will not collect but will not admit it—

Hon Mr Laughren: Want to bet?

Mr Stockwell: Do I want to bet? Boy, would I like to bet with this Treasurer on his numbers in this budget. Absolutely, sir. You just name the amount and I'll give you odds.

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): Those guys are nuts about gambling.

Mr Stockwell: That's right, that this government's nuts about gambling is probably the truth.

They're out here to borrow \$16.5 billion to continue the operation of this province. What is very frustrating is that there is nothing the opposition parties or the public in general can do to ensure that the figures put forward by this government are truly accurate. That is frustrating from purely an accounting point of view and from a credibility point of view.

There's no doubt in my mind that the manoeuvre this Treasurer made on the teachers' pension borders on the fraudulent. When he pushes the teachers' pension contribution back one day, and that day moves that expenditure from one fiscal year to the next so he would not have to show that as a deficit in this fiscal year, that is bordering on the fraudulent. May I suggest there is not a reputable accountant in this province who would sign off on that accounting report. He wouldn't sign off with that kind of accounting. Now the Treasurer goes ahead and does it.

Further, he still has in his operating budget the \$1.2 billion from the federal government which, it is getting more obvious every day, will not come to this government. So you can add an additional \$1.2 billion to the deficit that sits at \$9.9 billion today. Add to that the \$500 million or \$600 million in the pension fund contribution and you're

well over \$2 billion right now, and your \$9.9 billion goes all the way up to \$12 billion.

We end up getting into long-winded debates on a bunch of fabricated numbers. That's really what it comes down to, fabricated numbers. This isn't even smoke and mirrors; this isn't even creative accounting. These are, bottom line, fabricated. You can't use other parliamentary terms, so "fabricated" will have to take their place today.

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): Is that like a lie?

Mr Stockwell: Similar.

We now get into the debate about the \$16.5 billion. I find it very frustrating to now be debating the \$16.5 billion when this Treasurer will not come clean with the public about just how much money he and his government are in debt. I always believe, whether it's in local politics, provincial politics or federal politics, if you're going to spend the money on programs and initiatives, have the guts to stand up and defend the expenditure. It's that simple. With the creative accounting and the fabrications in this budget, what is becoming more and more clear about this government is that it doesn't have the guts to defend the spending limits it is making.

Mr Mahoney: Would you?

Mr Stockwell: Of course not. I would never agree to this kind of expenditure, but I always thought the socialists were going to go about this province and change things. Yes, it was going to cost money but they'd stand up and defend those expenditures. They don't. It really is frustrating for your average citizens in this province when they don't know the economic situation of their government.

I remember last year talking about the budget with a couple of members across the floor, and this is how out of touch these members were. Last year when the Treasurer announced his \$9.7 billion deficit, the backbenchers in that party didn't even know the deficit was cumulative. They honestly thought the Treasurer was retiring the debt every year and it wasn't cumulative. So it doesn't take a genius to figure out exactly how he's fooling his own caucus. I think he wishes he could do the same with the members across the floor and the people in the province.

Now to the \$16.5 billion. Today in these tough economic times it's very difficult for any business to borrow money. It's very difficult for anyone to get money at this time, particularly when there are governments out there crowding out the capital market when they go out and borrow this kind of money.

They do a couple of things and I don't know if they realize it or not; they should. When they borrow this money, the \$16.5 billion, most of it comes from offshore. They beat their chests proudly and say, "We've gone out and borrowed and our triple A credit rating is only down to double A something." They proudly crow about going out and borrowing this money. It was the fastest they snapped it up.

The difficulty is that when you go out and borrow money offshore, two things happen. The first thing is you've got to entice an offshore investor to buy your debt. This Treasurer, as he's done in the past couple of weeks,

travels the world and looks for people offshore to buy his debt.

Mr Mahoney: Suckers.

Mr Stockwell: Not suckers. Do you know why they're not suckers? Because this Treasurer has to give them something for buying his debt. What does he give them? He gives them higher interest rates than they'd get in any chartered bank or investment, simply because he needs the money to meet his payroll.

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Mr Mahoney: So we're the suckers.

Mr Stockwell: So we're the suckers. He's offering higher interest rates to these investors. So the same group of socialists who constantly argue about the high interest rates are the ones who are, in fact, propping them up when they go to seek \$16.5 billion in offshore money.

What else happens when you seek offshore money? Because you've now attracted this, there's more interest in your dollar. Clearly there's more interest because you've got offshore money buying \$16.5-billion worth of it. So what happens? Your interest rates go up to attract the investment; when there's investment there's action; when there's action your dollar goes up. The same socialists who constantly whine and wail about the high Canadian dollar are exactly the people who are pushing it up because they are seeking offshore money to service their unquenchable need for debt. Absolutely counterproductive, and certainly against what I would consider to be responsible socialist public policy.

Having said that, the real fear that you're faced with as a constituent and taxpayer in the province of Ontario is: As the Treasurer, Mr Laughren, has told the public in no uncertain terms, his deficit is going to be \$9.9 billion, and accordingly he's based his borrowing needs on that. The dilemma he's faced with is that he knows full well his deficit is really \$14 billion. He's going to have to go out and find an additional \$4 billion or \$5 billion in money. So the whole cycle happens again; he goes out to find money; the offshore money pushes up your interest rates; the interest rates push up the interest in your dollar, and your dollar goes up. And this from a Treasurer who's a socialist who has constantly whined and wailed about the high Canadian dollar. It's really counterproductive.

We now ask the Treasurer to defend this budget, defend the job creation program, defend the capital works program, defend a lot of programs that have been put in place. I think some very poignant questions have been put to this Treasurer, but I think the most interesting of all the questions that have been put has been the tax on the working poor. Here we have a government in this budget that has often stood and chanted about the problems of the working poor—the poor, period—and the concerns they have about surviving in this tough economy and in this country, and you look across this floor at this Treasurer, a socialist Treasurer, who has just increased the taxes in these tough economic times. On whom? He's increased the taxes on the working poor: the people who can least afford to pay.

Mr Mahoney: Shame. How do you sleep at night?

Mr Stockwell: I don't know how this Treasurer sleeps at night. After reading back through Hansard and the self-serving rhetoric that this Treasurer used to spout in this House—I read back in Hansard, and thank God there is Hansard, because it helps you to get these people back on the record. But the self-serving socialist rhetoric that this member spouted about the working poor and taxes and the tax that we need to levy against the capitalists and the rich and the corporate powers-to-be, this is the Treasurer who stands in this House today and offers a tax reduction to businesses and increases the taxes on the working poor. Brain leaks, some suggest, I'm not sure, but certainly a complete about-face on the rhetoric that was offered when this member was on this side of the House.

The really ironic part about this debate that we have today is, this is the Treasurer, the socialist, who increased taxes on the working poor, and I think all these members across the floor should remember that when they go back to their local constituencies, look everybody in the face—particularly those who aren't making a lot of money—and say, "Don't worry; Floyd raised your taxes." Have a heart when you go back to your socialist regimes back there in your constituencies, because the only jurisdiction in this province that gave the working poor a break on their taxes was those heartless souls in Ottawa, Brian Mulroney and the federal Conservatives. Often browbeaten—

Interjections.

Mr Stockwell: Here they are. You see, they don't even know that. The catcalling from the backbenchers—they don't even understand that Brian Mulroney gave the working poor—

Hon Mr Laughren: We're all stupid but you, Chris.

Mr Stockwell: Oh, now we have the Treasurer suggesting that they're all stupid but me, in essence suggesting that I'm the only one that's right on this; in fact they're wrong.

Hon Mr Laughren: You're the only one.

Mr Stockwell: Yes, it is true, and the Treasurer knows full well that what I've just said is absolutely accurate. It's so accurate that in this House this Treasurer had to stand before the opposition benches and admit to that, and that the information the Minister of Education was passing out to his constituents would be considered factually incorrect.

Before the caterwauling continues again from the backbenchers in the socialist caucus, why don't you go look up the tax provisions this year? You will see, without a doubt, the only person who gave the working poor a break this year was the federal Conservatives, and the people who—don't shake your head; that's a fact—clawed back the money on the working poor was your government, at three times the rate the federal Conservatives gave them a break. That is absolutely shameful, and from a socialist party it is hypocrisy at its height. From all that they said in the past—

Hon Mr Laughren: You are so reasonable.

Mr Stockwell: I'm reasonable on this. I'm very reasonable on this. I am so reasonable that I haven't used any unparliamentary language. I'm very reasonable on this.

What I don't understand is how this Treasurer, with everything he's said for the past 20 or 18 years he was here, can honestly look himself in the mirror today with the budget he delivered a few short months ago. You don't lend any credibility to your party when you come forward with taxes on the working poor, after everything you said and stood for previous to that. I find it absolutely unbelievable, and I go on the record in saying so.

Mr Mark Morrow (Wentworth East): Unbelievable.

Mr Stockwell: Yes, it's unbelievable. Frankly, you should be ashamed, in my opinion—beyond unbelievable, after everything you stood for and said in the election, not the least of which was a minimum corporate tax. Those were the people who were going to fund the socialist agenda—a minimum corporate tax.

You know what they found out when their Fair Tax Commission reported back? These corporations weren't dirty dogs. They weren't doing anything illegal. They're very much within their rights and they were paying the proper taxes. What they found out was that there was no well to go to to pay for all these exorbitant promises they made during the election.

So who pays for these promises? Future generations, because they're acquiring debt at a record level, and the working poor, whom this Treasurer increased taxes on, and the Premier agreed to it. That's who's financing the promises they tried to make during the 1992 election.

Hon Mr Laughren: No, he never agreed.

Mr Stockwell: Excuse me?

Hon Mr Laughren: The Premier never agreed.

Mr Stockwell: The Premier must have agreed. He must have agreed.

Although I think the Treasurer does make light of this, it's certainly something that must hit home when he goes into caucus or cabinet to debate. It must be something that really sticks in their craws: that they're the government that increased taxes on the working poor. That's got to bother you. That really must bother you, Mr Treasurer, and it really must bother you, the backbenchers.

I look at the Minister of Community and Social Services, who spends a lot of time looking to help people who are in need, who spends a lot of time in the social service division, yet your Treasurer was the one who increased the taxes on the working poor. That must bother you when you get into cabinet. It can't do anything else but.

But this comes to a far greater debate, and that debate is this: Why is it that the NDP has been relegated to such an embarrassing public position? Why? Well, it's because of two reasons.

One, in opposition they made promises that were absolutely impossible to keep. That's the first: promises that were absolutely and virtually impossible to keep. The first would have been publicly run auto insurance. They found that to be an absolutely impossible promise to keep from a financial end. So when they had all these promises hung out there in the wash and they got elected, it became apparent that they couldn't keep them all.

The second difficulty they're faced with is their inability to manage money. They have absolutely no capacity to manage money. I think that comes from their background in history, simply because they were advocates in most instances and they've never actually had to manage the finances. Having been given the responsibility of managing the finances, they've been total and absolute failures.

I quoted a number the other day. Even the Treasurer suggested it was incorrect, so I went to doublecheck. This number is correct: From Confederation right through to 1985 when the Conservatives left office, this government acquired \$25 billion in debt. Do you realize, Mr Speaker, that in that 115 or 118 years they acquired \$25 billion—

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Interjection.

Mr Stockwell: Listen up. This is an interesting statistic: \$25 billion in debt. The socialists have been in power for two years and they've acquired \$25 billion in debt—\$25 billion in two years. From Confederation to when the Tories left office in 1985 they acquired exactly the same amount.

Mr Morrow: What year did that start, Chris?

Mr Stockwell: From Confederation to 1985. It has taken 100-plus years to acquire \$25 billion. In two short years this government has acquired that kind of debt. It is concerning to me and it is concerning, I'm sure, to all constituents.

Mr David Winninger (London South): How much interest do you pay on your party debt?

Mr Stockwell: How much interest do we pay on the party debt? There's a question of a major purport. There are a few million dollars outstanding. If you assume 10%, that's a considerable sum of money for us, yes. What that has to do with the \$25 billion in debt you have acquired in two years, I'm not sure, but thank you for the information.

What has become very obvious to me is that this government doesn't have any capacity to manage the finances—

Mr David Christopherson (Hamilton Centre): Do as I say, not as I do.

Mr Stockwell: If you want to get into a debate on who can manage finances and who's better at managing them, I'm prepared to get into that debate.

You've acquired \$25 billion in debt in two years, and you point to that with some kind of pride. It's terrible, unbelievable. You've acquired so much debt that future generations will be paying for that, and it's like a laughing matter. It's something you point to with pride. You should be absolutely ashamed of yourselves.

Deficits and debt are nothing but deferred taxes. If you don't have the guts to tax the people for your programs, don't introduce your programs, because the people who are going to have to pay these taxes in the future won't have the ability because you'll be so far in debt.

As we get around to the \$16.5 billion, I recall back to that day when you introduced the 1991 budget and I suggested your deficit figure was incorrect as well as being way overblown and it shouldn't have been that high. I clearly didn't know what I was talking about. I remember

the Treasurer suggesting I couldn't be any more wrong. Well, I couldn't have been any more right. Now we have to sit here today and debate about this budget that is truly a fantasy—the \$9.9 billion.

The comments I wanted to make were I think really salient. They're the points I want to give to this Treasurer when he comes back in a few months and tells us his deficit is going to be higher. If there's anything I'd like to see this government do before it leaves office, and maybe it will simply because it'll know it's going to opposition, it is one simple thing. It's non-partisan and it's a reasonable request. I would ask this Treasurer to have an accounting consultant come in and set down hard and fast rules by which—

Hon Mr Laughren: That's what we have an auditor for.

Mr Stockwell: No. You see, this is what they say, and every government uses that excuse. I understand. The auditor is just asking, "Are those numbers correct?" "Well, yes, substantially they're correct." What happens is they fool around with where the budget is here, they fool around with this number and they come up with \$9.9 billion in debt, when you know full well, Mr Treasurer, it's more than \$9.9 billion.

What I ask you to do is bring in an accountant to set down hard-and-fast rules about how a government may set its budget so that when we compare budgets from year to year, from deficit to deficit, you're comparing apples to apples. What happens today and why we end up in these fruitless debates is the Treasurer insists he's right right up to the point when he's wrong. They're fruitless, because we talk about a \$9.9-billion deficit and your caucus believes it and you know it's wrong, Mr Treasurer. You know that number is wrong. That's why it's fruitless, because these people behind you believe you. They believed your \$9.7 billion.

So I ask that he bring in someone—an accountant, consultant, whoever—to set down hard-and-fast rules about how a budget may be delivered and proper accounting functions that will be put in place so the treasurers of the day will not play fast and loose with taxpayers' money and bring forward smoke-and-mirrors budgets that have absolutely no relationship to reality. I don't think that's an unreasonable request. I know—

Hon Mr Laughren: I think you're losing your grip.

Mr Stockwell: The Treasurer suggests I'm losing my grip, but I don't think that's unreasonable. I think it's a very reasonable request. Any business has to live by that when it reports back to its shareholders. There's a standard and categorical way you report back. Any business that files its taxes has to file in a certain fashion. The only people who don't have to live within those rules are the Treasurer and the government itself.

I would suggest that if in fact that were the case, this Treasurer could not pawn off the teachers' pension contribution by a day, this Treasurer would not be allowed to show \$1.2 billion in transfer payments, this Treasurer would not be trying to reopen and negotiate a doctors' agreement that was set for seven years and this Treasurer

would not be allowed to say that the deficit is \$9.9 billion, when in reality it's \$14 billion.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments. Further debate?

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I'm pleased to have an opportunity to speak on this bill, which really does essentially provide the House with its budget debate. I don't believe we've had one for reasons I think we all understand. I'm always interested and—

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): Is this the budget debate?

Mr Conway: In effect it is, and I'm not complaining. We had other business that kept us from the budget debate. Quite frankly, this afternoon I'm going to treat it as a budget debate, and I don't profess to bring the same level of wisdom and the specific knowledge my friends Mr Stockwell and Mr Phillips brought to the debate.

Hon Mr Laughren: Well, Mr Phillips.

Mr Conway: No, I think Mr Stockwell made some very good points. I want to begin in a sense where he left off. I share some of his concern, though unlike him I've got some responsibilities of recently having been in government in this province.

I suppose the fundamental question I want to raise this afternoon is the one about how we in this political culture of ours deal with the spending pressures that are out there that drive all of us to the requirements that are contained in Bill 16, which is essentially authorizing on its passage the government to borrow some \$16.5 billion worth of money to fund a variety of good works.

I will say, perhaps a bit provocatively, to my friend the member for Etobicoke West that there are none of us in the room who, if we were sitting in the Treasurer's chair today, would be looking at a budgetary situation that would, in light of what happened over the last generation, including the sainted Frank Miller, I would submit, be in a position to argue this year for a deficit of probably less than \$6.5 billion. One would have to really see a lot of blood flow to get to that figure.

A few days ago the member for Etobicoke West, Mr Stockwell, and I were chatting about one capital work in the city of Toronto in which he had a direct involvement and I had a parenthetical involvement, and those were namely the circumstances that brought us to the construction of the SkyDome. I think it is in a way a point illustrative of the general concern, how do elected officials stand in front of a train, such as that train which brought together significant elements of the political élite, the media cognoscenti, particularly the publishers of very distinguished papers here in Metropolitan Toronto, and leaders in the business community? I suspect, though I don't remember, but I'm sure the leadership of the Toronto construction unions were there as well.

Back 10 years ago, it was an article of faith that Toronto particularly and Ontario generally, to say nothing of the greater Dominion beyond, had to have the Dome. There were people, to be fair to my friend Mr Stockwell, and others in the New Democratic Party and Liberal oppositions of the day who raised some general and specific

points of protest. I think it is fair to say the protesters lost, and lost decisively. I think as democrats we have to understand that. I'm going to just use this example, though there are several others, where concerns around the issues Mr Stockwell has rightly brought to this debate were brought and swept aside in a tide of civic boosterism which would have one believe that Toronto could not be a world-class city without the domed stadium.

Ten years later we look back, and I have to say in credit to my friend Mr Stockwell that I think he was much more gutsy than I probably could have been in his position, standing, complaining and voting against that at the Metro level. Some of us did it here. But I repeat, the protesters were in the minority, they lost and we now have the domed stadium and our friend the current Treasurer has been—I was going to say manfully but that's a very prejudicial term and I won't use it—heroically dealing with the financial legacy of that visible and magnificent sign of the world-classness of Toronto.

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Similarly, across the entire political waterfront, we face all kinds of examples which make the case that taxpayers want, understandably, a growing range of high-cost services, particularly in areas like health care, environmental protection, education, social services and transportation, while at the same time they feel burdened with an ever-increasing level of taxation imposed by all levels of government.

What are we to do about this? One of the interesting articles I have seen recently appeared in the Buffalo News a couple of weeks ago and I wish I had brought it down. My friend Bradley brought it back from one of his recent cross-border prayer meetings in that part of western New York. A political scientist from Georgetown University has in recent weeks gone out and interviewed, on an anonymous or confidential basis, a very ecumenical group of senior members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and they offer their comments in this article.

One of the observations—and, as I say, I regret not bringing the article down—was simply one of the senior senators saying: "Well, as far as I can tell, we have in Washington exactly what most Americans want. We have at one and the same time a growing panoply of expensive services and a mountain of debt to go along with it." That is what the politics of the 1970s and 1980s have been all about. To a substantial extent, it is true in this jurisdiction and much of Canada.

I well remember the days when we were in government and we tried, as a government in very sunny economic circumstances, to draw the line. Does my friend from Etobicoke remember that fateful day when Treasurer Nixon had the guts to restrict, to flat-line the unconditional grants to municipalities? I mean, all hell broke loose.

Hon Mr Laughren: Who would criticize?

Mr Conway: Well, everyone criticized. I think even the honourable member from Glengarry probably chimed in with a word of protest on behalf of the good and expecting municipalities of his wonderful region in eastern Ontario. But we now find ourselves in a situation where

routinely—that is, in every year of the current mandate—we will be spending, on the regular account, approximately 20% above revenue. That is a very significant departure from the historical norm in this province.

I must tell a little story because my friend from Glengarry will appreciate this. A half a century or more ago when my grandfather was in this place, one of his best friends was a dour Scotsman from Glengarry named Jim Sangster. My grandfather used to say, years and decades later, that on every budget day Jim Sangster would—well, my grandfather actually had a little bit of doggerel. I only remember a couple of lines but it is one that is appropriate. He used to say: "You know, Jim Sangster sat in the seat ahead. He heard the budget and he said, 'We're broke.'" Jim Sangster, in the Depression of the 1930s, would die several times over if he were here today to see what we have now come to.

I understand the pressures that have brought the current government to that, and I accept my share of responsibility for some of the spending patterns in the salad days of the 1980s that have led to the current difficulty, but it is a very real difficulty.

I look at the Treasurer and I look at his two budgets and I'm reminded of the kinds of gyrations that characterized the Mitterrand administration in the early years of the 1980s. In fiscal policy and in energy policy, but particularly to date in fiscal policy, the Rae-Laughren government really looks a lot like the Mitterrand administration of the early 1980s.

What is most interesting about the 1992 Ontario budget is just how dramatically different it is from the 1991 budget. It has got to be observed that if ever there were a sharp turn in the road, it was the sharp turn that is characteristic of the 1992 budget.

But I make the point to members and to anyone watching that the fundamental dilemma in which we find ourselves today, not just as politicians but as citizens in this community, is, how are we going to deal with the fact that we are building a growing pile of debt that must be repaid at some point, that is going to continually put pressure on our interest rates, that is going to gradually redirect money away from programs to interest and debt charges and increasingly reduce the number of options any government will have?

I think the Treasurer understands that. I don't know that most members understand that, and quite frankly most members aren't paid to understand the particular burdens the chancellor of the exchequer must shoulder on an hourly basis. But I repeat, we are looking at public policy that is driving us further and further into this hole, and we are looking now at a public that has less and less patience with the bills that are coming due.

It has been observed by other speakers in this debate, and let me repeat it, that in the mandate of the Rae-Laughren government, the debt incurred on the account of the Ontario government, exclusive of Ontario Hydro, will approximately double itself. That is significant. In the period from the mid 19th century to 1990, we piled up something in the neighbourhood of, what, \$27 billion, \$28 billion. I forget the actual number.

Mr Stockwell: About \$35 billion.

Mr Conway: My friend from Etobicoke says approximately \$35 billion worth of debt was piled up by the provincial governments from the era of Sandfield Macdonald to David Peterson. But in the course of the period 1990 to 1995, we are going to add another \$35 billion worth of debt to that account.

Interjection: If they're right.

Mr Conway: If my honourable friend opposite is right, and there is some good reason to believe they are not right.

Let me be fair: This will not be the first government to miscalculate in this connection. Bob Nixon, it's well known, in the budget of 1990 apparently miscalculated the severity of the impending recession.

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): Just a little bit.

Mr Conway: Well, he did, apparently, and miscalculated—

Mr Winninger: Just a few hundred million.

Mr Conway: That is correct. He miscalculated by something in the neighbourhood of \$700 million. I simply say to my honourable friends that your record last year was worse, not better, than that.

Undoubtedly you were wrong for all the right reasons, and I say to my friends in the Conservative Party what I've said before: I remember the day in 1975 when I came here. It was an election year. In that year—I'm speaking now in general terms—the Davis-McKeough government was spending something like \$12 billion, and it was running, on that \$12 billion worth of expenditure, a deficit of some \$2 billion. That was, when I think of it now, a very substantial debt-expenditure ratio. I think it was occasioned, quite frankly, by the reality of 1975 being an election year.

[Report continues in volume B]

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, I. Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton Elgin	Poole, Dianne	L	
	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaître, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiles, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Sault-Sainte-Marie			
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessinger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/ ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale

**COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
COMITÉS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE**

STANDING COMMITTEES/COMITÉS PERMANENTS

Administration of justice/Administration de la justice

Chair/Président: Mike Cooper
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mark Morrow
Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Jenny Carter, Robert Chiarelli, Mike Cooper, Alvin Curling, Charles Harnick, Steven W. Mahoney, Gary Malkowski, Mark Morrow, Robert W. Runciman, Paul Wessinger, David Winninger
Clerk/Greffier: Lisa Freedman

Estimates/Budgets des dépenses

Chair/Président: Cameron Jackson
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Margaret Marland
Members/Membres: Gilles Bisson, Gary Carr, Ron Eddy, Will Ferguson, Robert Frankford, Wayne Lessard, Lawrence O'Connor, Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay, Gregory S. Sorbara
Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

**Finance and economic affairs/
Finances et affaires économiques**

Chair/Président: Ron Hansen
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Kimble Sutherland
Members/Membres: Elinor Caplan, Gary Carr, David Christopherson, Norm Jamison, Monte Kwinter, Gerry Phillips, Norman W. Sterling, Brad Ward, Margery Ward, Jim Wiseman
Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

General government/Affaires gouvernementales

Chair/Président: Michael A. Brown
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Carman McClelland
Members/Membres: Ted Arnott, Will Ferguson, Derek Fletcher, Margaret H. Harrington, Randy R. Hope, George Mammoliti, Rosario Marchese, Bill Murdoch, Dianne Poole, John Sola
Clerk/Greffier: Deborah Deller

Government agencies/Organismes gouvernementaux

Chair/Président: Robert W. Runciman
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Allan K. McLean
Members/Membres: James J. Bradley, Jenny Carter, John C. Cleary, Will Ferguson, Robert Frankford, Bernard C. Grandmaître, Rosario Marchese, Chris Stockwell, Daniel Waters, Jim Wiseman
Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Legislative Assembly/Assemblée législative

Chair/Président: Noel Duignan
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mike Farnan
Members/Membres: Mike Cooper, Paul R. Johnson, Margaret Marland, Irene Mathysen, Carman McClelland, Gord Mills, Gilles E. Morin, Stephen Owens, Barbara Sullivan, Noble Villeneuve
Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Ombudsman/Ombudsman

Chair/Président: Mark Morrow
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Christel Haeck
Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Dennis Drainville, Noel Duignan, D. James Henderson, Paul R. Johnson, Frank Miclash, Bill Murdoch, Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay, Elizabeth Witmer
Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

Public accounts/Comptes publics

Chair/Président: Remo Mancini
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Joseph Cordiano
Members/Membres: Robert V. Callahan, W. Donald Cousens, Noel Duignan, Robert Frankford, Christel Haeck, Pat Hayes, Paul R. Johnson, Lawrence O'Connor, Gregory S. Sorbara, David Tilson
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Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 24 June 1992

Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mercredi 24 juin 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Wednesday 24 June 1992

[Report continued from volume A]

1800

ONTARIO LOAN ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 SUR LES EMPRUNTS DE L'ONTARIO

Continuing the debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 16, An Act to authorize borrowing on the credit of the Consolidated Revenue Fund / Loi autorisant des emprunts garantis par le Trésor.

Mr Conway: Let me also join in some of the criticism that's been targeted at the Treasurer about some of the sleight of hand in this budget. I agree with my friend Mr Phillips, the Liberal Treasury critic. I have the highest regard for my friend the Treasurer. I know him well. I think he is a very straight-shooting and honourable gentleman. But I think this budget was not entirely of his authorship. I think when Mr Mendelson and others had their way with the final draft, there were certain impositions on our honourable friend the member for Nickel Belt that would not have been of his choosing. I will simply cite a couple of examples.

One of them is a bit of an old sore with me, that is, the teachers' superannuation fund. I simply say that what the Treasurer has done is sleight of hand.

Hon Mr Laughren: It's right out there.

Mr Conway: Oh, it's right out there, so in that sense it is not sleight of hand. I accept that criticism.

But he has transferred a requirement out of this year to another year. That requirement is roughly \$500 million. I just want to say to my friends opposite and over here as well, that is precisely—

Hon Mr Laughren: Name names.

Mr Conway: I'll mention Bill Davis and Tom Wells and Darcy McKeough in 1975 in a way that will hopefully become relevant in a moment.

But that kind of creative accounting, for whatever good end—and in this case, one of the ends it seeks to serve is bringing in the in-year deficit below the sacred \$10-billion line—is exactly the tactic that has gotten us into the current dilemma. It is deferring into another year, and ideally into another generation, accounts that are properly due and payable now. That teachers' superannuation account is a good example. I wish I could get Bill Davis and Darcy McKeough back in this chamber today because commitments were made 18 years ago on the eve of an election that we are now grappling with today. They are multibillion-dollar commitments.

I noticed, for example, and I've said this before, I think the Treasurer's latest indication is that in this fiscal year the Treasurer of Ontario, on behalf of the people of Ontario, will pay out something in the neighbourhood of \$1 billion as the employer's contribution to the teachers' superannuation fund. That is not a notional account; those are real

dollars my honourable friend opposite has had to tax or borrow for: \$1 billion, give or take a few million. I just want my friends opposite and everywhere to know that just a very few years ago, that contribution was not \$1 billion; it was around \$450 million or \$500 million. I've got news for you.

Mr Stockwell: It's exponential.

Mr Conway: It is going to grow exponentially.

Two and three and five and seven years from now, whoever among us is the chancellor of the exchequer in this place—it might be my friend the member for Nickel Belt, it might be my friend from Etobicoke, it might be my friend from Scarborough—is going to be going to cabinet meetings with an increasingly worrisome problem because that figure is going to go from \$1 billion to \$1.2 billion to \$1.5 billion. That's going to be real money that is not going to be spent on other programs.

I'm not saying that the teachers' superannuation fund is not a highly virtuous account, but I want to tell you, it is growing like Topsy. It is growing because politicians a generation ago made some sweetheart deals that were never properly funded and now of course all that reality is coming home to roost and it is part of what we're here in terms of authorizing billions of dollars of borrowing for today.

I want to say one further thing. I've said this before and this might be a little bit of sour grapes. I can remember trying to make an argument that this was a real and growing problem. I admit that on my part it was probably awkwardly put and incompletely argued but I will say this: Rarely if ever in my political life did I lose a match so completely as that. The proponents of this very generous and significant multi-billion-dollar entitlement program won game, set and match. I know when to concede defeat. Boy, was I beaten. I was lucky to have my pants after that hurricane took me to the ground.

Hon Mr Laughren: I'll have to let that roll around in my head for a few minutes.

Mr Conway: I was going to say some other things but they were perhaps a bit indelicate. My friend the Minister of Labour said it's probably just as well I did. I just simply say that our friend the Treasurer is here today and he's borrowing hundreds of millions of dollars to pay for the exponential growth in that entitlement program, and it is only one.

Let me say something else. My friend Mr Michael Breaugh is in Ottawa arguing a very good case about the entitlements that members of Parliament have with respect to their retirement allowances. In my view, Mr Michael Breaugh and Ms Audrey McLaughlin are right, not because those accounts have the same degree of financial obligation, though the obligation is very considerable when one looks at it on a per capita basis, speaking of the beneficiaries, but I want to tell you there's another entitlement program that is going to cost the hardworking, taxpaying, struggling men and women in communities like Hamilton, Pembroke,

London, Lively and Ancaster a lot of money. Part of that money is what we're here to vote on today. We're borrowing a lot of that money because in the current political culture it is easier to borrow the money than tax for it.

That terrible Grit Treasurer, Nixon, took the view that you could only spend what you were prepared to tax for, and he, with the support of other miserable types like his friend Conway, argued, "Let's, particularly in these good times, tax for the spending requirements," and we properly got our share of criticism.

Mr Stockwell: That's what I would do.

Mr Conway: Well, my friend from Etobicoke says that's what he'd do. I guess I put the question to him: What do we do in a democratic society when that fiscal policy is rejected by an electorate that wants, I repeat, by and large more of the high-cost services and that understandably wants taxes held in line, if not reduced?

I am going to mention in passing a couple of articles. In the most recent edition of the *Atlantic Monthly* there is an article that I would recommend members read. I don't mean to be pedantic in this connection, but it is an article by William Schneider called "The Suburban Century Begins." It is a 15-page essay looking at some of the fundamental changes that are occurring in the American political culture as a result of the now dominant politics, which, he argues on the basis of demographics, are the politics of the suburbs.

I tell you it is a fascinating analysis. I don't suggest that it's accurate in all respects but a lot of it rings true, particularly when I think of the kinds of pressures I encountered as Minister of Education in the growing suburbs of London, Halton, Ottawa-Carleton, York and Dufferin-Peel and Durham regions. I tell you, Mr Schneider makes an incredible argument here about the kinds of changes that are going to be forced on the political élites in the United States by virtue of the rise of what he calls the suburban political culture.

Mr Stockwell: It's a good culture.

1810

Mr Conway: I want to say to my friend, it's apparently a very different kind of culture from the urban culture which the American Democrats so effectively addressed, manipulated and prospered with throughout much of the post-Second World War era.

I want to say very bluntly to my friend from Etobicoke and anyone else who really cares about this subject, what do we do as democratic politicians when we cannot sell the argument that if you're going to consume now, you're going to pay now? For it would be argued by a number of politicians and tax experts that the cruellest tax policy of all is that policy which argues for consumption now and payment later by a different generation. I don't have children yet but many of you do and I think we are engaged—

Hon Mr Laughren: Are you about to make an announcement?

Mr Conway: I'm not about to make an announcement. But what we are engaged in, in this mandate, when we add \$35 billion minimally to the Ontario debt for whatever good reason—and the reasons are many and wonderful

standing by themselves—we are passing on to your children a very significant tax bill they will have to pay.

Interjection:

Mr Conway: And perhaps mine.

I want to digress again for a moment. I said in passing to my friend the Treasurer that I re-read an article just the other day and I'm making some notes, because I think it'll be useful some day for a discussion outside of here.

Hon Mr Laughren: Some university.

Mr Conway: Some university perhaps. This is so much better than any university of my acquaintance, because the politics are so much more civilized and much more pleasant. Is there a politics more fearsome and more everlasting than the politics of the faculty room?

Interjection: No.

Mr Conway: I don't think it exists. But I want to make this point: It's 11 years ago that in a very famous and controversial article which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* of December 1981 we learned of the education of David Stockman. This was the article that was written a year into Mr Stockman's tenure as the chairman of the Office of Management and Budget in the Reagan administration.

Mr Stockwell: A brilliant man.

Mr Conway: A very brilliant man, actually. I think my friend from Etobicoke is quite right.

Mr Winninger: Where is he now?

Mr Conway: He is making a fortune as an investment banker someplace in New York City.

Hon Mr Laughren: Selling our bonds.

Mr Conway: As my friend the Treasurer says, probably selling the bonds of the province of Ontario. This is not an arcane reference, I say to my friends opposite, because what is interesting and what was so controversial about this article was that here you had essentially the budget chief for the Reagan government quietly and privately entering into an arrangement with a prominent American journalist to describe Reaganomics: what it was supposed to deliver, how it was going to be done and how after a year one of its principal implementers was convinced it was largely a fraud.

I'm not going to bore you with it but I look back on it now. I read this now, a decade later, and David Stockman was right. He just underestimated by hundreds of billions of dollars how screwball and cockamammy Reaganomics was.

I'm just going to make a couple of very brief references. Back 12 years ago, Washington was going through a dramatic change in its political culture. Gone were the tax-and-spend Democrats, and Reagan had come to Washington with a mandate to change the way Washington worked. He had this supply-side theory of economics which essentially said: "Let's cut the taxes, particularly on upper-income earners. Let's have a tight monetary policy and let's reduce the size of government while at the same time we crank up our defence establishment to counter the great threat of the evil Soviet empire."

Do all of those things together—sharp tax cuts for the middle- and upper-income earners but particularly the high-income earners in the United States; a tight monetary policy to protect the value of the American dollar; crank up

American defence spending, and reduce otherwise the size of government—and one would have a new world in which, among other things, there would be more jobs created and the budget would be balanced.

Stockman, in his confessional piece in the *Atlantic Monthly*, observed in December 1981, a full year into his administration, that it was of course not working. It wasn't working, interestingly, because the spenders, not just the spenders at the Pentagon but the spenders in the entitlement programs—all of the good social welfare programs, the business welfare programs and a variety of other big-ticket items—would not be disciplined. The politics of the trough on Capitol Hill militated against making this work.

So what happened? The deficit began to run in a significant fashion. Do you know how bad it was? It was so bad back then that—

Hon Mr Laughren: It became bigger than Gilles Pouliot's riding.

Mr Conway: I think this is important. You see, the point about this debate is in a sense it's a generational debate. If the past trends continue, at least 50% of this Legislature won't be here in five years. We won't be here when the chickens come home to roost. There will be another cadre of very good, hardworking, committed members of the Legislature representing three, four or five political parties, and they will be standing here in 1997 giving an accounting of what was done in their name by their forebears of a half generation ago.

There might be some tiresome, pedantic nincompoop like Conway who has this obnoxious habit of rethrashing the straw of a previous Parliament, to say perhaps nothing of a previous decade. He will of course be written off in a place that now has virtually no institutional memory; it's just some kind of a museum piece.

Back to Mr David Stockman. He said that by 1981—

Mr Wiseman: That's a good argument for history classes, eh?

Mr Conway: This is not a history class. This is I think a very real issue. It's an issue for all of us here. I have no end of sympathy for the terrible position my friend is in. If I were in his place, I would probably be in even more trouble. We have to go home now to voters and say, "By the way."

At the end of this mandate, make no mistake about it, the Rae government will play out the deficit card to a very substantial extent and its hope clearly is that we will have a recovery that will allow revenues to go up and expenditures, particularly and understandably on the social welfare accounts, to go down. In a different way that was the hope of Reaganomics. What happened?

I want to go back just for a moment to the article. Basically, they were worried a year into the flight that they might be looking in peacetime in the United States, some time within the 1980s, with deficits ranging between \$82 billion in 1982 and \$116 billion in 1984. Well, my friends, in case you haven't noticed, in Washington today, significantly because David Stockman was right and Ronald Reagan was wrong, the operating deficit in the US federal

government is now around \$400 billion annually, and there is very little they can do about it.

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A final observation about reading material, again from the *Atlantic Monthly*: Just a couple of editions ago—I shared this with my friend from Etobicoke, and perhaps the Treasurer might like to read it; it's only six pages—a couple of economists named Neil Howe and Phillip Longman wrote an essay in the April 1992 edition of the *Atlantic* called "The Next New Deal."

They point out the hopeless situation in which Washington now finds itself, because they are jammed between this mountain of debt on the one hand and a whole series of entitlement programs that have become part of the sacred trust of America that they can't touch, and an American political culture that is so fed up with the political establishment for not being able to offer what they want there, as we want here, more programs for fewer taxes, that they are now embracing a none-of-the-above candidate like Ross Perot.

I just make the point in this debate that this is not just a problem for the New Democratic government; this is a fundamental problem for the political culture of Ontario, and we've got to start coming to terms with it. I'm telling you, in my next electoral campaign, I'm going to do some things that I've never done before.

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): Federal campaign?

Mr Conway: In my next provincial campaign. Let me give you one reason why I don't want to go to Ottawa. That's a very good interjection. I am not a candidate for federal office, but I'm going to give you one of the reasons why I don't want to go to Ottawa.

I don't want to go to Ottawa in part, because the business of the Dominion government for the next generation is going to be the painful, miserable task of digging the country out from the mountain of debt that was built up by a lot of my good Liberal and Tory friends over the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. I tell you, I'm a masochist, but I'm not that much of a masochist. I have no intention of going to a place where my input would be even less significant than it is here, to essentially deliver, for most of a generation, bad news to my voters, many of whom depend on the government of Canada for their economic livelihood, because I have as principal employers in my constituency very important, meritorious operations like Camp Petawawa and the Chalk River nuclear laboratory.

But my friend asks, am I not going to Ottawa? The answer is no, and one of the reasons I'm not going is that I do not want, like Sisyphus, to climb that mountain to only roll down and tell my constituents along the way that, "If you think this news is bad, there's more bad news to come."

The reason the article by Messrs Howe and Longman is so interesting is to look at what the politics of these entitlement programs are going to mean as our population changes.

You know, when my friends, particularly in the Tory right, argue for a fairly bloody-minded policy on taxes, whether it's user fees or marginal tax rates, people like me

should embrace that, because I would be a winner. But I've got to tell you, Mr Speaker, I think as a citizen I have a social responsibility to ensure that programs like medicare, like training initiatives for young people, adjustment programs for older men and women who've been thrown out of work because of the restructuring Ontario economy—those are real and significant responsibilities that in many ways attach to government.

But the difficulty the Americans now have is that they have a whole set of entitlement programs—

Mr Stockwell: The wrong people are getting the money.

Mr Conway: —that are targeted at the wrong people. In the United States, the entitlement programs in the main are targeted at the people who, a generation or two ago, were on average the poorest people in that country, namely, old people. But Norman Rockwell and Benny Goodman are dead, and a new America has presented itself. There, like here, the largest single group of poor people is children, and very few of their entitlement programs are targeted at children.

I look at the teachers' pension fund—and I'm not here to visit unfairness or injustice on the teachers of Ontario. I look at our own entitlement program for members of the Legislature and I know from personal experience what the reality of public life is all about. I've seen more people walk out of here with four or five years of service and no pension and one hell of a hard time getting back into their old job than I've seen the examples—and they exist—of people like Nixon and Welch and Martel and others who walk out of here with good pensions and sometimes government jobs to go with them.

But I want to say to you, my friends, that today we have a taxpaying public out there that isn't thinking the way it once did. It's not thinking the way it once did because times are changing. This recession has cut to the core of this province and of much of this continent. When my constituents in Renfrew county, some person who works in a sawmill in west Renfrew or north Hastings or a single mother who might be working as a retail clerk in Pembroke, look at my pension entitlement and look at my friends who are teachers and their entitlements and look at their own situation and say, "Where is the fairness?" there isn't much fairness. We are going to have to recalibrate the fairness index in this culture over the course of the next few years and it's not going to be easy. I submit to my friends and myself as well that I suspect the courageous people are, in the first instance, probably going to be thrown out of office, locally or centrally.

You know, some people say, "Conway's problem is he's really bitter because he lost the election." I am bitter about some things in the election, that's true, and I'm a very competitive person. But I'm serious when I say that more and more now, I feel like Mackenzie King must have felt in about 1932. I am happy that R. B. Bennett is Prime Minister. In my really rational moments I think, God, to go back into office, should that opportunity present itself later in this decade or later in my life, that is going to be, if it is

presented—and it may not be—a challenge that I ought to think about if I'm right at all about my analysis.

Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food): That leaves Ottawa out.

Mr Conway: Ottawa is absolutely out, and it's not a laughing matter. I make the point again that this government has taken a small step in this budget to return the seniors' property and sales tax program back to where it was 10 years ago, to a credit basis so the moneys will be spent on a needs basis and not on a universal basis, as it's been for the last seven or eight years. I'm going to be interested to see how you progress with that. I am already getting a flood of critical letters.

Mr Winninger: If you got lots of critical letters, what have you done wrong?

Mr Conway: No, the letters are not critical of me. I'm getting more and more senior citizens writing and saying: "I thought Bob Rae was my friend. I heard Ms Ziemba, who was here the other day. She's a very thoughtful, sensitive person. But I don't now understand. These people seek to take away a benefit."

Then, of course, I am able to make a very detailed analysis on the equity basis as the justification for that policy. I want to tell my friends that if they haven't had the argument, they soon will. It's not always a winning one. You know what? It is just the tip of the iceberg.

We see the Minister of Health in here on a daily basis. I see the Minister of Health and others in Ottawa and I know exactly what they're faced with. I shouldn't say I know exactly, but I've got some understanding of what it is they are grappling with.

But let there be no confusion about what kinds of choices we face. I could tell you this: I have no interest in and no desire for a retaking of office if my colleagues, as a party, make a series of very virtuous, valuable commitments that we either cannot afford or will not tax for. That may be a bit heretical for a Liberal to say, but I am tired of my breed, and that is the breed of the elected politician, having to stand here—whether it's Bill Davis on separate schools, whether it's David Peterson on Darlington, whether it's Bob Rae on the common pause day—and essentially say, "I didn't know what I was talking about." It is that kind of flip-floppery, that kind of flim-flammy, however well argued, however well intentioned, that is debasing the currency of our kind.

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I don't have very many prized objectives in life but I do have the objective of having some self-respect, and quite frankly I'm getting to the point now that I'm over 40 and I would rather be thrown out of office for saying some things that were right, even though they might have been tough and unpopular, than committing myself and my colleagues to a course of action that is financially ruinous and socially inequitable. I make the point, again, that it's not just in Washington and in America that we have this problem of inequity.

I've said it before, and I don't mean to be unduly partisan when I say this, but the recession of the last 15, 18 months has been gut-wrenching. It certainly has been in

the communities of the Ottawa Valley, in communities like the farm area, like Beachburg and Cobden and Foresters Falls within the shadow of Shawville, Quebec, or in the woods area of Barry's Bay, Bancroft, Palmer Rapids. People by the hundreds have lost their jobs. They're either out of work or they're underemployed. They are worried about just paying the bills: the tax bills, the hydro bills, the bills to put food on the table, to keep their kids in clothing and maybe to get their sons and daughters to some college or some university. They are very concerned by some of the trends they see in government generally and, I have to say, by some of the trends they're seeing here.

One of the things I would observe is that if I were to be tough-minded and ask the question "What categories of individuals have done well, relatively speaking, in the past 15 months," relatively speaking I could say, I think—and not because I'm opposed to any of these people; I'm related to many of them and they're all my good friends in many cases—I look at doctors, teachers, nurses and public servants in Ontario and they have not done badly. I think the doctors' agreement is, for my friends at the Ontario Medical Association, Brian Harling included, a positive coup d'état. I never thought the OMA could trump Larry Grossman, but it has. They have done a deal with Floyd Laughren that is even a better deal than that day a decade ago when Larry Grossman wrestled them to the ceiling.

Mr Stockwell: They fleeced you.

Hon Mr Laughren: That really hurts.

Mr Stockwell: They did, Floyd; they fleeced you. Seven years' guaranteed increases: They fleeced you.

Mr Conway: He says it hurt. I have some sympathy for my friend the Treasurer. I want to say to my friend the member for Etobicoke West that in fairness this was not a deal that in the main the honourable minister of finance for Ontario had much to do with. He got to pay the bills.

It's the most miserable, unappealing job in government being chancellor of the exchequer because you get to say no to a whole crop of fellow ministers and colleagues whose primary function is to lie to you. It's not in their interest to tell the truth, so they rarely do. They're all good people. The Minister of Agriculture and Food here: He's a good person. But just like David Stockman found a decade ago, there ain't anything in it for ministers or the cabinet secretary to go to the office of management and budget or to the provincial Treasurer and tell the truth, because they are going to be penalized if they do.

I just simply make the point again, however, as we talk about authorizing borrowings in the amount of \$16 billion, that we have, in the course of these last 15 months, seen a number of arrangements for a lot of good people—doctors, provincial public servants, teachers, nurses; wonderful people—that would be the envy of many of my constituents. Let me use a specific example.

I've been impressed by the Treasurer's diligence this year in trying to correct some of the excesses of last year. I think any government, quite frankly, particularly a group of people who've never been in government before, deserve some latitude for the first eight or 10 months. I've got to tell you that the Peterson government did some things in

the first four or five months—I know I did—that I would I never, ever have done after the first year's initiation.

But in Ottawa a few months ago we all watched the spectacle as the Ottawa secondary school teachers settled, this year, with inflation—

Hon Mr Laughren: Not with us.

Mr Conway: No, no, I know it's not with you; that's not the point. The Ottawa secondary school teachers settled for, all things in, roughly 4% in this year, when inflation is going to be something in the neighbourhood of 1.5% to 1.8%. That is a very significant victory for the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation.

Mr Stockwell: It's robbery without a gun.

Mr Conway: I'm not saying it's robbery. I don't think it is. Who am I to say that the OSSTF ought not to do its best in collective bargaining? But I'm going to make this point: That 4% is almost certainly going to come directly out of the hides of the property taxpayers in Ottawa-Carleton, because the province pays virtually no grant there and it's going to come out of industrial, commercial and residential assessment.

But I tell you that if I were the federal government, the principal employer in Ottawa, I would be mad as hell, because what do you make of this? You are, again, a single mother working for the federal government. You've accepted—you may not have liked it—0% for this year, maybe on a salary of \$30,000. The average high school salary in Ottawa is something like \$55,000 or \$60,000. So you've accepted a wage freeze this year only to see your property taxes rise by several percentage points to pay for a 4% settlement for people who on average earn twice as much as you do.

There is absolutely no equity in that kind of situation. I'm going to tell you that it's caused a problem in suburban Carleton and it's going to ripple, to some extent, across much of the rest of the province where the Treasurer of Ontario does pay grants in the hundreds of millions of dollars, fully 80% of which go to paying salaries.

I have to tell you that a lot of people in my part of the province looked at that and just wondered what was going on. Fortunately for the government, people aren't going to see a similar kind of profile in-year for doctors in this province, because if they do, the Rae-Laughren administration is going to be running for cover faster than its happy legs will ever be able to carry it.

As we look at this bill and contemplate the massive borrowings that are now required to feed the government's appetite, mindful as I am that the Treasurer has now put before me a sign saying that he's getting hungry—well, don't we know that the Treasurer of Ontario is hungry? We are here to vote an appropriation, effectively, of \$16 billion. I'm going to take my seat shortly because I'm getting hungry too and I'm supposed to be elsewhere in a few moments.

Hon Mr Laughren: Oh, so you will leave?

Mr Conway: I am expecting that you would leave your very qualified parliamentary secretary to listen to anybody else who might follow me.

But I just simply say to my friends that we are going to have to rethink some of the way we do business, and it's going to hurt and it's going to be not very popular. It is going to be counterintuitive, particularly, I must say, for Progressive Conservatives if there are—

Mr Callahan: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I don't believe there's a quorum in the house.

The Acting Speaker: Could the clerk check if we have a quorum?

Acting Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees (Ms Deborah Deller): A quorum is not present.

The Acting Speaker: A quorum is not present. Call in the members.

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Acting Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees: A quorum is present.

The Acting Speaker: A quorum now is present.

Mr Conway: I want to say that this changing political culture is going to occasion some very different strategies on all sides and, quite frankly, a lot of this is going to be counterintuitive. If there are any Progressive Conservatives, Red Tories, left, and I think there are a few, any of the old sort of Pearsonian Liberals, and lots of those social engineering New Democrats—this is going to mean big change and it's already started, as I say.

When I see Frances Lankin going before the camera and talking about all of the things that those right-wing Tory cabinet ministers were talking about a generation ago, I know it is a brave new world in which I now live. One of the happy ironies of this mandate, 1990 to May-June of 1995, will be this: It is going to fall to the Rae-Laughren social democrats to carry the can for some of the new requirements. They are going to be the ones.

One of the most delicious ironies of a previous generation was that it was Dick Nixon who went to China. Only Richard Milhous Nixon could have gone to China. Dick Nixon, by the way, was at the Hollinger dinner in Toronto last night. Can you believe it? Twenty years ago his pals were bugging the bejabbers out of the Watergate Hotel, and 20 years later he's riding a crest of elder statesman popularity.

But as only Richard Milhous Nixon, Red-baiter from the days of Helen Gahagan Douglas, Red-baiter from the McCarthy era, could go to China, in some ways I think it is true to say that only a bleeding-heart, utterly self-righteous, self-sainted Bob Rae could say and do some of the things that will have to be said and have to be done, particularly in the social envelope over the next 36 months. It is going to be ironic; it is going to be delicious; it is going to be entertaining. I'm going to say this: It is going to be absolutely helpful to that group of men and women who, whenever this administration changes to another political orientation, take office.

I was being fairly harsh in some of my assessments around the rule changes here last week and, again, that, in its own way, is Richard Nixon going to Beijing. Who would have thunk it? But there you have it. Am I going to complain substantively to have Bob Rae and this government House leader come in here and talk about the need

for modernization of our House rules? Of course not. That I am apoplectic at the breathtaking scope of the volte-face is, I think, quite justifiable. There were not a few hard-bitten, hard-right Republicans who were speechless to hear that Air Force One had touched down at the airport in Beijing. Barry Goldwater must have had more strokes than could ever have been counted.

But I just want to make the point again. We have now seen these latter-day Guy Fawkeses come in and tell us about the need to modernize and render safe against the perils of fire in Parliament those changes that are going to be mandated very shortly. But it's going to be just a few weeks and months before we have the Health minister coming in here and telling us that universality is gone. In fact, it's gone now. We're going to have the Minister of Community and Social Services coming in to make very significant pronouncements around child care that represent a very different position. We're going to have a whole series of significant redirections.

I just want to make one quick comment about my friends at Hydro. The government has a new energy policy. They're entitled to that. I asked for a report from Hydro as to how its 28,000 full-time employees are employed at Ontario Hydro. I just got the list and it's very interesting. Did you know, my friends, that as of May 31, 1992, Ontario Hydro reports 28,838 full-time employees, fully 4,171 of whom are reported as being in the design and construction category? By my rough calculation, that's something in the neighbourhood of 15%-17%.

I just have a question that doesn't need to be answered today. What are these 4,171 people, earning an average salary in that section undoubtedly of \$60,000-plus, doing, again as we enter this brave new world not of supply-side energy but of demand management? Forty-one hundred and seventy-one people are beaver away at an average salary of \$60,000 in design and construction at the gargantuan utility which has been directed to build no more plants.

Hon Mr Laughren: Moratorium.

Mr Conway: One can be a sophist and say it's a moratorium. It's a common pause about building any new plants. My question remains. I accept your argument around doing it differently. You've won the right to do that and you are apparently, as we go now, doing it differently.

My question—and here I will play David Stockman: "So, Mr Eliesen, as we enter the New Jerusalem, what the hell are 15% of your permanent employees doing?"

I apologize. I don't want to offend the tender sensibilities of the Minister of Transportation, who is taking on a degree and dimension of ministerialitis that I haven't seen since the days of Reuben Baetz, but I—

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): Get yourself a ring, Bishop.

Mr Conway: I just make an observation. I would observe that he heckles from outside of his seat because I like it when he does that, and he's a very good friend. He's not Marcel Masse. He's an equal-opportunity purchaser of Ontario maple syrup.

But I say in conclusion, let's not kid ourselves about what we're here to do. We're here to authorize the borrowing of

roughly a third of the revenue requirements of this government this year, \$16 billion.

Hon Mr Laughren: Nineteen.

Mr Conway: Is it \$19 billion?

Hon Mr Laughren: No, no, the number of months.

Mr Conway: Sorry, 19 months. But it is more money in one appropriation than we would have spent just a decade ago, and I repeat, it's growing like Topsy, the good programs with all of the advocates in the world. I know there's a new treasury board working away at trying to get at the big spending items, but I tell you, the politics of getting at those entitlement programs are extremely complex and difficult and, in first instance, most unsatisfying.

I say to the Treasurer again that when I see the kind of movement he made with the teachers' superannuation payment, I see some of the old practices that brought us to this current difficulty. I am concerned that as well as having continued to accept some of those practices, we are just falling, all of us, into this incredible pew of accepting a budgetary situation where we now spend about 22% above our projected revenue requirements. That cannot and will not go on. If we are going to avoid the disastrous situation into which other governments have fallen, we are going to have to think seriously, all of us, about pointing this Queen Mary at a slightly different destination on that far shore.

I have spoken too long but I hope what I have said is of some passing interest to my friends opposite and my colleagues over here.

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The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I thank the honourable member for Renfrew North and invite questions and/or comments.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): I listened to the comments made by the preceding member with great interest because I think he raises a point that is fairly interesting, in regard to the whole question of the competing interests that we have within society. The point he made is interesting because it comes down to the whole crux of what's happening in regard to the whole restructuring that we're finding, not only within this economy in Ontario but probably in most of the economies across North America, and I would dare say, in Europe.

Part of the problem that I think most of us, as governments, have is that there is a depleting resource in regard to the amount of money that is available to governments because of the downturn in the economy, and there is a competing interest out there that is competing for those same dollars in a way never before because they're hurt much more severely in some cases than they were some 10 or 15 years ago in the last recession.

The interesting point the member raises—and it would be an interesting debate to get into in this House—is how can we as politicians, both members of the opposition and members of government, find a way of getting into dialogue with the people we represent in whatever jurisdiction we're responsible for, to be able to try to get into the discussion of talking about how to try to bring those demands into the reality of where we find ourselves.

I think most of us in this chamber, opposition members or government members, have had people come to our constituency offices and demand or ask or put in a very forceful way that they are entitled to some grant, some loan, some help from the government that maybe we quite support because it's a good project and we think it's something that should go ahead, but the reality of the finances are that we sometimes can't deliver. The difficulty we get into, as politicians, because of the nature of our business, is that we're very reluctant to say no at the very beginning because we don't want to get anybody mad at us. I think that's what the member was talking about.

Somehow or other, if we can go through a process—and I don't know how you do this—to try to deal with the expectations so that we can become more realistic in regard to our approach to government money, if we can ever get through that, I think we'd have a better chance of being able to manage the money of the province and of this country more judiciously. With the competing interests it is very difficult.

The Speaker: Further questions or comments?

Mr Stockwell: I enjoyed that, actually. It was something I agreed with quite a bit, actually, what the member for Renfrew North said. I read a few of those articles or at least one of the articles he quoted from and it was rather interesting, the arguments brought forth, particularly about entitlements in the United States.

I'm not a big fan of entitlements, for the reasons that were outlined, because what happens is they go to the wrong people and the people who need the entitlements don't end up getting them. In a way I can see us heading down that very dangerous path as well. The upshot of it all is that someone like Perot in the United States has been given a very reasonable chance of winning the presidential election with absolutely no policy, no public profile and no positions in his life, which I think is one of the most astounding things.

To comment on some of the other issues that were addressed, I think the point that must be made that I hope is understood by all parties in this province—and I know Mr Bisson was commenting on it—is that I think what we all must remember when the next election rolls around—and I'm quite certain the party opposite has learned this lesson; I'm absolutely certain it's learned this lesson—is that no longer is it acceptable to travel this province during the month of an election and simply say whatever you think the local constituents want you to say. I think we've fallen into that trap, not just the NDP but all parties in the past.

Yes, I've tried to campaign on that basis that Mr Conway is going to campaign on or may well campaign on in the future, but I think that's one important message. There's no need for dialogue, I say to Mr Bisson, as long as you're straightforward with the public during the campaign. You don't need dialogue because you told them what you're going to do. It's just a matter of carrying those things out.

The Speaker: Further questions and comments?

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): I will not pretend that I've not heard before in various formats the speech that the honourable member for Renfrew North

gave, but I want to congratulate him on it. I hope he'll spend some time in this debate or in the next couple of weeks or so, as we address issues in the House, dealing with not merely the question of the entitlements but about the problem that is presented by the entitlement issue when you come to raise revenue to pay for those entitlements, whatever they are.

There are basically two acceptable methods of providing revenue for services. One is revenue by altruism. That is the sort of notion that we who have good incomes will pay taxes to develop programs to benefit special groups that have less than we have and who are entitled to benefits in terms of education and services and so on. The other method is revenue by entitlement; that is, that we middle-income payers are happy to pay for entitlements in which we share. What we're learning increasingly as the tax revolution occurs is that revenue by altruism simply isn't going to work any longer at the level of entitlement that is necessary to fund the kind of programs we have.

Mr Stockwell: It never did work.

Mr Scott: Maybe it never did, the member for Etobicoke West says, but in my lifetime for the most part it has until very recently. If you can't do revenue by entitlements, and that's by altruism, you then move to a problem that the Treasurer is going to confront. He's going to find, as the member for Renfrew North has pointed out, over a period of time that we cut back on entitlements on a need basis, move away from universality and therefore create programs for which people who are not entitled to them will not in the same way be prepared to pay as they have been. Middle-income income taxpayers, for example, are increasingly prepared to pay for health services because they are a beneficiary of that program.

The Speaker: The member's time has expired.

Mr Scott: So I hope the honourable member for Renfrew North will take this encouragement to speak later in this debate or in the next debate oncoming on the other part of this subject.

The Speaker: I am afraid the member's time has expired. Further question or comments? If not, the member for Renfrew North has up to two minutes to respond.

Mr Conway: I want to thank my honourable friends for their observations. Let me just conclude with two or three quick summary points. I think what is interesting is to observe that over most of the postwar period what has paid for the expansion in the entitlement programs is economic growth. Growth has paid the bill. It paid for a lot of the bill in the Peterson years. We are now experiencing a period of marked reduction in economic growth and we're in big trouble, hopefully only on a short-term basis but it may be on a much more long-term basis. That's my first point.

The second point is that as we look at the big-ticket items, the things that drive the budgetary deficit and then occasion this kind of borrowing, the big spending programs in Health, Education—including teachers' pensions, public servants' pensions and members' pensions—and in those kinds of areas, we've got to recognize that we are now experiencing significant demographic changes. I want to come back to two.

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It is apparent, according to the political sociologists, that the baby boom generation, of which I am a part, has decidedly different views as to what constitutes the public good than their parents, who experienced the war and the Depression. The boomers have a very different concept of the public good and are behaving in a very different way from their parents.

Add to that the growth of William Schneider's suburban culture, and you get a very different attitude as to what people are prepared to pay and how they are prepared to receive it.

Finally, I make the point that David Stockman observed, as he left Washington, that in the beginning and in the end it wasn't fundamentally a question of economics and budgetary policy; it was fundamentally a question of political will and changing the political system. In the early 1980s, David Stockman left Washington a defeated man. I hope we have a more positive and attractive future before us.

The Speaker: Again I thank the honourable member for Renfrew North for his contribution to the debate and invite further debate.

Mr Bisson: I don't want to take too much time, but I want to follow up on some of the points that were made by the honourable member just before. I think the member in his debate raises some points that are worth going into a little more, because I think they're questions that most of us, as politicians at whatever level, have to deal with at one point, and also the general public, in regard to what's happening with the mood of the people out there.

The member went on at length, and I think it was also mentioned by the member from Etobicoke, about the phenomenon that is going through I think all of North America by the manifestations we're seeing of public support for parties such as the Reform Party or Mr Manning, or what's happening with Mr Perot in the United States.

I think a big part of that is that somehow people are looking for a quick solution. I think most of us here recognize that: The electorate out there, I think for some good reasons, look at us the politicians and say that often we play games and do things they're not particularly happy with, for a number of reasons. I think some of that is true and some of that is very much mystified, and a lot of it is quite accelerated through the media at times, to the point that it is very difficult for us as politicians to bring some sense of debate in the general public to really discuss what those issues are all about. I think what we see out there is people trying to find that quick solution, people saying, "We're looking for somebody to come and solve all our problems, and if I support the Reform Party or somebody like Mr Perot in the United States for the election of the President, the problems all of a sudden will somehow go away."

To a certain extent that attitude might have been there in the 1990 election in the province of Ontario, I think unbeknownst to the Liberal Party of the day when they called the election at some 50% in the polls. They had been running for five years as a government, with polls of 45% to 50-some-odd per cent. I think to a great deal they were victims of that attitude out there, and some of it based on

some real things, but they were very much a victim of what happened. People are looking for those types of solutions.

Somehow in this province and in politics generally across North America, especially in Canada, we have to start getting into the debate with our constituents and into discussions and trying to talk a little more about the broader issues. Unfortunately, in this Legislature and other legislatures across this country and in the House of Commons sometimes we think the debate is rather broad, but I think it is rather limited, because we tend to get into the political games we do as politicians and because that is a system we're used to. That system has evolved over 100-and-some-odd years here in Canada and has brought us to this point, and finally people are saying, "Listen, I'm so confused by watching what you people get into," and they're looking for some kind of solution and they turn to those others.

That comes into what this debate is all about, because where we find ourselves today as a government is that, yes, we do have to go out and borrow some money—there's no question about that, the figures are true; it's \$16.5 billion—in order to be able to shore up the—

I just got slipped a note. This is funny. And I just got another one. I think I'm starting to get the hook here all of a sudden.

I just want to make this particular point. Because of what's happened within our economy, what we've seen happen by the ravages of the free trade agreement and other policies out there, some of them here in Canada, some here in Ontario, and I think generally what's happening within the economy in North America, we're basically seeing provincial governments such as ourselves in a situation that's undesirable for any political party to be in, because out there there is a competing interest of people who want what they feel is rightfully and justly theirs under the system we have.

Nobody, no matter what party, is going to stand here in his place in the Legislature and say that a particular group out there is not deserving of what it's asking for in most cases, companies that are hard hit by the recession asking for help from the provincial government, such as we've seen with Kimberly-Clark in Kapuskasing or what the Conservatives did when they were in power and helping out various businesses, and yes, the Liberal Party. The single mother or the family that is in difficulty because of what's happening in the economy comes to the government in order to get help, and what we end up with—

[Applause]

Mr Bisson: My party is already applauding me and I haven't finished yet. I want to make this point: There are competing interests out there vying for the same few dollars that are in the treasury of the province of Ontario or in the treasury of any province or any country.

It puts governments in very difficult situations, so we as governments have to somehow or other manage down those expectations. I think, if you take a look over the last year, the government's record has been very good in that. We've been communicating directly, by the 1%, 2% and 2% transfer increases to the municipalities, school boards

and hospitals: "Listen, this is where you're going to be three years down the road, so start managing accordingly. We understand you'd like to have more, but in this day and age we can't do that." You have to try to manage down that expectation to a certain extent.

If you take a look at the negotiations we've had with the representatives of most of the civil servants who work for Ontario through OPSEU, they're good examples of negotiating collective agreements. Yes, there were some increases, but very small increases. The process was such that the employees, through their collective bargaining process with their unions and the employer, the province of Ontario, were able to come to an agreement and to say, "We have to somehow manage down those expectations."

Take a look at the program reviews that have happened within the government of Ontario since just under a year ago. Reviews have been undertaken in various ministries to take a look at the expenditures of Ontario so we can look at whether we are spending those dollars in the most judicious way possible for the people of this province.

In some cases, yes, that has meant we've had to cut the funding to particular programs in order to allocate those dollars to where they're most needed. That is very difficult for any government, Liberal, Conservative or NDP, because we all want to serve the people we represent and that we were elected to represent; we all want to do the best we can by those people.

It's a question of trying to manage down those expectations, but I think the key difference is in how we achieve that. If we try to achieve that in the cut-and-slash attitude we have seen in some cases within the federal government, what it has done with the cut in transfer payments to provinces—

Interjection.

Mr Bisson: Let me finish. It could be quite dangerous for the long-term benefit of the people of this country. If we, as people and as managers of the money we're given just say, "Bang," all of a sudden—we must try as best we can and as humanly as possible to manage down the expectation but at the same time put in place those programs that are necessary to help people, to make the transition to manage that process over maybe a longer time, and the shock to the economy and the shock to the people we represent will be much less.

I think that is the key difference. We play games here in the Legislature of Ontario like we do anywhere else in any Legislature. When the 1%, 2% and 2% was announced in regard to the transfer payments to municipalities and school boards, the media and the opposition sometimes criticized those as being cuts. I guess it was a cut in the end, if you are used to getting 5% or 10%, but if we're going to try to come back—there's another hook coming.

Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall): That's the third one.

Mr Bisson: The third one. I can't go any further or else I'll really get the hook. The final point I'm trying to get to is that somehow, if we politicians—never mind our stripe, whether we're Conservatives, Liberals or New Democrats—are ever going to get the respect of the people we represent, we have to bring them with us at a speed that

is comfortable to them in understanding what we have to do as a government.

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I just wonder, do we have a quorum?

The Speaker: Would the table count to determine if there is a quorum.

Acting Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees (Ms Deborah Deller): A quorum is present, Speaker.

The Speaker: There is a quorum present. The member for Cochrane South.

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Mr Bisson: Just to finish up the point I'm making, if we're ever going to gain the respect of the people we represent so that we're better able to govern and to bring people with us at the speed that is comfortable to them to the solutions that are necessary to deal with the very tough issues we have to deal with in the economy of Ontario or across this country, we are going to have to, as politicians, try to work together a little better to keep away from rhetoric and scaring people for purely political reasons. That's the way business was conducted at one time because that's the system that was. But I would put to you, Mr Speaker, that society is changing very fast and we as politicians should maybe stand back and say we need to catch up.

I will end it there. There are a number of points I made. Like I say, I have three hooks on me and I think I'd better take the time for the debate. But I just wanted to share that because I think it is important for people to realize where we're at.

The Speaker: I thank the member for Cochrane South for his contribution and certainly understand about notes being presented. It's open for questions and/or comments.

Mr Phillips: Just a comment on the member's comments. The raise in expectations: I will say to you with all sincerity that the Agenda for People was a fraud, and you now say we have to bring expectations in line with reality. During the campaign this was waved in my face time after time at demonstrations organized by the NDP to attack me, and you did more to raise expectations out of line with what you promised to deliver. You wonder why people are cynical about you. It's because this is your manifesto. And now we hear that people must get in line with expectations and reality. I will say to the member, it was you people who raised these expectations, who said you were going to deliver on this, and now the expectation is that you will.

The member also said that the federal government is cutting payments. I will say to the Treasurer that last year you said: "It's business as usual. We are going to ensure for our hospitals and our schools boards and our municipalities that we're going to transfer the normal amount, the 8% or 9%. Don't listen to anybody else. It's business as usual in the province." Then a year later you said, "I'm sorry, it's now 1%."

Nothing could be more disruptive to the operation of our schools, our hospitals, our colleges, our universities and our municipalities than one year saying, "Here's how we're going to fund you," and then 12 months later, when many had planned and budgeted for this year, to do a

180-degree turn. Nothing could have been more disruptive. So I say to the member that in terms of bringing expectations in line, you did it to yourselves and do not continue to attack the federal government for doing things you're doing far worse.

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I want to comment briefly on the member's speech, and perhaps he could reply to us. He talks about the cutting of federal moneys to Ontario. When you say that, you conjure up the attitude among the public and the voters that they've actually given us less money, that the provincial taxpayer is receiving less from the federal government. That of course is not true. It is just not correct whatsoever. The federal government has substantially increased the amount of money Ontario receives.

This is the problem we have with reality. I think we as politicians have a duty to put forward that reality. The reality is that we are getting more. We're not getting as much as we want, but that doesn't mean we're being cut. The same argument he makes about the federal government can be made by every one of the municipalities, the school boards and the hospitals, and yet we don't expect them to make that kind of argument in these particularly difficult financial times.

I say to the member, do what you ask the municipalities, the school boards and the hospitals to do. Tell the truth. You're getting more money, substantially more money from the federal government. It isn't what you want, but in these particular times we have to live with that. That's the truth, and I would like the member to confirm the increased federal transfer to the province, tell us what it is and tell us what the percentage is, the total amount.

The Speaker: Further questions or comments? The member for Mississauga East.

Mr Sola: I'd like to comment on the member for Cochrane South's statement about the quick solutions the public wants. I think the problem stems not so much from the demands of the public but what the politicians produce during election campaigns. I think all three parties present in this chamber are guilty of having done that during the election campaigns, but I think the experience south of the border right now shows that those types of politicians are starting to be swept away by the new type, the one who presents things more accurately.

For instance, I would like to show why people in Ontario have a reasonable expectation of instant solutions by this government. Does public auto insurance ring a bell? During the election campaign when startup costs were mentioned there was always the answer: "Startup costs? What startup costs? No problem. Elect us and we'll get it in. Your rates will go down and there will be no additional cost up front."

Sunday shopping: "No problem. Elect the right party and we'll wave the magic wand and there will be no Sunday shopping. You will have a common pause day." The reality of government shows up differently. Education funding: "No problem. Whatever percentage you want, we'll provide it. Just elect us." Day care: "We'll provide all the spaces you want." They didn't say they would just

change it from profit to non-profit. Rent control: "No problem. We have the instant solution." And my colleague here has had a tough time for a year trying to point out that their solutions are no solutions. Labour protection: "No problem. Bring it to us and everybody will be satisfied." Food banks: instant solutions. Garbage problems: Ruth Grier still has them.-

The Speaker: The member's time has expired. Further questions or comments? If not, the member for Cochrane South has up to two minutes for his response.

Mr Bisson: I take the two minutes in response to say that I thought I was being conciliatory with my comments in regard to the overall issue. Instead the opposition has chosen to—

Interjection.

Mr Bisson: My members say I'm always conciliatory, and I appreciate that because I think I am.

Interjection: A sense of moderation.

Mr Bisson: A sense of moderation. Thank you.

In all honesty, to be quite serious, I was just trying to make a point in this debate in regard to where we're at. The member for Mississauga East says quite correctly that all political parties have engaged in that situation, elections, where we have promised a number of issues.

The difference is that when we were in the last election we didn't have all the numbers, to be quite just, in front of us in regard to where the economy was at, where the treasury dollars were at etc. We're still saying: "Auto insurance? Sure, we'd love to be able to do it, but we just haven't got the dollars." That's what I was talking about in this particular debate, that we've got to somehow manage down the expectation so we can be in a position to advance on those things that are necessary.

The other thing I want to say is that you're really stuck as a government, because if you're elected and you do exactly what you said you were going to do and you don't change your mind and you're intransigent on the whole situation, you're accused of being inflexible, a government that doesn't listen. I'm sure the opposition would, quite justifiably, do that if we never, never changed our minds as a government and only did what we pleased, and I think the electorate for good reason would say, "We're not happy with that and we want to give you a good boot."

On the other hand, if a government such as this one tries to listen to people—not to say that the other parties haven't done so, but the point is that when a government tries to listen to the people such as we've seen on Sunday shopping, there has been a total change in attitudes of people on the issue. I, as a member who has always opposed Sunday shopping, have great difficulty in what's happening around that, but the point is that if we are inflexible, we get charged for being inflexible and people get mad at us for that, and if we change our minds, we're accused of other things.

I would just say in summation that we really need as politicians to take a long, hard look at ourselves to be able to respond to the reality and change with the times.

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The Speaker: I thank the member for Cochrane South for his contribution to the debate and invite further debate.

Mr Mahoney: I must tell the Treasurer I wasn't going to go on at any length in this debate but found some of the remarks rather tantalizing and challenging and feel that really I have to take this opportunity to express some concerns about this bill.

I'm delighted, I must tell you, that we're finally debating government business instead of wasting the time and the taxpayers' money haggling over rule changes and haggling over what the government House leader has simply been trying to do, and successfully doing, putting the boots to the opposition.

Interjection.

Mr Mahoney: You can "Oh" all you want, but the reality is that the rule changes that are coming into this place that will be debated before the end of this week will affect our ability to deal on Bill 16, which is the bill you want me to talk about. I appreciate that a great deal.

When you talk about a bill like Bill 16 and borrowing \$16.5 billion dollars and the significance when that happens, and you put that in the context of today's rules in this place and the ability of members to debate and speak to that particular bill, as significant as it is, and then you compare that to the ability we will have under the new rules, then this government—any government in fact; make it a non-partisan statement—any government will have the ability to bring in a bill to borrow any amount of money—double this, \$30 billion dollars—and simply put a motion on the floor.

The minister—the Treasurer in this case—under the new rules could stand up with a bill like this, borrowing an exorbitant amount of money at any kind of rate under any conditions for any use, and he could simply put a motion on the floor to allow for a specific period of debate, to limit the debate, to force the opposition to debate a bill like this in a very specific period of time, and therefore then it is not really time allocation; it's closure. You're ending the debate.

In the future, I say to the member for Cochrane South, who seems to feel we can solve these problems by simply saying that all politicians have to change the way we do things—the reality is, you're the government. If you get criticized for doing things a certain way, that is part of the burden, I say to the Minister of Transportation, that goes along with the big salary and the limo. That's just part of the cost of being the government. The reality is that you are going to be criticized because of the heavy-handed way in which you're doing business.

Hon Mr Pouliot: I am just sitting here, like a duck.

It's absolutely true, but I am delighted that we got over, perhaps really through acquiescence on the part of the opposition. We had offered 15 bills to be put in Orders and Notices, to be introduced into this place to debate, 15 pieces of government legislation, not our bills, your bills that we had offered in the House leaders meetings. I was there, as the whip. We had offered to debate those things in

a substantive way and to get on with the business of this province. Bill 16 was one of them.

Hon Mr Pouliot: You're stalling.

Mr Mahoney: I will keep coming back to Bill 16, Mr Speaker, as you know I will. Bill 16 was one of them. We have a lot of concerns about the fact that the Treasurer is in effect asking for a blank cheque in Bill 16. I would tell you, what Bill 16 in essence does is it not only—let me preface this, because it not only allows the government to borrow money it needs for its operations, which is frightening in itself, but it allows the government to borrow money for nine months in addition that is unaccounted for, an amount of money that we could never, I'm sure, I say to the Treasury critic for my party—we could never quantify what amount of money it would be that they are simply taking as blue sky, I would refer to. There is a nine-month period that the government is getting authorization to continue its borrowing year without being held accountable, without justifying what it is it needs that money for.

I just don't get the sense that my constituents in Mississauga or any of the people around this wonderful province, I don't get the sense that they have the confidence—I heard the member for Scarborough North earlier say that he still had confidence in the Treasurer. I take that comment to be a personal comment towards that particular individual as a competent member of this Legislature and I would never suggest otherwise; an honest person.

What they don't—and I certainly don't—have confidence in is the ability of this "team" that surrounds that Treasurer within the cabinet and within the caucus of the NDP. I certainly do not have the confidence nor do the people of this province have the confidence that you people have any kind of control whatsoever on your spending, on your financial management, on your fiscal responsibilities, and yet we're signing a blank cheque, the minute we vote on this, to borrow \$16.5 billion.

I heard the member for Cochrane South in his speech as well refer to the fact that we can't cut and slash like the federal government did. Well, I will be one of the first to stand here and tell you that the federal government has certainly made some serious mistakes in its financial policies. But to suggest that this government has not been cutting and slashing: May I invite you to attend the meeting of the Peel Board of Education? May I invite you to talk to some of the constituents from Mississauga who call me to say that they're concerned that this minister simply pulled the rug out from under their kids next year going the junior kindergarten.

The issue is not junior kindergarten. In fact we need a full debate on whether or not mandating JK in the future is the way to go. The issue is the fact that the minister, the honourable Minister of Education, Mr Silipo, simply comes along—I think he took lessons from the House leader, actually, the government House leader, because he just simply came along and unilaterally whipped out from under the parents and the kids, primarily, their opportunity to attend JK next year and the year after.

Then what is he doing? He introduces Bill 20 and in Bill 20 there's a section in there that calls for mandatory

JK to be put back in place in 1994. So what we will have is a two-year hiatus, a sort of little burp in time when two sets of children in that community will not receive the same level of service and opportunity in education as the kids before and as the kids after 1994.

I suspect that a substantial amount of the money being borrowed under Bill 16 is going to be allocated to the Minister of Education. He has to make some kind of announcement about capital transfers to the boards of education to build their new schools, to buy more portables, to upgrade some of the facilities that are there. I would assume that some of the money out of this will be used to match the commitment—it's wonderful to see that the Minister of Education has come in. Obviously he's very sensitive to my very thoughtful comments and has decided to come in in the hope that he might learn something. I'm delighted and I would hope the minister—I noticed the fact that the government had reduced the contribution to the teachers' pensions by \$330 million at the same time as they made a commitment for capital contributions to the school boards of, guess what, \$330 million, really a coincidence that it was the exact same amount right down to the penny.

I don't know if the teachers think maybe this government is going to build new schools with their pension contributions; maybe. Or are they doing what my colleagues in the Tory party did for so many years? They created the shortfall in the teachers' pensions. Are they borrowing that money at extremely low interest rates and therefore winding up with a shortfall to the pensioners. Is that what you're doing?

Well I hope that means no and you're not just clearing the air. I would just hope that there's not some playing around with figures. You know the old saying about figures lie and liars figure. I know we don't have any of those here, Mr Speaker, but you can sort of see how that might be interpreted. If I were a teacher and I saw my pension money being slashed like that, and then at the same time I saw an exact dollar amount—it wasn't \$332 million, it wasn't \$334 million, it was \$333 million.

1930

Mr Phillips: Amazing.

Mr Mahoney: It's a real what you would have to call coincidence. It wouldn't be a trick, I say to my colleague the critic for the Treasury.

Mr Phillips: It's an amazing coincidence.

Mr Mahoney: I can only assume that's what it is.

The school boards are anxiously awaiting, actually, the Treasurer to borrow this money. That's one of the reasons that we—I as the chief opposition whip and my House leader, the honourable member for Bruce, Murray Elston—have been pushing the government House leader to bring forward these bills. We want to deal with this. We recognize that it's necessary for the government to have borrowing authority. As scary as it is to give borrowing authority in the form of a blank cheque to the New Democratic socialists, we realize that the Ontario government must have the ability to borrow on reasonable terms.

Otherwise they would not be able to fund the ongoing capital infrastructure and the roads and the moneys the

Minister of Transportation needs to four-lane Highway 69 all the way to Sudbury, Mr Minister of Transportation. I see he's talking to the member for Sudbury East, so that's probably what they're talking about, four-laning Highway 69 all the way up to Sudbury, something the folks in northern Ontario have been asking for for some time, recognizing the need for good-quality highways to move goods, transportation, the large trucks etc, and anyone who has travelled on that section of highway in this province knows that needs to be done.

We know that work's in process, and maybe the Minister of Transportation has his dibs on some of this money. I hope you do, sir, because we want to see it finished. My goodness, you travel up there and you narrow the road down as you're going north, and half-finished bridges go nowhere, and piles of rock and cement in Georgian Bay. It looks like somebody has got a big Meccano set and they're trying to build this road. I hope this government knows how to build roads. I assume we have some competent staff. But he probably needs some of the money out of Bill 16, wouldn't you think? That's what I would certainly assume, that some of the money was going to be used for that.

The Minister of Colleges and Universities, if you want to talk about cut and slash, took 10 million bucks out of OSAP. I hope that minister has his dibs on some of this money. I say to the honourable member from Hamilton whatever, Mr Allen, that I hope you're talking and being nice to the Treasurer and to the Premier, who we know is really the guy who makes these decisions. I hope you're going to be nice to him so you get some of the money so you can transfer it, because you know better than I, sir, that there is an increased demand for enrolment in our college system, there is an increased demand for enrolment in our university system, yet they don't have the facilities and they don't have the capital infrastructure they need.

Just to reiterate, to suggest that this is not a government of cut and slash is purely a joke, because that's exactly what it is. But it brings me to the point: What do you borrow money for in government? I was the chair of the budget at the region of Peel, one of the largest regions in the country, for some seven years of my almost 10 on council, and I know from that experience that we issued debentures for capital purposes. We didn't issue debentures to buy groceries—figuratively speaking, to buy groceries. The bothersome thing about this government is that it's starting to do what the Tories have done in Ottawa. Why do they need all this money, and why do they need a blank cheque, nine months of free borrowing, without us having any opportunity to hold them accountable under Bill 16? Because they have to pay the operating bills.

That's the scary part. They've already talked about selling off the assets, so they sell off the assets to pay today's bills. That is like a bank manager advising a customer that he should sell his house to put food on the table. If you're hungry you may have to do that, but what do you do after you've eaten the food? You don't borrow money to buy consumable products; you borrow money to buy and to build a capital infrastructure that will accrue to the benefit of your family and in this case to the benefit of your extended family, which is the electorate in Ontario.

It's one thing to borrow money to build a school that will service kids in a community for 30, 40 or 50 years; it's another thing to borrow money to buy the books for those kids to go to school with.

There are some things in life that you have to pay for as you go, and the reality is that this government has got itself into such jeopardy with its five-year business plan. Picture this: Here's a five-year business plan. They come into government and get the books and say the government is \$39 billion in debt. That's a lot of debt. Mind you, it only took nine cents out of every revenue dollar to service that debt. So they take over and what do they do? They implement a five-year business plan that says, on average, that they're going to bring in deficits. A deficit—I would equate that so the folks at home would understand—is not supposed to be debt; it's supposed to be overdraft. So it's not supposed to be your mortgage.

So you announce that you have a \$9-billion overdraft, and then what does the government do? The Treasurer, at the end of the year, does something I sure can't do with my bank manager, and I don't think the folks at home can do it with their bank managers. The Treasurer doesn't have to go to a bank manager, because he's the bank. He's got all the controls and all the levers and he says: "What I'm going to do is take the overdraft and I'm going to pay it off. Now, how am I going to do that? I'm going to pile it on top of my mortgage. I'm going to pile it on top of my accumulated debt."

Earlier someone in here said he was astounded—I think it was the member for Etobicoke West—that the members opposite didn't understand that the deficit was cumulative. So what your five-year so-called business plan does is that it takes the \$39-billion debt you inherited that was left by former governments over the years, with nine cents servicing, and it takes it up to—people get nervous when I say \$100 billion, so I won't—\$80 billion to \$85 billion. It more than doubles the mortgage on the province of Ontario in five years.

Did these people cause the recession? Some would call it a depression. Obviously, no, they didn't, and I don't think any reasonable person could say that Floyd Laughren is responsible for the recession this province has experienced. But is there any real sense of recovery? Is there any confidence? People are losing their jobs. My colleague the member for Scarborough North gave me some really interesting information. These companies would be delighted if they could borrow some money the way this government borrows money, because these companies have had to reduce their operations and lay off a substantial number of people: Abitibi-Price in Iroquois Falls division—100 employees gone. Wouldn't they like to have the authority, the opportunity—the president of Abitibi-Price would say, "I'm going to introduce a bill in the Legislature that gives me the authority to borrow money to save my company." He can't do that. That's not realistic. These people have to face reality.

1940

This government doesn't know what reality is. The lack of honesty in presenting its budget was highlighted, in

my mind, by the greatest land flip I've ever seen in the history of this province. What a hoax this was.

Mr Phillips: The billion-dollar land flip?

Mr Mahoney: It was \$1.2 billion, if I recall correctly. In fact, if they had brought in their speculation tax, they would owe the people of Ontario more money under that and they'd have to, under Bill 16, borrow more than \$16.5 billion because they'd need more money to pay the debt service on the money they're borrowing. That's what they're starting to get to. It has not happened before in this province. They're starting to borrow to pay debt service. That's irresponsible and the people it's going to hurt in the long run are your kids, my kids and their kids.

Let me go back to this land flip. They're trying to present a deficit that was ironically like a shoe sale: \$9.95. The deficit: \$9.9 billion. I could hear the directive from the Premier: "Hello, Floyd? This is the Premier calling. Now look, I don't want any deficits that are easy for people to understand, so you've got to keep it under 10. We don't like '10' and we sure don't want to be over 10; 10 billion's got too many zeros in it. We don't like that. People get nervous when they see all these zeros." How many zeros in a billion? Do you guys know? Whoa. I don't know if I can count that high. A lot of zeros in a billion. We're borrowing a lot of zeros here with a 16.5 in front of them.

So: "Hello, Floyd? This is the Premier. Look, \$9.9 billion is the deficit I want to see; no more. If you can do it a little bit less, that's fine." Can you imagine saying that, "If you can do it less"? Why would he do it less? If he's given that kind of latitude and that kind of leeway, he's going to grab all he can grab.

He sets the deficit at \$9.9 billion and then Floyd calls up his deputy minister and says, "I've got a directive here to set the deficit at \$9.9 billion." Appreciate they haven't even drafted the budget yet, but they've set the deficit at \$9.9 billion. "How do we do it?" "The government owns a bunch of land and it's held in title by the Ministry of Government Services. What we're going to do"—

Remember that agency the Liberals used to have called the Ontario Land Corp? These guys will start appointing a bunch of their hacks to it. I'm sure John Sewell's reward for his work on the planning commission, in addition to the huge money he's being paid, will be that he'll wind up as a director on the Ontario Land Corp. I'm sure they've created the Ontario Land Corp so they can take some of their defeated candidates from the past—they'll go around the province and the country and find people who stood for the cause, solidarity for ever, and bingo, they'll put them right on the Ontario Land Corp.

They took all this government land—I say to the member for Oxford, listen to this, because it was magical. One day—unlikely, because I don't think any of you guys are getting re-elected—you may have a chance; one day you could be the Treasurer. Scary thought. Anyway, these are interesting accounting procedures. It's not something you could ever do in the private sector or in running your household or your family.

Mr Phillips: Or a company.

Mr Mahoney: Or a company.

He took all that land, valued it at \$1.2 billion and took it from the Ministry of Government Services and sold it to the Ontario Land Corp, an agency owned, controlled and set up by the government, and declared revenue of \$1.2 billion—hallelujah—and reduced the deficit by \$1.2 billion.

When I go home tonight, I'm going to sell my house and I'm going to take all the money my house is worth and I'm going to declare it as revenue, but I'm going to continue living there. I'm not going to let the people I sell it to move in, because it's mine. This isn't smoke and mirrors, this is deceit. I have a lot of respect for the Treasurer, and I suspect he knows it's dishonest accounting. I'll withdraw that. I don't like that word. He knows it's questionable accounting at best.

He was probably uncomfortable doing it, but he had a dictum from the chief in the corner office that said, "I don't want a deficit any larger than \$9.9 billion." So we got a shoe sale at \$9.95, we got a \$9.9-billion deficit. I guess now they have to borrow \$16.5 billion because the deficit is the overdraft and they're the bank. They can't go to another bank, so they have to borrow the money so they can then overspend their ability to pay. Understand? It really is a mess. They have to borrow the money so that they can handle their inability to pay, and then at the end of the fiscal year Floyd looks in the mirror and says, "Well, Mr Banker, now I'm going to pay off that overdraft and the way I'm going to do it is that I'm going to pile it on top of the debt." So after year one the debt goes from \$39 billion to \$48 billion.

Am I keeping you up, Mr Speaker? I'd hate for you to actually fall off there.

Interjections.

Mr Mahoney: I haven't insulted anybody. What's your problem? I could start, if you want me to get nasty.

It goes up to \$48 billion. Then in year two, which is the year we're in now, there's another \$9.9 billion, so we're up to \$57 billion, so just keep extrapolating it. By the end of year five, where it's somewhere around \$84 billion, \$85 billion in debt, the potential for debt service will have climbed from nine cents out of every revenue dollar to maybe somewhere around 20 cents, doubling the debt service.

This party, in its document where it told the world all the wonderful things it was going to do—what was that called? The paper for power or some darned thing; whatever—laid out all its concerns for single moms and for welfare reform, which we all know is needed and expensive: the SARC report, referred to as Transitions, the concept of giving people a hand up instead of a handout, a policy I totally support. This government knows and this party knows—if they don't know, they heard it in Hamilton on the weekend—that it's very important to commit moneys to social programs. For this government, which promised 60% funding for all educational grants around the province, to be reducing transfer payments to 1% is just—I mean, people just can't believe it.

Anyway, they have all these promises. The reason I cite this is that once you do what Ottawa has done and you increase your debt service payments, then you have less money available to you each and every year to do all the

good things I presume they still want to do, even though they've broken all their promises. All of a sudden that money is not available for them to do those kinds of programs.

The other aspect that concerns me a little here is the old economic adjustment that we're all sitting in great anticipation of and waiting to hear about. Do you remember? How many did they have last term? Were there two or three economic adjustments? You know, the Treasurer goes: "Whoops. Oh, my goodness, we lost a couple of billion. I mean, no big deal; we can just adjust it. We'll get out the red ink pen and we'll just write a new cheque."

We haven't heard that. There are billions of dollars in excess borrowing where the authorization is being given for these people to borrow without telling the public what they need it for—just a blank cheque; there's no other terminology. There's nothing else you can refer to. That's exactly what it is.

I suggest that what we're facing is that about, oh, late September or early October, I would predict, just before Christmas when they're getting ready to do all their cross-border shopping on Sundays, at that point the Treasurer will come along and will announce: "Well, we've got a little problem. Our revenues weren't quite what we thought they were going to be. We've had some further downturn in the economy. We need some more money." He's got a pot here that neither you nor I or anyone around here, except this government, has the control over and he will simply call the markers in. He will phone up his bureaucrats and he'll say: "Send me some more dough. Put it all in a wheelbarrow and get it over here to the park. I need some more dough, because I'm short."

I don't know how many billions that's going to be, but clearly this government has learned one thing: It has learned how to spend and how to be out of control quicker than any government I've seen in history.

1950

One of the other concerns I have, I guess, is a philosophical one that you would expect New Democrats to be against. I can remember speeches on this side of the House when the NDP was in opposition wherein it talked about the blight of lotteries, how we shouldn't have lotteries. The poor are the people who take their \$10 to the store because their only hope in life, their only opportunity—they watch an ad on television or hear it on the radio that says, "Go for the millions," and see somebody driving a fancy sports car. This is the kind of stuff the people on that side of the House, currently the government, led by the current Premier, used to say was wrong.

The government cut out the lifestyle advertising for beer, but it's okay for lotteries. The member for Cochrane South talked about creating high expectations, false expectations that couldn't be lived up to. What do they think they're doing when they set up gambling casinos? Are they creating false expectation and hopes? At the same time, they cut back on the money for Gamblers Anonymous, an organization for a terrible illness, and any family that has had to suffer through it knows about how heartbreaking and gut-wrenching that illness can be and how it can destroy families.

They are changing the landscape of Ontario's society in major, massive ways, with 37% of the vote in their hip

pocket. That's all they got. The current polls would not give them anywhere near that amount if we were to go back to an election today. I'm told by the Minister of Labour that they won't make that mistake and call an early election, in one of his rather flippant answers to a serious question from this side of the House.

But the whole landscape of the province of Ontario is undergoing massive change. Some of it may indeed be good. We introduced the use of credit cards for example, to buy Ontario wines in Ontario wine stores. We saw that as a boost to that industry in the Niagara Peninsula, an opportunity to help Ontario wines, and I think it did to a certain degree. The government is talking about introducing the use of credit cards in LBCO stores. I don't know that this is necessarily a bad thing. What really concerns me, though, is they're talking about the use of credit cards to buy groceries. I believe, more than any other issue that I have seen in the 18 months of the Bob Rae government, that epitomizes their financial management, which we are now paying for with a debt load increase of \$16.5 billion under Bill 16.

Let me tell you why. I said earlier that the philosophy of borrowing should be based on borrowing the money to put in capital infrastructure, whether it is roads or sewers or new community centres you're giving grants to. I thank the government for a recent grant announced by the Minister of Tourism and Recreation to put an addition on the South Common Community Centre in my riding in Mississauga, built when I was the ward councillor; I think it was \$150,000. We appreciate what you're going to do with that money, and if that money is borrowed, that's fine. I'm not against borrowing money. What I'm against is when you borrow it for the wrong purposes.

That \$150,000, the cheque being sent to Mayor McCallion and the council in Mississauga to build an addition to a community centre, will see bricks and mortar in the ground, will see a hard asset that the community will have the use of. It currently has meeting rooms and a swimming pool. They have tennis courts; they have a full workout room; they have aerobics classes in the South Common Community Centre. It's a wonderful family community centre, and I give credit where it's due. This government saw fit to approve the grant to build the addition on the South Common Community Centre, and I thank it for it and I will say so publicly, as I do tonight.

They also provided a grant to the Erin Mills Little League baseball organization to build a clubhouse. It's a beautiful, substantial clubhouse with washroom facilities in the park down at the end of my street in Erin Mills. It's called the Tom Chater Memorial Park, after a wonderful man who was the head of the referee organization, who tragically passed on very early in his life but was a great volunteer in the community. The Tom Chater Memorial Park will have a new facility. It's something that will endure for years. It will be an asset that was built with a grant and money raised in the community through bingos, raffles and car washes.

You see, this is what it's all about. You build a facility that's there on a permanent basis. The community can say, "I don't mind that they borrowed the money to build the

addition at South Common or to build the Tom Chater facility in the park." That's something everyone will benefit from, and people don't mind that.

Ask yourself one question: How many people do you know who buy a house without a mortgage? Obviously there are not too many of us in a position to pay cash for a house, so we've got to put a mortgage on it. Well, it's the same thing. There's a mortgage on the facility for the Erin Mills baseball association in the Tom Chater park. There's a mortgage on the facility at South Common for the addition. These are hard-nosed things we can see.

What you should not be borrowing money for, though, is to pay off operating accounts. That's where this government has itself in a real tough spot. This is not totally its fault, but what it has to do is look at how we get out of this. It's wrong to criticize this government for creating the recession, but it is absolutely justifiable, it is absolutely correct to criticize this government for not showing any kind of financial management leadership in developing a business plan over the next two or three years that will see us getting out of this mess, that will see this government investing in infrastructure and creating jobs. They talk about it but they don't do it, and that's what has people upset. Instead, they come out with policies that they're going to ram down the throats of the municipalities.

The Minister of Housing just the other day, the day the House was not sitting, had a press conference and announced that she's going to solve all the housing problems by creating a new piece of legislation that will allow basement apartments to be legal all across this province. Did she talk to the people in my municipality? Mr Speaker, she did not. Did she talk to the people in your municipality? She did not.

What you're doing is taking what potentially could be a good idea and shoving it down people's throats, and they're not going to take it. I spent an hour on the phone just the other night with Mayor McCallion on this exact issue. She's madder than hell and she's not going to take this. I don't blame her, because you have an obligation as a government to sit down with her, sit down with AMO and sit down with all the municipalities around the province and tell them what your plans are.

Don't be so arrogant to simply go to a press conference and announce that you're going to allow the legalization of basement apartments, with no reference to rooming houses; no reference to the blight my community and many others are facing; no reference to the fact that single moms are being housed 10 to a town house, for goodness' sake, living in a small bedroom, less than 100 square feet, with a bathroom shared by four or five other people; no reference to any of those serious, critical social problems. It's just: "I've got an idea. I'm going to legalize basement apartments, shove it down the throat of the municipality, tell them it's my way or the highway and send John Sewell out to deliver the message from the minister." This kind of arrogance is going to get this government and this province into a lot of trouble. There are ways to do these things.

When my wife and I were married 23 years ago, our first home was a basement apartment and it was a wonderful place. We were young and in love; now we are old and in love.

2000

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): Was it legal?

Mr Mahoney: Was it legal? I don't even know, to tell you the truth. I wasn't worried about it. We were too busy with other things on our mind, if you get my drift. We weren't too concerned about whether where we were in those days was legal. But I'll tell you, it was safe, it was warm in the winter. We had a great relationship with our landlords upstairs. We got to know the neighbours. It was a wonderful place to live. It was down off Brown's Line, in that part of Etobicoke. You might be familiar with it.

I say to you that whether it's borrowing \$16 billion or whether it's shoving a policy of legalizing basement apartments down people's throats without talking to them, this government is getting itself into serious hot water because it's not explaining, it's not being clear about what its agenda happens to be, and it's asking for a blank cheque.

I want to close by referring to something the member for Renfrew North said. The opposition members were chanting for his return a short while ago. He made reference to baby boomers. He says he's one. I'm one too, maybe a year or two ahead of him—on the long end ahead of him, by the way. He made reference to the baby boomers. We have in our society today a lot of people of 40-something. But the kids are looking for jobs, they're looking for opportunities, they're looking to start careers. They may be finishing up their senior years in high school or into their middle years in university—two of my three boys are away at university in London and Hamilton and the third one is still in the high school system—and they're looking for a future with some promise.

I talk to a lot of young people. There's a graduation tonight at Loyola Catholic Secondary School. I wish I was at it. I couldn't be there because of responsibilities here in the Legislature. But these kids who are graduating are looking for some kind of future. What they tell me they're looking for more than anything is leadership. They're looking for somebody about whom they can say: "That government seems to really know what it's doing. They have a purpose. They're outlining their program. They're not bringing in cockamammy amendments to the labour legislation, a piece of legislation that's not broke and doesn't need fixing in the first place. They're not pitting the business community against the union community in what could become an outright war."

These people are saying, "We're looking for a government that has some common sense." Common sense says that you talk to your constituent groups, you talk to your constituent individuals, you formulate plans that make some sense and that people have some confidence in, and you create an atmosphere where there is the confidence to invest in Ontario. If that confidence is there to invest, you will create jobs, and just maybe you won't need to borrow \$16.5 billion to pay for the operating costs of the government you're running.

Just maybe, if you create that kind of confidence and that sense of teamwork, those young people will be able to look up to their Premier, which they can't do now. They say: "He seems like a nice guy. Why is he allowing this government to mess up so much?" They don't understand.

The member for Oxford, not far out of those university years—he probably should still be there, for goodness' sake—understands the concerns those young people have.

I'm sure you have a pretty active youth wing in the New Democratic Party that was down in Hamilton, maybe having a few pops on the weekend with some of your colleagues, and I'm sure they were asking you: "What in the heck are you guys doing? Why are you flip-flopping all over the place? Why are you holding up legislation? Why won't you listen to these guys in opposition who have offered"—and I see the House leader—"to deal with bills like Bill 16? They seem like reasonable people, especially that member for Mississauga West." I'm sure they said that. I say to the Minister of Labour, they probably went for a walk in Mahoney Park in Hamilton, a wonderful place to go for a walk, and talked about their fears for their future: their taxes, the taxes their parents were paying, the concerns, the fact that everybody seems to be fighting at Queen's Park. And finally, since the government House leader came to his senses, we have an opportunity to deal with substantive legislation.

I just say in closing that while it is important for this government to borrow some money, I wish they weren't borrowing it to buy food. I wish they weren't allowing credit cards to be used for people to buy food at Loblaws and A&P, yet that's the direction they're going to go. I wish they would live up, even just a little, to the social conscience they so proudly talked about before they grabbed hold of the rein of power, fast becoming a reign of terror. I wish this government, I say to the minister staring me down, would show some common sense and some leadership in this province so we could get the economy rolling again and generate the kind of economic development and growth we need in this community so you wouldn't have to borrow huge sums of money to pay for all your messups and your mistakes, so you could actually say to the young people graduating from Loyola Catholic Secondary School tonight in Mississauga, "You do have a future." They don't feel that. I'm worried that they don't and this government is not showing any sign that it is prepared to provide that kind of leadership, either in policy philosophy or the economy.

The Speaker: I thank the member for Mississauga West for his contribution to the debate and invite any questions and/or comments.

Mr Tilson: When we hear the theme of these types of debates, when you're asking for authority to borrow \$16.5 billion, as the member has said in his remarks, it is a matter of confidence. People watching tonight, listening to the debates and realizing the problems we're having today, whether it's racial remarks, integrity of ministers, labour relations, labour bills that nobody wants, jobs that aren't being kept, people losing their businesses, people moving to the United States because of economic problems, boards of education saying they can't educate our young people on the meagre amounts of transfer payments that are being sent, hospitals that are worried about the philosophy of this government and the de-emphasis of hospital beds, garbage dumps—in my riding of Caledon where they're putting 16

sites, it's almost a feeling of hopelessness—when you see a government like this asking for \$16 billion and they're coming out with these amazing policies that we simply don't want, it really creates a lot of concern inside and outside this province, specifically with respect to investment in this province.

I congratulate the member on his remarks. I would ask that we perhaps pause a little, as we're voting on this bill, to reflect on the policies of this government and on the lack of confidence that's coming from all across this country, from North America and from all around this world on all of the policies this government is putting forward.

The Speaker: Are there any further questions or comments? If not, the member for Mississauga West has up to two minutes for his response.

Mr Mahoney: Thank you to the member from the Caledon area for his comments and remarks.

There was an area I didn't touch on, and that's the health area. I want to say to the Minister of Health that I've been impressed to see some of the encounters you've had on Robert Fisher and other things, and you've attempted to be very forthright. One concern, though, is that the Health ministry capital grants that are being put forward to various hospitals—Credit Valley Hospital, in my community, received a capital grant, and it is very much appreciated, but what they haven't been told is that they're going to get any kind of correlating amount for operating. I don't know what they're going to do. I don't know if the government expects the hospital to adopt its philosophy and borrow the money it needs to operate the new plant for the expansion the Health ministry is offering. They're very concerned about that, because they know the facility money is there but they're not being shown in any way, they tell me, how they can operate that facility once it's built.

So I say to the Minister of Health that I wish you would review that with them and give them some idea of what your expectations are, not just the Credit Valley, my hospital, but all of them; that if you're going to give this money for the increase in the program they're operating, they have to find some way to pay those bills.

I would just reiterate my concern about borrowing money for groceries, and encourage the Treasurer to sit down with his minions in Treasury and find a way to develop a long-range business plan that puts some kind of confidence and common sense back into the business community. I would ask him to encourage his colleague the Minister of Labour to withdraw his ill-thought-out amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act and to get on with putting some kind of common sense back into the province of Ontario.

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The Speaker: I again thank the member for his contribution and invite further debate. There being no further debate, the honourable member for Nickel Belt, the Treasurer.

Hon Mr Laughren: Despite my copious notes, I won't speak as long as some of my predecessors. There are times in this assembly when I wish more people watched the proceedings. There were a couple of occasions this afternoon, I think, when the member for Scarborough-

Agincourt spoke with much lucidity and logic on the budget. While I didn't agree with everything he said, I thought he put his case extremely well, although I hasten to add that I didn't agree with a lot of his analysis because he is very sceptical of what we're doing and the way in which we're doing it. That's his role as an opposition critic, and I think he does a good job as a critic. I don't expect him to endorse what we're doing.

I think where he falls short of a thorough analysis, however, is when he blames us for filling the gap. When the federal government reduced income taxes, he was very critical of our moving in and taking up the room that was supposedly left there, to use my words, not his. To ignore what the federal government has done to us on transfer payments for health care, post-secondary education and social assistance is really to present us with half an equation. Surely that's not an indication of a very thorough analysis. I think to that extent his remarks were found wanting, but on the other hand, as always, he presents his case very well.

There is no attempt to dupe the opposition or to dupe the public. Those kinds of tactics catch up with a government very quickly. The opposition critic, the member for Scarborough-Agincourt, doesn't seem to think we're going to be able to accomplish what we've set out this year. Well, we'll see. Events will unfold as they will. I believe we will achieve the goals we've set out for ourselves.

He talks about youth unemployment. I must say, the member for Scarborough-Agincourt was very persistent and effective in his demands of us to respond to the youth unemployment question. My sense is that we did respond, and partly because of his urging, because he really was quite persistent in that regard.

Also, knowing I was going to appear before the standing committee on economic affairs, he wrote a letter to the committee. It was very specific in the information he wanted, and that's always appreciated, when you know what it is so you can come with the information the committee seeks. I do appreciate that.

The comments of the member for Mississauga East were somewhat biting, I felt. I would even use the term "acerbic" to describe his remarks; I think that's an appropriate use of the English language. I wouldn't want to tease the bears here this evening, but I think that truly is the case.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): One of your more clever comments.

Mr Stockwell: That's a long way for a bad joke.

Hon Mr Laughren: The member for Etobicoke West, I believe, has an interesting view of the world. I think, however, while there have been times in my life when I've engaged in excesses too, they weren't excesses of language. I think the member for Etobicoke West detracts from what would otherwise be valuable arguments and logic with some of the excesses.

Mr Mahoney: You're giving out marks?

Hon Mr Laughren: No, I'm just responding to the way members address me. Look, when I sit here for five

hours and take abuse, for which I'm paid, I have a right to respond in the way I see most appropriate.

Mr Mahoney: You can only doodle so much.

Hon Mr Laughren: That's right. You can only doodle for so long before that gets boring.

The member for Carleton talked about what a great job the federal government had done on keeping the rate of inflation down. He didn't talk at all about the cost of what the federal government's monetary and economic policies had been, particularly to the province of Ontario. Most fairminded observers would say, "For heaven's sake, don't visit upon this province any more of the federal Tories' economic and monetary policies." That's the last thing this province needs, and he's got a tall order if he thinks he can sell the people of the province on a federal Tory policy as a prescription for this province's ills—not in a million years.

I really will try not to be provocative or to tease the bears. However, I must say, the common theme that ran through all of the opposition remarks on this loan act, which is to borrow \$16.5 billion in the next 21 months, was that we were borrowing too much money; we were spending too much money. That was the common thread. But you know, I really find it strange when I sit in here—one of the reasons I come into the Legislature almost every day I can is to see what the members are saying. I keep a list of what the demands are from the opposition. This is the same opposition that tells us we're spending too much money; this is what they're doing.

The Conservative member for Simcoe West wants more money spent on health care. The Conservative member for London North wants more money spent on education. The Conservative member for York Mills wants more money spent on municipalities. The leader of the third party wants more money spent on health care. The Conservative member for Waterloo North wants more money spent on colleges and universities. The Conservative member for York Mills, again, wants more money spent on transportation. The member for Mississauga South wants more money spent on—what was it, transportation? The member for Parry Sound wants more money spent on provincial parks. The member for Willowdale wants more money spent on credit counselling and, of course, I could also read a list of Liberal members who have requested the same amount of increases and expansion.

So while the members of the opposition are on their feet today telling me and telling this government that we're spending too much money, we've got to cut back, day after day they're on their feet demanding that we spend more money on virtually every program in the province. You really can't have it both ways in this world. If the opposition parties will make a declaration that they are interested only in cutting back expenditures in all the programs, at least then there'll be consistency.

I'm trying not to be provocative, but it is difficult to hear the opposition day after day demanding that more money be spent on all the programs in the province. Then, when the loan act comes before this Legislature, which gives us authority to borrow to pay for those programs, what happens? You all get up and say, "You're spending

too much money," after demanding we spend more. It makes no sense at all.

Allow me to conclude my remarks, because I don't want to turn this into a filibuster, by simply saying that no one likes to run a high deficit and put all that money out on servicing the interest on the public debt. I don't like doing it either. But I really believe that the legacy this government will leave whenever we're no longer government—who knows when that will be?—is that despite the toughest recession since the 1930s, this government protected essential services for the people who are most vulnerable in this province. Thank you, Mr Speaker.

2020

The Speaker: Mr Laughren has moved second reading of Bill 16. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the ayes have it.

I have here a request that pursuant to standing order 27(g), the vote on the motion by Mr Laughren for second reading of Bill 16, An Act to authorize Borrowing on the Credit of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, be deferred until immediately following routine proceedings on Thursday, June 25, 1992.

Vote deferred.

MINING TAX AMENDMENT ACT, 1992
LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI DE L'IMPÔT
SUR L'EXPLOITATION MINIÈRE

Ms Wark-Martyn moved second reading of Bill 12, An Act to amend the Mining Tax Act / Loi modifiant la Loi de l'impôt sur l'exploitation minière.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Does the minister have any opening remarks?

Hon Shelley Wark-Martyn (Minister of Revenue): Yes, Mr Speaker. This bill, An Act to amend the Mining Tax Act, puts into place a proposal made in the Treasurer's 1991 budget. It limits the amount of the 36-month tax exemption for profits earned by mining operators from new mines and the expansion of existing mines. The exemption is limited to \$10 million of profit per mine earned after April 1991. Profits earned before May 1991 are not affected by the limitation. This cap on the exemption will target the incentives more effectively and ensure that qualifying mining operators will continue to benefit.

Also, Mr Speaker, under the current legislation an operator has to pay back audit costs to the ministry for examining books and records kept outside Ontario. Under this bill, cost reimbursement is required only if the books and records are kept outside Canada, bringing the Mining Tax Act in line with the Corporations Tax Act. Thank you, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: I thank the minister for her contribution. Comments or questions on the minister's remarks? Hearing none, I open it to debate. The member for Kenora.

Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora): It gives me great pleasure to make a number of comments regarding what the minister has just introduced, Bill 12, An Act to amend the

Mining Tax Act. I feel that a lot of people in the province don't realize how important the mining industry is to Ontario. I must say it's nice to see the former Minister of Mines and the present Minister of Mines and Northern Development here this evening to listen to a few of the points I'm going to make in terms of what the former Minister of Mines often referred to as a cornerpost in the economy of Ontario.

At present, we have 53 mines operating in the province. These mines employ some 21,700 people across the province, the industry of course being much more important to us from the north than it might be to the southern portion of the province. But we have much sad news in the mining industry today. If we take a look at a period between November 1990 and November 1991, a one-year period, we had a good number of closures, which of course led to a good number of layoffs in the mining industry and a total loss of some 1,300 jobs, and we saw a good number of operations go down.

We take a look at what this government is doing and, more important, what it's not doing to the mining industry. It can bring in further taxation, further limitations on the mining industry, yet it cannot come up with any new programs to help that industry, which I indicated is lagging.

Revenue in the mining industry has rapidly decreased. We see great declines. In 1989 we had revenue of \$7.3 billion. This is revenue coming in through mining that would add to the coffers of the province of Ontario. In 1990, that drops to some \$6.4 billion. We lost \$1.1 billion in that one-year period. Then in 1991, if we take a look at the revenues in terms of mining, we have it down to \$5.1 billion. The government, especially the ministers from the north—we do have six representing the north, the area where I said most of the mining activity takes place—must realize that.

As well, the decline in exploration expenditures, which are very important to the mining industry, which allow it to get out and find new sources of mining activity, has been drastic. In 1989, \$218 million was spent on exploration. If we go to 1990, \$141 million; in 1991, \$124 million—again, a real decline in the money being spent in exploration in this industry, yet we have a government that does not contribute in any way in seeing exploration go ahead and new development go ahead.

I often refer in this House to a project in my own riding, one that comes under the Consolidated Professor mining corporation, a project at Shoal Lake. This is a project that will bring a good amount of employment and a good amount of spinoff effect in my riding, yet we have a government that just can't seem to get interested in helping that project get off the ground. Some very frustrated people in the mining industry want to get going, yet they can't because of the lack of interest this government shows in that industry.

We have a bill here, Bill 12, An Act to amend the Mining Tax Act, that is going to make it harder for that company and for other companies to do business in Ontario. The people who are in the industry speak about the higher costs they are facing. Every time they turn around, it seems they are faced with another cost adding to the burden placed

upon them to continue a very viable industry in the province, should this government pay a little more attention to it.

As I travel across the province and visit with various people who are in the industry, I hear them talk about the rising costs in the workers' compensation rates, one thing which, again, the government has taken upon itself not to take a good look at. Their Ontario Hydro rates—enormous increases adding to the costs of operation.

Finally, we have the topic we speak of today, the tax rates this government is putting on our industry and the current tax rate which the Ontario mining industry is faced with. It is almost making it non-competitive in world markets. We're finding that many of our investors are choosing to go to other provinces, and not only to other provinces but to other countries. I've talked a lot in this House about investors going to provinces such as Quebec and Manitoba, where the government is paying attention to the mining industry and making some concessions to that particular industry and inviting investment in the mining industry to come into the province. Again, in this province we seem to discourage it. This government seems to go to lengths to discourage any kind of flow in that area.

We often hear of Chile and Mexico and the United States, where rates are much more competitive than in Ontario. The industry has been much more successful in competing and getting those development dollars. There are only so many dollars out there and only so many dollars in that area of the industry. I must say that we just see enormous amounts heading out of the country and into the other provinces as well.

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Limiting Ontario's three-year tax-exempt period, which was a benefit for after-tax return on investments in the province for both exploration and development, sends the wrong signal. It sends the wrong signal to potential investors, the people we are looking towards to invest in this very important industry. As I mentioned earlier, we had a former minister who came out very strongly in terms of promoting mining across the province, actually promoting the importance of it, but the government seems to have lost that in the past year.

Let me go back to the investment climate in the mining sector of the economy. We know that at present that climate is very poor. We see a good number of mine closures, layoffs. I often think of the people who were employed at the mine in Balmertown, the Red Lake Campbell gold mine. With a job loss of 99 employees there, we saw what kind of effect that had on a very small community in my riding. When you lose a major part of the workforce, it's devastating for communities such as Balmertown.

This government doesn't seem to understand or even care about that. Introduction of more taxation on the mining industry is not something it needed in these very difficult times. I get back to the point that people in the industry feel this government is just not willing to reach out and help the mining industry in the province. The incentives aren't there, and they're finding it much easier to move to other provinces, other countries. Bill 12 sends a wrong message to that industry, which as we know has been battered, as have many other industries, by the worst recession since

the 1930s and is going to need a little help. This government is going to have to realize that its role is to work together with that industry and help it get back on its legs.

I often go back to something put out by the Porcupine prospectors and development association. They conclude their statements in terms of how they would like to see the industry get back on its feet by saying, "Wouldn't it be nice to see something like this: 'Ontario recognizes the vital role of mining to the economic health of the province and to the future prosperity of all the people of Ontario.'" That little conclusion that they often come up with speaks volumes in terms of what this industry could do and the potential it actually has in the province.

Back to Bill 12, An Act to amend the Mining Tax Act: I see this as being another burden on that industry; not an incentive but a disincentive to this very important industry.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Kenora for his contribution to the debate and invite questions and/or comments.

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): I'd like to congratulate my colleague and friend from Kenora for pointing out some of the problems in the mining industry. As a former resident of northern Ontario and Sudbury, I know how important the mining industry is. In many communities it is the only industry; where it is not the only industry, it is probably the most predominant or the most important industry; where it doesn't carry that weight in the community, it does carry the weight of being one of the largest and most important industries. So when the mining industry is not operating at full capacity, the whole north suffers, and when the north suffers, so does southern Ontario, because the end product of the mining industry is raw materials for the industries here in southern Ontario.

To put it in perspective, up north you have no alternative: If the industry you're employed in goes under, then you have to move, whereas in southern Ontario, if you lose one job, you can find employment in some other industry.

Interjection.

Mr Sola: I was distracted by you, Mr Speaker, but—

The Speaker: I'm sorry. We've had technical difficulties with the clock. You have approximately a minute left of the two minutes.

Mr Sola: As I was saying, I think we have to realize that between mining and the forestry industry, there's not much left up north except the seasonal industries which tourism provides, so it is very important for this government to do whatever it can to encourage the mining industry to be as productive as possible. From my own perspective, my father earned his living in the mines of Sudbury and most of my friends earn their living either in the mines or the smelters associated with the mines. As a student, I financed my school and my university by working in either the mines or the smelters. To put things in perspective, in 1972 Inco in Sudbury had approximately 22,000 workers; today Inco and Falconbridge combined have about 7,000. That shows how important the mining industry is and how it has been affected by the economy.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? If not, the member for Kenora has up to two minutes for his response.

Mr Miclash: I am a little amazed that the Minister of Northern Development and Mines is here in the House with us this evening and yet did not see fit to make any comment on what I said in my earlier comments.

I thank my colleague for indicating how important the industry is to him as a southern member, how the industry affects him as a southern member. He touched on a very important point as well. That's the importance of the mining industry to us in the north. I indicated to you that in my riding in particular, in the Red Lake area, in the Shoal Lake area, we do have a good number of discoveries. This is an industry that is facing very tough times. It is turning to this government for help, but I just don't feel it sees the importance of the industry. I refer back to the comment made by the former minister: a pillar of the economy in this province.

In what we're hearing from across the way, the words just don't match the music and the words just don't match the deeds of the government. We're seeing a lot of that in this particular industry. We're seeing some roadblocks set up, as the member from southern Ontario indicated. This is a very important industry for all of us across the province, but one that continually faces roadblocks and one that this government, particularly the ministers from northern Ontario, and particularly the Minister of Northern Development and Mines, is going to have to pay attention to.

The Speaker: Further debate? The member for Simcoe East.

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I welcome the opportunity to say a few words with regard to Bill 12, the Mining Tax Amendment Act. It wasn't long ago we had the opportunity to spend some time at a reception with the mining association. At that reception there were a lot of people from the mining industry, and it was a pleasure to receive some of their comments and some of their input and the concerns they have with regard to the mining industry.

I welcome this opportunity to say a few words on this minor piece of legislation that will have such a major impact on an industry that is already suffering the effects of a number of blows being dealt to it by this NDP government. Bill 12, An Act to amend the Mining Tax Act, follows on the Treasurer's 1991 budget announcement that he would implement a \$10-million limitation on the three-year tax exemption for new mines and mine expansions under the Ontario Mining Tax Act. This bill provides the necessary amendments to implement this proposal.

In essence, any profits above \$10 million generated by a new site or an expanded site in the first three years of operation will be subject to this Ontario mining tax. Previously, no taxes were paid by new sites in their initial 36 months. The new limitation applies to all profits earned on new mines and mine expansions after April 30, 1991.

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In the pre-budget submission to the Treasurer last year, the Ontario Mining Association sent a clear message: "No new taxes." The mining industry has faced rapidly declining

world market prices and escalating costs. The introduction of a limitation on the three-year tax holiday was not welcome news for the mining industry. The mining industry believes Bill 12 is counterproductive to the underlying assumption for the original implementation of a tax exemption. The development and expansion of mine sites inherently require large capital investments and high risks. Therefore, the three-year tax holiday is necessary compensation and incentive to develop the industry.

According to last year's budget, the NDP government intended to generate \$20 million to \$25 million from the new limitations. The mining industry points out that the mining tax before recent amendments produces \$130 million per year for provincial coffers. So it should be stressed that the tax is paid on profits and is a levy that is confined to the mining industry exclusively.

The future of Ontario's mining industry hinges on the impact of provincial government policies in four critical areas: energy supply, the Ontario Hydro rates, native land claims, the environment and taxation.

This year the Ontario Hydro rate increased to 11.5%. The high cost of power is quickly outpacing inflation, and the mining industry is worried about the security of the supply of hydro. The former Liberal government's decision to purchase power from Manitoba leaves the mining industry, and all of Ontario for that matter, at the mercy of and dependent on another province. If the mining industry is to contribute to economic growth, the provision of jobs and the creation of wealth here in Ontario, it must have access to a secure and inexpensive supply of power.

The NDP government fails to realize that if a mine closes or faces massive layoffs, the dependent community will suffer a decline in its economic fortunes. So if Ontario's mining industry declines, the province loses jobs and the tax base that helps pay for a social safety net.

The mining industry has suffered the effects of an NDP government that has decided to move ahead with native self-government before actually defining what self-government is. This government has directed business and industries operating in certain treaty areas to undertake communication efforts with the native communities. The government is behind the times, because the mining industry has been doing this for years. In fact, there are at least three mining companies that already have agreements with native communities in such areas as guaranteed jobs and infrastructure improvements.

I am concerned that the provincial government will undertake to sign interim agreements with native communities that would be in place while self-government is still being negotiated, and these agreements could deny access to land for mineral exploration. It usually takes about 10 years from the exploration stage to actual mine development. If exploration companies are denied access, it would delay mine development, which in turn would delay job creation, economic development and new tax revenue.

The current government's environmental initiatives have thrown a pall over the mining industry. Over the past five years the industry has been dealing with the massive costs of implementing MISA, which is the municipal-industrial strategy for abatement. So far, the mining industry has spent

more than \$25 million just on the monitoring phase alone. The industry is concerned that the coming CAP, clean air program, will be implemented in a similar manner and will result in another huge burden in terms of time and money. CAP must be implemented in a more efficient manner than has been the case with MISA.

Ontario at one time enjoyed a competitive edge in the mining industry. Our ore bodies are still rich, but the economic incentives and conditions are becoming better elsewhere. So exploration is increasing in many other jurisdictions. For example, Canadian mining companies are practically falling over each other to compete in exploration in Nevada, where gold mines are abundant. Exploration is also on the rise in New Guinea, Chile, Turkey, the Andes, the South Pacific and south of the border in both Nevada and California.

Statistics for 1990 and 1991 show a 13% decrease in the total number of mining claims, a 59% decrease in the number of claims staked and a 33% decrease in the number of days worked on claims. The Treasurer, the Minister of Revenue and the Minister of Mines should be working closely together to ensure that this decline is reversed and that Ontario's competitive edge is enhanced. Instead, the mining industry is getting Bill 12, An Act to amend the Mining Tax Act. Because of this bill, the mining industry could very well suffer a reduction in its competitiveness with other jurisdictions, and it will give them only one more reason to leave Ontario.

Approximately \$7 billion of new mineral wealth is produced annually in Ontario. There is no doubt that the impact of this on communities with mining operations and on the entire provincial economy is extremely significant. It is time the NDP government recognized that the profitability and competitiveness of mining must be enhanced if the industry is to continue making a positive contribution to society and the economic community. Bill 12 will do nothing to enhance the contribution of the mining industry to the society and the economy of Ontario.

There is one section in this bill I would like the minister to comment on when she gets the opportunity to:

"Subsection 11(4) of the act is repealed and the following substituted:

"(4) An operator shall reimburse the minister for all costs incurred by the minister to examine books of account at the place where they are kept outside Canada by the operator and the minister may forthwith take all remedies available under this act or at law to recover such costs."

I would love to hear the comments from the minister with regard to that section.

I would like to thank you for the opportunity, Mr Speaker, to comment briefly on this, as I said, minor piece of legislation which is going to have a major effect in the economy of the province of Ontario.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Simcoe East for his contribution to the debate and invite questions and/or comments.

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): Mr Speaker, I want to take a couple of moments to add to your thanks to the member for Simcoe East. I think on behalf of our caucus

he did an exemplary job, covering not only the punitive measures in this particular piece of legislation, Bill 12, but all those other measures that have been taken by this government during its 21 months in office that really serve to hurt and hinder the mining industry in northern Ontario.

This particular legislation limits the tax exemption needed by those in the industry, those entrepreneurs and companies that take the risk and spend, as the member for Simcoe East mentioned, up to 10 years from the time of exploration to development and drawing from the ground of actual wealth, those that take that time and entrepreneurial risk. This legislation, along with a number of other measures, including environmental measures that aren't very well justified—native rights, I think, were mentioned and a tremendous increase in hydro rates that we've seen in the last 21 months—serves to affect, in a negative way, the mining industry in Ontario.

I find it surprising that this government would be so punitive to the people of northern Ontario, many of whom over the years have consistently supported the NDP. I say to the people of northern Ontario, I hope you'll take a good hard look at the measures taken by this government which hurt the very industry that many people in northern Ontario are dependent upon. It's not just Bill 12, as my colleague the member for Simcoe East just mentioned; it's many other measures taken by this government which are punitive and which are tax grabs and which do a disservice to the people of northern Ontario. As I say, I hope those people will take a good look at the record of this government before they go to the polls, because I think it's important that people not sleepwalk to the polls three years from now, that they take a good look at the actual record of this government. I say to the mining industry in northern Ontario that the best advice we can give you as a caucus of a party is stay alive until 1995, until we bring prosperity and competitiveness back to Ontario.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

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Hon Ms Wark-Martyn: I'd like to comment on section 3, subsection 11(4) of the act. The member across the way asked me to explain the article on "the place where they are kept outside Canada." The former piece of legislation had the word "Ontario" where we now have the word "Canada." We are now making it more consistent with the Corporations Tax Act and therefore giving a break to the mining companies which are operating or have their offices outside of Ontario yet in other Canadian provinces.

I'd also like to inform the member across the way that the NDP government will be alive and will arrive back here in 1995, after the election, on this side of the Legislature.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? If not, the member for Simcoe East has up to two minutes for his response.

Mr McLean: I want to thank my colleague the member for Simcoe West for his comments, and add further to them. I remember some time ago we had an opposition party in this House that was very adamant about lowering and levelling the field with regard to the price of fuel with regard to taxation. I can remember that very vividly. It

involves the mining industry very much because of the cost of fuel they use. For the ministry to not look at that very important aspect in the mining industry—the cost of energy is a major enterprise. What did the minister have to say about the 11.8% cost in hydro this year, when we're looking at flatlining budgets?

As to section 3 of the bill, subsection 11(4), with regard to going anywhere in the world to make sure they can collect the revenues, as you have indicated is needed, do the operators pay the costs if they have to go to Chile, if they have to go to California or to Nevada? Is it the mining company that pays those costs? It says, "kept outside Canada by the operator and the minister may forthwith take all remedies available." Is that another cost to that operator? Minister, you're adding another burden to the mining industry of this province.

The Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I rise as a northern member, a member who represents a community actively engaged in mining, although not nearly so actively engaged as it was some two years ago. I represent the fine people of Elliot Lake, who have experienced some of the greatest layoffs in the history of this province. The House would know that we have lost approximately 3,600 people from our mines in the past two years, leaving about 600 working.

It's interesting when we're talking about this bill to note that this government, by order in council, eliminated 1,100 of my constituents' jobs, directly destroyed 1,100 jobs in Elliot Lake. They did it. It was them. What is strange is that this was the government that promised those very miners time and time again during countless election campaigns that it would purchase all the uranium from Elliot Lake. That's what they said and I think the miners in Elliot Lake recognize this government for what it is.

But, Mr Speaker, to speak more directly—I know you wish me to—to Bill 12, I have some questions for the minister as I go through. I would hope that she could maybe help me. This is obviously a bill to limit what some may call a tax incentive to mines, because the first \$10 million of profit is exempt for the first 36 months.

What I would like to know from the minister is how many mines her ministry anticipates will be taking advantage of this provision. What is the difference between what was happening before and what is happening now? How much more revenue can the province of Ontario anticipate getting from this tax? I would also like to know what impact the minister sees in terms of expansion of mines in northern Ontario. Does she have an impact study? How has she chosen this specific limit for this specific time frame? What does she think this particular tax will do to those communities?

That is indeed what we're talking about. We're talking about communities. We're talking about workers. We're talking about prospectors. We're talking about people who have made their living and contributed for many years to the wellbeing of this province.

There are currently 53 operating mines in Ontario today: 40 metal mines and 13 non-metal mines. Northern

Ontario has the bulk of these, with 39 metal mines and four non-metal producers. There are about 22,000 people in Ontario currently employed directly in mining, milling and smelting operations. But besides those 22,000 people there are the prospectors and there are the developers. If members in this House have been paying any attention over the past six months to a year, they would know that the prospectors and developers, the people who find the ore bodies, are having a very difficult time. It is difficult to find money to finance their operations and that comes from a number of factors. Among them, however, is the fact that Ontario is not being seen as a particularly good place to invest.

I was over, and I think many members were over, to a reception at the Sutton Place. We had some ginger ale, I think, and at that reception there was a slide show put on by the Ontario Mining Association which told us what was happening with costs in this province, told us what was happening with energy costs. Talk about hydro rates going right through the roof: We know that mining is very intensive in terms of energy use; it has to be. Yet this government pursues an unrealistic, high-energy-cost policy which creates great problems for the kinds of industries we are trying to create in this province.

We're seeing Workers' Compensation Board rates, Mr Minister of Labour, that are going right out of the world. They're going crazy. How are we to expect investment in this province and expect jobs in this province if we don't do something to control workers' compensation costs? I really don't understand the direction of this government.

As a northerner I want to see a prosperous mining community, but as an Ontarian I want to see a prosperous mining community because the wealth created in the mines of Ontario has long been a basis for the strong economy we've all enjoyed. It's not just in northern Ontario. If you look around—and this has been a problem for northerners for many years—the mining companies have their offices here in Toronto. That's where they are. They're not in Sudbury. They're not in Wawa. They're not in Red Lake. They're here. There are literally hundreds and hundreds of people in Metropolitan Toronto who derive their wellbeing from mining. So it's not just a northern Ontario issue.

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I ask the minister, what impact will this have on the industry? How many new mines will not be opened or how many new mines will be opened because you're doing this? I think that is a legitimate question the Legislature needs addressed.

We also want to know, what effect will this have on your revenue, because of course it's the revenue that pays for the good things that are happening in Ontario. Without revenue we can't supply a school system, hospitals and those other things we as citizens take for granted.

I think those are legitimate questions and I did not hear any explanation from the minister about any of that. Mr Speaker, I thank you for the opportunity of participating in this debate and look forward to some answers to the questions I posed.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Algoma-Manitoulin for his contribution to the debate and invite any questions and/or comments.

Hon Ms Wark-Martyn: I'd like to inform the member opposite that the three-year time frame for the tax holiday has not changed. The \$10-million limit is the maximum profit, after deducting expenses and processing allowance, that may be earned from a new mine when taxes kick in during the first three years the mine is open. The monetary limit of \$10 million in profit per mine prevents tax avoidance by companies repeatedly requalifying for additional three-year tax holidays by opening and closing the same mine.

As far as an estimate for the revenue on these changes is concerned, for 1991-92 the revenue estimate was \$20 million and \$35 million for a full year as revenue gained from the limits.

We don't know how many companies will be affected by these changes. The revenue is an estimate based on the economic climate in 1991. Since then I am aware that the mining industry has faced some difficulties, but that has many other factors involved, rather than just these amendments to this act.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Miclash: The member for Algoma-Manitoulin brings up a good point, that being the impact of this taxation on the industry. He too cited an instance in his riding, one which I said but one which had a greater impact on his riding in the loss of jobs and in a mining company going down, taking its operation out of the riding. I think the minister is going to have to pay particular attention to what the member has said and really actually take a close look at the impact of job loss in this industry, such as he mentioned, such as I mentioned and such as has been mentioned by other members in the House, and how it affects us in northern communities and in communities that depend solely on the mining industry.

From what the minister has just said in response to the member for Algoma-Manitoulin, I feel that there doesn't seem to be enough background on it, enough study into the actual impact this is going to have. The member for Algoma-Manitoulin raises a good, valid point in the fact that, yes, this is going to affect the industry and affect the industry in ways that will affect all of northern Ontario. Again, I would hope this government, with our northern ministers and those people especially close to the mining industry, will take a very close look at the impact of this new act.

The Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? Seeing none, the member for Algoma-Manitoulin has up to two minutes for his response.

Mr Brown: I thank the minister for her response. I was not entirely clear about what she was telling me. I take it this will provide \$20 million to \$35 million additional revenue for the government. Is that correct, Minister?

Hon Ms Wark-Martyn: Yes.

Mr Brown: That may be well and good. That may be fair. I'm not sure, because we don't have any impact statements, but maybe that money should be spent on prospecting incentives, on developing incentives, on getting this industry going. If it's fair to take some money from this

industry—and from what I can gather from the minister, this is really to plug a loophole. What she's telling me is it's a loophole.

Interjection.

Mr Brown: That's what she's telling me, though. She's telling me it's a loophole she's plugging for people opening and closing mines.

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): It's a tax grab.

Mr Brown: It probably is a tax grab, but regardless, the issue here is that we've got, or she's got—the Treasurer's got—\$20 million to \$35 million more. If you pursue this tax, we would like to see that money put into the mining community of northern Ontario to encourage prospecting, encourage development, so that we can see the kind of activity in northern Ontario that will not only create jobs this year and next year but for many, many years.

The one thing people don't understand about mines is that they cost a great deal to find. They're very expensive. They're like looking for a needle in a haystack. But when you find one, generally speaking, for a certain amount of time it's profitable, but from the day a mine is born, it's the first day it's dying also, because you're extracting the resources that make the mine go.

All I'm saying here, Minister, is, if you're going to make this tax grab, if you're going to grab this loot, let's put it back out into the mining community in northern Ontario.

The Speaker: Further debate? Seeing none, the Minister of Revenue.

Hon Ms Wark-Martyn: I'd just like to close by saying the amendments in this bill involve a capping of the three-year mining tax exemption to target the incentive more effectively and also a technical amendment involving the reimbursement for audit costs outside Canada by the Ministry of Revenue.

The Speaker: Ms Wark-Martyn has moved second reading of Bill 12. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the ayes have it.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for third reading.

BUILDING CODE ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 SUR LE CODE DU BÂTIMENT

Ms Harrington, on behalf of Ms Gigantes, moved second reading of Bill 112, An Act to revise the Building Code Act / Loi portant révision de la Loi sur le code du bâtiment.

Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls): It is my pleasure today to present for second reading a bill to amend the Building Code Act. These amendments are part of our ongoing efforts to streamline the building regulatory system and support the industry efforts to introduce more efficient, safe and innovative building techniques. This bill responds to many long-standing requests from the building industry and the municipalities in Ontario. Having sat on

the building industry liaison committee of the city of Niagara Falls three and four years ago, I can tell you that this building code update is most anxiously awaited by many people across this province, so I am pleased today to introduce these new measures.

They include allowing municipal officials to use conditional building permits in special circumstances to speed up construction. This will make it possible for preliminary construction work to begin on certain major projects if all zoning and other critical approvals have been obtained.

It also includes permitting the use of innovative building materials and new construction techniques that have the same level of safety and performance as those currently approved in the building code.

Finally, we are consolidating key building regulations by incorporating the plumbing code, amended earlier this year, directly into the building code. For the first time in Canada, the plumbing code amendments will focus on regulating and conserving water use. This will not only save water; it will help save energy and allow us to make more efficient use of existing water and sewer infrastructure within our communities. These changes require the use of water-conserving toilets, faucets and showerheads. These resource conservation measures for new construction show the new approach we plan to bring to the regulation of buildings in Ontario.

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By means of another provision in this bill, we intend to extend the scope of the building code to include regulating our vast stock of existing buildings. The long-term maintenance and efficient operation of these buildings is of vital importance to our social and economic development.

I am confident this bill will be welcomed by all sectors of the building industry. Over the past year I have personally consulted with various groups; to mention a few of them, the building officials organization, the architects, the building operators, firefighters, the Urban Development Institute and consulting engineers. We have welcomed their input and they have been very helpful in pushing this forward. This bill will have many social, economic and environmental benefits including improved safety in buildings and more innovation in the building industry.

I look forward also to consultation with a wide variety of groups with regard to the development of the very important regulations which flow from this bill; that is, the Ontario Building Code.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I thank the honourable member for Niagara Falls for her opening remarks. Are there any questions and/or comments? Further debate.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I'm pleased to enter into the debate and make some comments about the amendments to the Building Code Act. It's been actually, I think, some 13 months since the then Minister of Housing, David Cooke, introduced the Building Code Act. On the one hand, we have wondered why it's taken so long; on the other hand, I suspect a lot of that time was used in developing the regulations that will attach to this act.

Members may not be aware of it but the Building Code Act is the law that serves as a framework for the Ontario

Building Code, but the Ontario Building Code is actually contained in the regulations that will attach to this act. While this act provides the framework, much of the substance will actually come from the regulations. That is something I wish to talk about a bit later.

The interesting thing about the NDP bill is that it bears a marked similarity to a piece of legislation introduced in December 1989 by the Liberal government. There are, however, some significant differences which I will go into a bit later in my remarks. It might help members if I elaborate a little on the remarks of the parliamentary assistant and give you an idea of what this bill is supposed to do and then go on to some concerns we have as to whether this act will actually achieve it and some concerns about implementation of some of these provisions.

The Building Code Act, as I said, is the law that provides for the Ontario Building Code, which is the document that regulates the construction and renovation of all buildings in Ontario. This is only the third amendment to this act since it was introduced in 1974, and the last amendment was in 1983—nine years. I think we can all agree in this House that it is time for it to be updated, particularly since we do have new materials, changing technologies and certainly areas of the act that were deficient before that need to be updated.

The main proposed changes to the act are tenfold.

The first is that it will establish comprehensive changes and comprehensive standards for existing buildings covering such areas as maintenance, resource conservation and environmental protection.

Second, and this was one the parliamentary assistant briefly mentioned, it will transfer the plumbing code from the Ontario Water Resources Act to the building code.

Third, it will enable municipal officials to issue conditional building permits to speed up construction. This would allow preliminary construction work to begin if zoning and certain other critical approvals have been obtained. I would like to make a few remarks on that a bit later because there are some concerns I have with the way this has been approached.

Another purpose of this bill is to enable the chief building official of a municipality to allow the use of equivalent materials, techniques and systems not currently authorized, providing they have the same level of safety and performance as those currently approved by the code. This again refers to the technology and the new changing technology I referred to earlier.

Fifth, it will enable the Minister of Housing to issue rulings to approve the use of innovative materials, products, systems or services evaluated by such materials evaluation bodies as may be designated in the regulations.

Sixth, it expands the definition of "unsafe" to cover more situations where the public is at risk. For instance, at present a building inspector cannot declare a building unsafe if pedestrians are in danger of being hit by debris falling from the building. That obviously is a welcome change.

Seventh, it will increase the powers of a chief building official to remedy a situation where a building poses an immediate safety hazard. I think it's imperative that we

give the chief building official that kind of jurisdiction and that kind of authority.

The eighth thing it will do is permit a building inspector to obtain a search warrant for premises without the current requirement of having to seize evidence. Currently there are few instances in which building inspectors need to seize evidence to carry out their public safety role. I will certainly have a few comments to make on this and will perhaps compare it to the new Rent Control Act which we just passed in this Legislature and point out a few of the areas where we requested changes regarding warrants and search-and-seizure provisions. The Minister of Housing denied those changes and yet we have the same minister having legislation here with the Building Code Act where they've put in the wording that we wanted in the Rent Control Act.

I think it's a case of the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing or perhaps the right hand not knowing what the left hand is doing, but this is passing strange since it's the Minister of Housing who has both pieces of legislation.

The ninth thing is that it will require a permit to change the type of use of a building if this increases the current hazard level—for example, change in the use of an office to a shop or factory. Again, this is a safety provision I think many members of this House could support.

Finally, it increases the level of fines for an individual for contravening the building code to a maximum of \$25,000 for the first offence and \$50,000 for subsequent offences. Imprisonment is removed as a penalty. The fine levels for corporations are also significantly increased to \$50,000 and \$100,000 respectively.

Those are the main provisions in the bill that is before us today. As I mentioned earlier, a lot of the substance of the building code itself we won't be able to debate tonight because we do not have access to those regulations at this time, and that will be cause for much further debate because a lot of contentious changes, I am sure, will be in those regulations. We must see those. We must have public hearings to examine those regulations because we're making major changes and we must make sure that those changes have a full airing before the public.

Interjections.

Ms Poole: Mr Speaker, the Conservatives seem extremely noisy tonight. Maybe it's the late hour. Do you think it could be? Maybe they wake up around this time. I thought most people started to think of sleep around 9:30. Meanwhile, back at the bill, I'll speak a little louder so I can be heard above the din.

I'd like to talk about a few of the controversial parts of this issue and a few of the provisions that caused not only our caucus concerns but concern has been expressed by some of the major players in this industry such as the Ontario Home Builders' Association, the Toronto Home Builders' Association and the Urban Development Institute. I have some comments they've made on the bill which I think will be quite helpful to us.

One of the most controversial issues of the legislation is the sections which enable the development of a code for

existing buildings. Again, I hate to go back to the Rent Control Act, but this has elements of retroactivity in it, and every time I think of retroactivity I think of the housing legislation where the government retroactively brought in provisions to Bill 4 which were very damaging to the housing industry.

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Under Bill 112 there is an amendment which has a provision to cover existing buildings under the building code, in effect making the legislation retroactive to apply to buildings constructed before the legislation was introduced. This may cause severe difficulties down the line, and I want to develop that a bit later in my speech as well and what impact this is going to have.

Second, we have not received any details yet as to how the government intends to inspect and enforce a code for existing buildings. It would be interesting to consider whether this building itself, the Legislature, would be able to pass all the current code provisions. I would suspect this building would not be able to pass the current code. This is one of the difficulties with going back and bringing existing buildings into the current code, particularly in the case of rental apartments, for instance, where through rent increases they would not be able to cover the cost of bringing it up to code and yet they are expected to pay for it. That is going to be quite a problematic feature, I believe.

Maybe I should comment on that now, because the NDP has brought in rent legislation that does not allow rent increases where standards have not been maintained. That means that although a rental building met building standards when it was constructed, if it doesn't meet updated code requirements it may suffer a rent penalty. However, if the owner does try to bring it up to standards of the new code requirements the associated cost cannot be passed through the tenants.

On the one hand we have a piece of legislation that is going to encourage landlords to bring their buildings up to code. On the other hand we have a piece of legislation, the Rent Control Act, which is going to discourage them from bringing it up to code, particularly if the landlord doesn't have the money to do it. I think that is the problematic feature.

Again, it seems that although this legislation has been introduced by the Minister of Housing—the Rent Control Act was a creature of the Minister of Housing—the minister doesn't always seem to know that there are inherent contradictions between the two.

One item I don't intend to talk on at any great length—and, Mr Speaker, as a Scarborough member you can probably appreciate best of all why I, as a downtown Toronto member, will not elaborate on this—is the effect on people on farms. I have a number of my colleagues who have, fortunately, volunteered to fill any gaps in my own knowledge and to speak at some considerable length on this very important topic in relation to people who are on farms.

I refer to the use of ungraded materials. That in fact is the regulation under the current building code which came into effect January 1 of this year; so it was just recently brought in. This has created a lot of problems for people on farms. The fact is that they have to use new lumber;

they can't use the ungraded lumber. I know my colleagues from various areas of the province have received a lot of comments and complaints from their constituents about this and will be addressing this at some length.

The situation we're in right now is that a Building Code Act has been introduced that will have a number of strengths but a number of deficiencies. I'd like to address some of those deficiencies right now.

One of the submissions, by the Urban Development Institute, was quite helpful to me because it talked about a major omission from this bill. Under the previous legislation that was introduced by the Liberal government but not passed because somehow September 1990 got involved in the way of progress—so, unfortunately, the legislation did not have an opportunity to go forward—there was one provision that is not in this legislation. The UDI—

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): That's a nice way of putting it.

Ms Poole: The member for Cochrane South gives me a little Brownie point for that one. I don't think too many people noticed I slipped that one in, but at least the din did not noticeably increase.

Meanwhile, back at the bill: Under the previous bill, provision was made for something called a certified professional program. Now, while the details hadn't been spelled out because we really didn't get into the debate on the legislation, the idea was that private sector professionals—for instance, architects and engineers—might be specially qualified as being capable of certifying that plans complied with the Ontario Building Code. That concept has been dropped in this legislation.

While there probably would be problems to be worked out with the concept, it had some very appealing features. The UDI pointed out that municipalities will never be able to staff building departments to meet high-volume rush periods and, furthermore, the UDI contends they shouldn't try. Certified professionals would have shifted some of these functions on permits to the private sector, allowing faster permit service in boom periods and saving the taxpayers from employing redundant employees in slow periods. This is something that the UDI has asked for. They've asked that this particular provision be reconsidered and reinstated into this legislation.

I'd like to go through a couple of the specific items in the bill. For instance, section 7 gives municipalities quite wide powers to regulate a number of things: classes of permits, for example, forms of applications, fees, times for notices, conditions for as-built plans and so forth.

There may be some scope for local autonomy, and I'm not saying there isn't, but most of the matters should be consistent and should be subject to consistent province-wide regulation. This is very important. It makes no sense that foundation permits, for example, should be available only in some municipalities or that the criteria as to when as-built drawings should be filed differ from place to place. Some chief building official will tell his council to require such drawings in all cases, perhaps adding \$500 to the cost of every house needlessly, while another council will never require them except in special circumstances. I

don't see any reason why the times for giving notice cannot be uniform province-wide.

I'd like to go on to section 8 and some of the provisions in there. Clauses 8(3)(a), (b) and (c) provide for the issuance of a conditional permit for any stage of construction even though not all requirements have been met to obtain a permit under subsection 2.

The conditional permit is issued by the chief building official, first, if compliance with bylaws and other applicable laws has been achieved in respect of the proposed building; second, if the chief building official is of the opinion that unreasonable delays would occur if a conditional permit is not granted, and third, if the applicant agrees in writing to assume all risks and expenses related to commencing construction or to removing the building and restoring the site to a specified manner if approvals are not obtained.

I'd like to make a couple of notes about this particular provision. First of all, "unreasonable delay" is not defined, but it's clearly left to the chief building official's discretion. Without an established understanding, this section of the act may be subject to wide-ranging interpretations varying with each chief building official of each municipality. As well, and this does concern me, there is a potential for safety and efficiency standards to be sacrificed for the sake of avoiding what may or may not be unreasonable delay.

Similarly, clause (c) may result in greater inefficiency, making it easier for an applicant to begin construction while at the same time holding him liable should the approvals, which would normally be required at the initial stage, be denied or not obtained in the time set out in the conditional agreement. This could quite possibly result in poor planning, wasted time and property management efforts and unnecessary red tape.

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Clauses 8(3)(a), (b) and (c) of Bill 112 lend greater authority to the chief building official and rely to a large extent on this individual's own discretion in issuing conditional permits to applicants. It would seem appropriate, for starters, that "unreasonable delay" be defined in this legislation and be set out by the act to avoid difficulties which may otherwise arise. That's something we'll certainly be looking for.

Now we go on to section 9, which provides for the use of materials, techniques and systems that are not authorized in the building code if, in the chief building official's opinion, such materials, techniques and systems would provide the level of performance required by the building code. Once again, Mr Speaker—oh, we have a new Mr Speaker. Welcome to the chair tonight. I'm glad you've joined us. Shall we have a hand of applause for Mr Speaker?

[Applause]

Ms Poole: This is for you, Mr Speaker. I've not finished my speech yet. We're just welcoming you to the chair and saying good night to our other Speaker so he can get on to other duties. Now, where was I before I side-tracked myself?

We were talking about section 9 and materials, techniques and systems. Once again, too much is left to the chief building official's own discretion. One might ask, what is the purpose of having a regulatory system if indeed so much depends on the opinion of one individual? Those are two particular provisions which we would like to explore further.

I'm getting to a section now which refers to the amendment proposed to the powers of entry and warrants provision in order to bring the act in line with current practices. The parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Housing also had the privilege of sitting on the standing committee on general committee when we went through the rent control legislation, so I know she will be very familiar with the points I'm about to raise.

The first point I'd like to mention is that the amendments provide for an inspection "at any reasonable time," where previously it said "at any time." I think we could all agree that that is a very welcome amendment. It should be reasonable.

Second, the amendments clarify that it is not an offence to refuse consent to enter or remain in an occupied dwelling except where the inspector is acting under a warrant, exigent—that's good word, "exigent." How many people in the House know what that word means?

They're not paying attention, or else nobody knows what it means.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): Or nobody cares.

Ms Poole: Or nobody cares. Yes, that is true. Maybe nobody cares, and I'm not quite sure I do either, so let's go on.

Anyway, where there are these exigent circumstances—where we are not sure what it means but where they have them—or prior notice has been given where the entry is to perform certain remedial work, except for those instances, it is necessary for the inspector to act on a warrant.

I get another chalk point from the member for Cochrane South, so that's two for the night. Three strikes, am I out or do I get to go home for the evening?

The third one is authorizing a search warrant with or without seizure under the act and enabling regulations to prescribe the form of these warrants.

The fourth one is providing for entry without warrant or consent of the occupier where the delay in obtaining the warrant would result in an immediate danger to the health or safety of any person. That last one is quite welcome.

But the section of the act I'd particularly like to point out in this reference is section 21. I am going to read it for members because I'm not sure you all have your copy of the Building Code Act with you. I'm sure you haven't memorized it, so I think I'll help you out and read that particular section, because I find it quite interesting. Section 21 states:

"(1) If a justice of the peace is satisfied by information upon oath that there is reasonable and probable ground to believe that,

"(a) an offence under this act has been committed; and

"(b) entry into and search of any lands and buildings will afford evidence as to the commission of the offence,

"the justice of the peace may issue a warrant in the form prescribed authorizing an inspector named in the warrant to enter and search the land and building specified in the warrant and, upon giving a receipt therefor, to remove from the land or building any document or thing that may afford evidence of the offence for the purpose of making copies or extracts."

The reason I bring this to your attention is that when we went through the Rent Control Act, the Liberal caucus introduced amendment to the search and seizure and warrant provision in the Rent Control Act to say that inspectors can be sent in where there are reasonable and probable grounds. We had amendments which stated if there are reasonable and probable grounds for the minister to believe there's offence under the act, that inspector could be sent in.

Do you know what? You may find this hard to believe, Mr Speaker, but the Minister of Housing refused to accept those words. She didn't need reasonable and probable grounds. She made it very clear when we were in the debate that reasonable and probable grounds were not necessary. I pointed out to her that this was a standard form of wording used in many pieces of legislation. It's a legal term for protection to ensure that you don't have inspectors going in willy-nilly at their own whim.

It is not too much to ask for reasonable and probable grounds, yet this Minister of Housing, who refused to put it in the Rent Control Act so that inspectors or the Minister of Housing could just act on any allegation—no substance had to be proven, no reasonable and probable grounds had to be proven—yet the minister refused to put it in the Rent Control Act. Here I look and I cannot believe my eyes; it is in Bill 112. What is happening here? Can we demand, at this stage, that the Minister of Housing reopen the Rent Control Act and remedy this deficiency?

I hope the Minister of Housing—who isn't here tonight, unfortunately, or I could ask her directly—will search her heart for the answer to that question, because as your former colleague, Mr Speaker, Sam Cureatz, the member for Oshawa somewhere—

Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology): Durham East.

Ms Poole: Durham East. Thank you to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. I appreciate that assistance. Sam Cureatz used to say on a regular basis, "Mr Speaker, I find this passing strange." That's what I find about the reasonable and probable grounds section. I find it more than passing strange; I find it downright strange.

I know the hour is getting late, but not quite late enough. We have a few more hours so I would like to expand on a few other provisions. Let's go to section 25, which deals with another thing we debated when we were looking at the Rent Control Act. That is the provision for appeals. Unfortunately in the Rent Control Act there was pretty limited appeal and landlords and tenants were quite upset about that. In fact I think many of the landlords and tenants were quite appalled by the fact that they were

denied a right of appeal which they enjoyed under previous legislation.

But back to Bill 112—same Minister of Housing but different bill. Section 25 provides for appeals to a judge of the Ontario court, but we have to question the 20, or maybe it was 21, days for appeal. I think the period for appeal was 21 days, if I'm not mistaken. That's almost impossible to comply with, particularly if the property owner enters into negotiation with the department. We really would recommend a much more expanded time for appeal. This would be a very desirable thing. What we want to maintain is due process. How can there be due process if you do not allow a sufficient time frame? We urge the government to take a look at this particular provision and ensure it is remedied.

Now we're going to—where are we going now? We're going to subsection 34(2). Subsections 34(2) and (3) provide for the development of standards for existing buildings in which current and new standards for structural, fire and life safety and related matters dealing with maintenance, occupancy and repair in existing buildings could be consolidated. In other words, this section provides for regulations establishing standards of maintenance, occupancy and repair of existing buildings.

The consolidated standards could also address matters related to resource conservation, environmental protection—certainly I think every member of this House would be very supportive of those two provisions—security and other social concerns such as standards for rent control purposes. Such a code could reduce regulatory overlaps and contradictions and facilitate the rationalization of the regulatory system for existing buildings.

That's a fine idea. The only problem I see in it—this is certainly something that was pointed out to me by the Urban Development Institute—is that such standards will exist side by side with all the existing occupancy standards municipalities pass under the Planning Act, or, in the case of cities such as Ottawa and Toronto, special legislation.

2140

Section 35 provides that the act and the Ontario Building Code supersede all municipal bylaws respecting the construction or demolition of buildings. A parallel provision is to be found in the fire code. It is of prime importance that the legislation—

[Applause]

Ms Poole: No, no, not yet. The member for Etobicoke West was kind enough to give me applause for my efforts to date, but there's more.

Mr Stockwell: Oh, is there?

Ms Poole: Yes, much, much more; at least a little bit more. It is of prime importance that this legislation provide that upon adoption of an occupancy code all municipal bylaws concerning maintenance, occupancy and repair be equally superseded. Otherwise the uniform code will achieve nothing and two sets of standards, probably conflicting, will be in place. The last thing we need is more conflicting standards, so I hope we can achieve some uniformity in subsection 34(2), and perhaps we can look at some amendments in that regard.

When it comes to section 36—that's the section about increasing fines—when I first read the legislation I thought, well, maybe it does serve a purpose. Maybe it will encourage people to obey the code, but the point was made to me that increasing fines seems hardly to be necessary because most code enforcement is done by way of orders. When they are ignored they're done by way of court injunctions. The most frequent offenders are small builders, and quite often they might be simple home owners; sometimes they might even have a language problem.

Building officials now seem to have all the power they need to enforce the code with the amendments that are being made, and any contravention of the code is an offence. So a fine of \$25,000 for a first offence, \$50,000 for a second offence and double these figures for a corporation seems unnecessary and excessive. Particularly when you consider the small home owner who is doing repairs or renovation or construction on his home, \$25,000 or \$50,000 seems to be an incredible fine. I think we have to examine if that's really necessary. If it is necessary, fine, but let's make sure it is before we put something like that in.

I'm glad the member for Nipissing is here tonight, because I have an article from the North Bay Nugget dated December 1991 and I'd like to read it into the record. I think they bring up a very good point. The title of the editorial in the North Bay Nugget is "Building Code Must be Amended." I'll quote from it:

"It's somewhat disconcerting to think there is no requirement in Ontario's building code for builders to be licensed, since a great many Ontarians regularly put their money and their faith in those people to carry out renovation and other construction work around their homes."

Interjections.

Ms Poole: Now, now. Members of the third party should pay attention to this. This is their leader's riding, and the newspaper from their leader's riding is saying these words. I think they should be respected and listened to.

The North Bay Nugget continues:

"While most builders are highly respected and certainly honourable, there is the rare instance when a disreputable builder reneges on his commitment to a home owner. Such appears to be the case with North Bay resident Isabelle Laframboise, who handed over a \$3,800 cheque for the construction of a sun room and never saw either the work completed or the money again.

"Some municipalities have instituted bylaws requiring the licensing of all trades, but North Bay's chief building official, Rolf Vassbotn, says the city does not have the resources to enforce it.

"For its part, the North Bay Homebuilders Association may resurrect a plan to set up a self-regulatory registry of contractors to protect the public from shoddy and disreputable builders and renovators. The registry would attempt to ensure professional conduct among member contractors.

"While the North Bay Homebuilders Association should be lauded for contemplating such a move, perhaps it's time the province considers amending the Ontario Building Code to require the licensing of all builders, just as electricians and plumbers are now required to do."

I found that quite an interesting article. I would certainly welcome the parliamentary assistant's comments on it, or perhaps at a later date the Minister of Housing's comments, to see whether they have found in their experience that other municipalities are finding this difficulty. Every once in a while we hear stories of how a consumer has been fraudulently misled and has paid money for work that isn't done. If there's any way we can remedy that through the Building Code Act, that might be an amendment worthy of our consideration. So that's something for the parliamentary assistant perhaps to take back to the minister.

As I mentioned, the Ontario Building Code is actually the set of regulations that attach to the Building Code Act. The problem with that is that the regulations never come before members of the House.

Interjections.

Ms Poole: Mr Speaker, the members from the third party really are very noisy tonight. I know it's good they are awake—

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): That's because I'm over here with them.

Mr Stockwell: It was Mahoney.

Ms Poole: Well, maybe it was another member, an unnamed member, who's created the disruption.

Anyway, it's now quiet, so I'd like to talk about the regulations. I don't know if anybody here has—I'm sure some of the cabinet ministers are involved in this. There's something called the regulations committee of cabinet that takes a look at regulations. When I was a government member—it's a long time ago, but I have a relatively decent memory, although at times it fails me. But I do remember back to when we were in government. I remember I was a member of the regulations committee of cabinet for a couple of years.

We were sent highly confidential—in fact, we had to take a oath of secrecy and all that kind of stuff, so this was good stuff that came to us. They would send over a pile of regulations every week, about three inches high. We would go into this weekly meeting and the civil servant bureaucrats would come in and the chair or the vice-chair of the regulations committee, who was the cabinet minister, would say to the bureaucrats: "Okay, tell us about these regulations. What are they going to do? Are they contentious? Has there been any dispute about it?" Then the bureaucrats would take about half an hour to describe what they were all about. "No, there aren't any problems." Suddenly this inch-thick lot of documents that you barely had a chance to glance through—whoop!—it went off to be passed as a order in council and it was a regulation.

It gives me some concern because members of the Legislature get very little opportunity to look at these regulations. Here we are talking about the heart and soul of the Building Code Act, the Ontario Building Code, which is done all by regulation, yet are members of this Legislature going to be privy to it? There are two, four—there are a lot of cabinet ministers here tonight. I guess they were having trouble getting backbenchers in. Anyway, I'm sure the cabinet ministers might see these, but that's if, with their

tremendous workload, they ever have time to really look at them. We quite often have to take the word of the civil servants and the bureaucrats, and as well meaning and as hard working as the civil servants and bureaucrats are, I'm uncomfortable with the fact—

Interjections.

Ms Poole: Mr Speaker, now the third party is making more noise and there are no Liberal members over there for them to blame. They're doing it all by themselves.

2150

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Order. I would like to remind all members that the honourable member for Eglinton has the floor. If you have comments to make you will have the opportunity, immediately after the honourable member has completed her comments, to participate.

Ms Poole: Thank you, Mr Speaker. The member for Algoma said I can't hold their attention. When their attention span is this big, Mr Speaker, that's not very difficult.

When you talk about the regulations, what happens is that we take kind of as an act of faith—

Interjections.

Ms Poole: Mr Speaker, this is no time for levity. The Building Code Act is serious legislation.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. I realize it's late in the evening and there are some provocative messages being sent, but please allow the honourable member for Eglinton to continue in the debate.

Ms Poole: I didn't think anything was provocative, but I'll try not to be. Anyway, Mr Speaker, what we as members are expected to do is to take on faith the fact—

Interjections.

Ms Poole: Mr Speaker, I know it's late, but we really must take these issues seriously.

We have to take on faith the fact that this pile of regulations reflects goodwill towards the people of the province and reflects what needs to be done, but when was the last time the regulations which comprise the Building Code Act went to committee? When is the last time the public had a chance, in public hearings, to comment on those regulations? I have said that my memory sometimes fails me, but I can't remember this ever happening. Nobody's ever brought to my attention that it has happened.

I think this would be a good opportunity, now that we are amending the Building Code Act, to actually have the government table those regulations with the committee when we go to committee and have some public hearings and take a look at those regulations. Let the experts in the field, the builders, come and tell us in public hearings, not behind closed doors where if the government doesn't like what they say it can shuffle off the pieces of paper and we never hear about it. Let's have it in an open forum. Let's have it in committee and let's have public hearings looking at the actual regulations. If we are doing this, let's do it right.

The act itself isn't the problem. If you look at the act, much of it is supportable. There may be things that need to be changed, but the framework is quite sound. What we don't want to do is to see new code amendments which

cost thousands and thousands of dollars that are added to the cost of building a home, particularly right now. When our home-building industry is in the depths of a recession and struggling to get out, that might make the difference between selling a home and not selling a home. Let's make sure those regulations are efficient and practical and that they do not add unnecessary bureaucracy or cost. Let's make sure they meet the safety requirements and the health hazard requirements. Let's make sure those are met, but let's do it right and let's look at those regulations.

I seem to have come to the end of my notes.

[Applause]

Ms Poole: Thank you. A standing ovation would have been nicer, but I appreciate the support.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): Could you redo the first part? I missed that.

Ms Poole: Start over? Okay. Actually, the minister wasn't here when I began, so maybe I could start over.

Anyway, Mr Speaker, those are my very brief comments on the Building Code Act. I think you can agree that my comments really did stick to the material at hand and were meant to be helpful. I hope the Minister of Housing will take a look at these, and when we go to committee, will keep an open mind towards some changes to make this the best Building Code Act and the best Ontario Building Code this province has ever seen.

The Acting Speaker: I wish to thank the honourable member for Eglinton for her participation. Questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Simcoe West.

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): Thank you, Mr Speaker. I want to be brief. I'm aware of what that word actually means.

The member for Eglinton correctly touched upon one of the difficulties I and many of my caucus colleagues have with this particular piece of legislation. It will remove the exemption that currently exists for farmers to use ungraded lumber in the construction of farm buildings.

I just want the farmers in my riding of Simcoe West and throughout Ontario to know that this bill is being sent to committee, I believe, with the concurrence of the government and that I and my caucus colleagues—I believe Mrs Marland, our critic, will be introducing on our behalf an amendment to the legislation to ensure that members of our farm community can continue to use ungraded lumber.

That's a serious issue in my area and rural areas of the province, because if they were not allowed this exemption, as currently exists, it would dramatically increase the cost of doing repairs and building construction on farms. Just as a point of note, I want to congratulate the member for Eglinton for having correctly raised that and emphasize that my colleagues and I are very supportive and will be introducing an amendment in committee.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I wanted to spend a couple of minutes commenting on Bill 112 and the remarks made by the member for Eglinton. When she

raised the subject of January 1, 1992—when it came into effect that the farmers building barns could not use ungraded lumber, I don't think there have been many other issues in my riding that have hit the farmers as quickly as this did. I received letters; I received petitions and many letters from municipal councils asking for their support to not have this amendment.

It's put another burden on our agricultural industry which is unnecessary for farmers. When the ministry wants to control everything in the province, regardless of where the building is or what size the building is—there has been an amendment made that it can be, I think, about 10 by 10. When we look at the definitions, it gives us great concern.

In the exclusions it says, "This act does not apply to structures used directly in the extraction of ore from a mine." An addition to that could read, "or farm buildings of 6,000 square feet or less," or approximately that. If they could put an amendment in on those exclusions, it would certainly help our farming industry.

I must say that I have had more complaints on a bill that will be introduced soon, Bill 162, than on any bill I've ever had to deal with. But Bill 112—I hope the parliamentary assistant is listening so it can be amended properly.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): I would like to follow through on the remarks made by my colleagues relative to the rural municipalities I represent. Bill 112 has caused more unrest, misinterpretation and general resentment towards government at this level intruding into the rights of the farming community.

The farm community over the years has built buildings in a manner that—as you drive through the country, the only reason they're not standing is because somebody didn't do the maintenance basically on the roof. I have yet to see a farm building that was not strong enough to stand over the years because of the grade of material used or the workmanship.

At the request of the warden of both counties I held two meetings, one in Renfrew and one in the administrative county office in Perth, to try and clarify for the independent sawmill operators and the farmers the issue that has been brought to light by giving this power to the chief building official.

You can imagine a chief building official of the experience that I've been able to meet to this point just doesn't have the experience that the farm operator has relative to used lumber or ungraded lumber from his own bush. The amendment that we propose, that it does not apply to anything 6,000 feet or less, would be well taken.

2200

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. We can accommodate one final participant in questions and/or comments. Seeing none, the honourable member for Eglinton has two minutes in response.

Ms Poole: As a number of my colleagues have pointed out, there really is a serious problem with the ungraded lumber provision. This has been quite detrimental

in a number of our areas, particularly to our farmers, and it just adds needless bureaucracy, needless expense. For what reason? If there was a safety reason, if there was a health hazard, if there was any particular reason to insist that they use graded lumber, then one could understand it.

In December, when the government House leader came to our caucus and said, "We want to go to second reading on Bill 112, the Building Code Act," we said, "Okay, on two conditions," and the first was that we wanted the government to delay implementation of these provisions relating to ungraded lumber, to delay implementation because it was to go in very shortly then, January 1, 1992. Unfortunately it was not delayed, but I do understand that the government is now looking at the issue and hopefully will have some amendments ready. If the government does not have an amendment ready, certainly our caucus is prepared to act on that particular one because it's quite important.

The second provision that our caucus had, in order to agree to the government House leader's request to go to second reading in December of last year, was the fact that we wanted the regulations to go to public hearings. We wanted them to go to committee, and we're not talking about long-drawn-out hearings, but just hearings where members of the public who use the Building Code Act, the builders, the various associations such as the Urban Development Institute and the home builders' associations would have an opportunity to make the regulations and the legislation stronger. I hope the government will truly do that.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further debate on Bill 112, An Act to revise the Building Code Act.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): Thank you, Mr Speaker. I would like to place on record the fact that our caucus supports Bill 112 in principle and we are happy that it's going to committee. The number of areas that we really wish to debate will be done in committee. I don't wish to debate those now at second reading because I think it's redundant when we know the government has agreed that this bill will go to committee. We also want to be sure that we have a response from AMO because as of this date we don't have its response.

Actually there are some parts of the bill that we have had some concern with and those have been addressed by my colleagues, the member for Simcoe West, the member for Simcoe East and the member for Lanark-Renfrew, on behalf of the farming community who have to deal their own particular, specific problems and conditions with the construction of farm buildings on their property. I'm entirely optimistic that the government is going to address those concerns because I know they are shared by the Minister of Agriculture and Food.

Certainly for those of us who have urban ridings where a lot of construction of homes has been evident in the past few years, where some very overzealous builders and developers in some cases have not been willing to wait for building permits, there have been a great number of concerns expressed by those municipalities that have been impacted by these builders who feel they don't have to comply with the Ontario Building Code and wait until building permits are issued.

We have examples of that in my own municipality. I know there have been some very bad examples of that kind of infraction against the Ontario Building Code in the town of Markham. The problem for the municipalities has been that at present the whole process doesn't give the municipality very much power.

I think when a developer begins construction without a building permit, the building department routinely issues an order to comply and a stop-work order. A builder's disregard of these orders is a civil act. As a result, the building department does not have the power to physically go in to a construction site and stop work. However, if a builder continues to ignore orders, the town can seek a court injunction. It's an extraordinary and expensive last resort, and quite frankly we don't think the municipalities should be forced to spend that kind of money going after people who wish to violate the law.

In some cases where it has ended up in the courts, quite frankly the fines have been so meaningless. If you have builders building homes—and we do have examples of homes in excess of \$1 million—and they go ahead and build without a building permit and they're fined maybe \$5,000 or \$10,000 for building without a building permit, those builders just look at that as a cost of doing business. They don't care. They have a total disregard for the innocent consumer, the innocent home purchaser who goes to buy that home of any value. But can you imagine investing over \$1 million in a home and finding out after you've bought it that it's been built without a building permit?

I think what the public really understands is that a building permit isn't a deterrent to progress in terms of expediting a building's construction. A building permit is actually the certificate given by the municipality to that builder on behalf of the future home owner that certifies that this building meets the requirements of the Ontario Building Code. The Ontario Building Code is there to protect everyone, particularly the person who ultimately purchases and owns that building and lives in it.

The building permit certifies that the building is safe structurally, it's sound structurally. It certifies that the plumbing and heating will work; that if they put a certain size of furnace in, it's going to be efficient and it's designed, through the heating duct system, if it's that kind of system, so that in fact it will heat the whole building. So it stands to reason that even with residential buildings, let alone of course commercial and industrial buildings, the system of mandatory compliance with the Ontario Building Code has to be respected and observed by everybody who's building buildings.

It becomes even more serious when we get into public buildings, where the public is in those buildings. Unfortunately we have had examples, not only around this province but around the world, where buildings have not been structurally sound and people have in fact lost their lives.

2210

So the Ontario Building Code Act is a very significant piece of legislation in the province that all of us want to support, and if there are refinements to be made to that act and enough consultation has gone on prior to those refinements being finalized and third reading, we feel it's just

logical common sense to support any amendments that come forward if the parties involved are in agreement, and particularly the municipalities, whose staff have to enforce the building code through the issuance of permits.

By increasing the punitive measures that are given to municipalities that give them more power to deal with people who have these blatant infractions against the building code, such as I've mentioned about building without building permits, this is a piece of legislation, Bill 112, that is to be lauded, because if the punitive fines are increased enough, then the builder will not be able to look at that fine as a cost of doing business and simply add it to the cost of the home or the commercial or industrial building.

I simply say to the parliamentary assistant, the member for Niagara Falls, who is in the House tonight on behalf of the Minister of Housing, that we look forward to further discussion and debate on this bill in committee, at which time we will bring through amendments, possibly any other concerns we have with this legislation, and we look forward to your inviting the public who are responsible for the implementation of the building code to be part of those public hearings and discussions on Bill 112.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments on the member for Mississauga South's participation? The honourable member for Mississauga West.

Mr Mahoney: I'd actually congratulate the member for Mississauga South for some well-thought-out comments. I recall full well, serving on municipal council with her for seven of the 10 years I was there, the number of incidents we had of builders who were in fact just simply going ahead and building without a permit.

I would only point out, however, that part of the problem there was the red tape and the bureaucracy and the fact that the builder would wind up with the meter running, so to speak, on approved lots. There was such a huge backlog and the code was so cumbersome, and absolutely every single plan of the same house had to be investigated on an ongoing basis, that in many cases, to avoid serious financial penalty, it led to the builders actually breaking the law.

While there might have been some who did so without any thought or caring as to whether or not they were following the procedures, there were many who did so very reluctantly, I can tell you, Mr Speaker, from having personal experience in representing part of the area municipally, and now in this place, where a lot of development took place, in the community of Erin Mills.

It's time we had some amendments that have brought some common sense to the building code and did things like merging the plumbing code and developing a code for existing buildings and for renovations and things like that. There are problems in other aspects of this government's legislation, such as its rent control, that create problems that may be exacerbated here, but I think the member for Mississauga South highlighted some of the positive aspects of the bill.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Stockwell: I think the member for Mississauga South offered insight that obviously comes from many

years of municipal experience in dealing with developers and zoning applications, redevelopment and housing developments etc. There has been a great development in the GTA in general, but I don't think one city has been impacted by development and developers and had the applications or the building that a place like Mississauga has seen.

Coming from Etobicoke we know at first hand the fast growth, the huge development in the city of Mississauga, because every morning they cross the border to go to work. As they drive through the Etobicoke streets, there's amazement, I think, from all people in Etobicoke at exactly how large Mississauga has become and how quickly. There was a time when it was simply a bedroom community. So I would compliment the member on her speech.

Mr Mahoney: He's a little paternalistic, isn't he?

Mr Stockwell: Coming from Metro, we tend to be a little paternalistic towards the region of Peel. We've watched it grow.

Mr Mahoney: A little jealous too.

Mr Stockwell: Jealous? I don't think jealous. We in Etobicoke have a saying that we're the first planned community, and Mississauga has a saying of the first poorly planned community.

I think the member has offered a good insight into the legislation and I think obviously it comes from a vast amount of experience in the municipal field.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I too want to compliment the member for Mississauga South on the very short, concise remarks she delivered, demonstrating a knowledge that I've not witnessed in this Legislature on this issue tonight, anyway, of the difficulties that are being faced and an appreciation and understanding of the intricacies of this particular piece of legislation. We offer our support for both the principle and indeed the recommendations that the member has made to improve the legislation.

I note as well that it is now a quarter after 10 of the clock. I know the member was in her office at 7 or so this morning. I want to make note of that time and get it on the record because I know nobody at home is watching, let alone editorial writers for any Mississauga newspapers. They've long quit work. The member for Mississauga South is still here representing the interests of Mississauga.

I also know nobody's watching because previous to the member for Mississauga South I heard, from the member for Eglinton, the most boring speech I've heard in 11 years of my presence in the Legislature, save and except the comments that she repeated from the North Bay Nugget, which I thought were cogent and deserving of all our consideration. The member for Eglinton was repetitious and boring, and generally the five or six people who were watching, I know, are now watching the Blue Jays.

I thought it appropriate that I get the comments on the record, and my appreciation for the member for Mississauga South for bringing her expertise to bear on all members in this Legislature.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean): In response to some of the comments that were made in response to the introduction of the—

The Acting Speaker: I want to remind the honourable member that we're responding to the member for Mississauga South.

Mr Daigeler: That's precisely what I'm in the process of doing. I was rather interested to hear the comments that were offered by the leader of the third party in putting some of his views on the record.

The Acting Speaker: I want to remind the honourable member that you're responding to the member for Mississauga South.

Mr Daigeler: I'm just in the process of indicating that if the leader of the third party wanted to put on the record that the member for Mississauga South is here tonight and to excuse her for using certain privileges of the House, then I think it would have been proper not to attack the member for Eglinton for her presentation. She was equally impressive and has very carefully analysed the provisions of this legislation and has put on the record very important and significant aspects—and the parliamentary assistant for the Minister of Housing is nodding her head—and she knows the legislation very well. I think if the leader of the third party wanted to defend the member for Mississauga South it's his right to do so, but it would have been better for him to restrict his comments to that intervention and not to attack the member for Eglinton.

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The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Mississauga South has two minutes in response.

Mr Mahoney: On a point of order, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: On a point of order, the member for Mississauga West.

Mr Mahoney: Thank you. It's Mississauga night in the Legislature.

The point of order I'd like to raise is that I heard the leader of the third party making rather uncharacteristic and rather unfortunate comments about our Housing critic and about her speech, and then the member for Nepean made some comments about the leader. You interrupted the member for Nepean twice in bringing him back to the object, which would be the member for Mississauga South's speech, and yet you allowed the leader of the third party to carry on with some impunity. I think that's unfair, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: Order. The member for Nipissing was indeed referring to the member for Mississauga South's comments, and we are indeed referring to the member for Mississauga South's comments. I want to remind you of that.

Ms Poole: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: The member for Mississauga South did not make any reference to my speech and the leader of the third party made some quite disparaging comments about my speech, which had no reference to what his colleague the member for Mississauga South had said, and yet he was not interrupted

and brought to order and the member for Nepean was. I really don't think that's fair, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. It was not really a point of order; it was a point of information.

The honourable member for Mississauga South has two minutes in response.

Mrs Marland: The one asset we all have in this Legislature is a record of what is said in this House. I think it would be interesting for anyone who is interested tonight to perhaps understand a little of my leader's comments, in or out of order, to review the Hansard of—I don't have the date—some time during the past two weeks, when the member for Eglinton actually went to a lot of trouble to research statements and to be very critical of our leader. She actually stood in this House and quoted verbatim things she used out of context, for the purpose of attacking my leader, but I don't think the general public is at all interested in this ridiculous kind of bantering. This ridiculous kind of bantering is not productive. It doesn't do anything about solving the very serious problems the people of this province face every minute of every hour of every day in this province today.

I would simply like to say in closing that I think my leader was referring to what have been a very difficult two days for me. I want to use this opportunity, in response to his comments, to say that I'm deeply appreciative of the support I have received in the past two days from all three parties in this House. I think it speaks volumes about the fact that when it comes right down to the end we are all colleagues in this House.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Nepean had a point of order. Do you still have a point of order?

Mr Daigeler: I just wanted to indicate to you, Mr Speaker, that while I appreciate the comments that were made by the member for Mississauga South and I think they're sincere and I accept them, I think that in terms of a member she certainly has the right and the privilege to speak. But they certainly weren't to the legislation that was before the House, and you criticized me for diverging from the regular orders a little bit earlier.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. It's not really a point of order. Really you're commenting on comments and I appreciate that. Further debate.

Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall): I am pleased to make a few remarks on this legislation and I'm pleased to follow my colleague the member for Eglinton, who pretty well described the legislation. I didn't think it was as boring as some might have thought. But anyway, I would like to address specific issues in this bill and how it will affect the agricultural community.

Coming from the same area you do, Mr Speaker, I've had many meetings on this legislation and I'm sure you have had the same. I want to talk a little about the agricultural community because I know many of the farmers in our area have their own material. They cut their logs off-season and properly build their dwellings in the off-season too. Many also recycle older buildings and build new and modern buildings for the 1990s. Amendments to the

building code will have an indirect affect on the materials that farmers may use to build structures on their properties.

Rural members realize there's been a great deal of confusion surrounding the use of ungraded lumber in farm buildings. I've had many meetings on this issue, almost as many as I've had on the changes to the labour laws. There's confusion in both bills.

I would simply like to reiterate the feelings of many farmers and municipal officials who have made remarks to me on how this would affect them. Because the regulations do not come under the scrutiny of the Legislative Assembly, I am concerned at the lack of input from the farmers and the municipalities. Bill 112 is enabling legislation and regulations will likely be drafted within the ministry, and that is of concern to many of us. The details on whether farmers will be allowed to use ungraded lumber are expected in the form of regulation. So far, I have not heard the specifics of what these very important regulations will address. Amendments must be made.

Members will know that at the beginning of October 1990 the Ministry of Housing revised the building code regulations so that municipalities were no longer allowed to exempt farmers from building permits. Prior to October 1990 and still today, farm buildings, like all structures, have to comply with the Ontario Building Code. I would like to ask the government to seek the insight of the chief building officials and the farmers during the legislative process. This is needed so that the Ministry of Housing will be aware of the different interests in Ontario in drafting clear regulations and guidelines. I am speaking of small and large sawmill operators, the municipalities and the farm community.

As a former municipal politician, I am aware of the concerns of municipalities in the graded versus ungraded lumber question, which I would like all members to be aware of. There has been some disagreement over whether safety is compromised by the use of ungraded lumber. I know a building built from ungraded lumber will be around for many, many years, possibly a stronger and a better building than one built from graded lumber. Small sawmill operators may be put out of business. The Ontario Federation of Agriculture as of last week is very confused over what's going on here and has called on the province to allow the use of ungraded wood. Many of the municipalities in my area, the same people you represent, Mr Speaker, the united counties council, the townships of Cornwall, Osnabruck, Finch and many of these others, have concerns about this bill.

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Ungraded lumber is stronger than the building code requires. Because of the fact that this confusion does exist, I have tried to have the Minister of Agriculture and Food, as well as the Minister of Municipal Affairs and the Minister of Housing, assure farmers that their unique needs will be met in regulation. As it stands now, I understand that if a building is less than 6,000 square feet and less than three storeys high, the chief building official may choose to approve ungraded lumber if justification can be shown. That's one concern I have: "if justification can be shown." We're going right back to what I said earlier. Many of the farmers in Ontario recycle their buildings, buildings that

were built many years ago. They make new and modern buildings out of them. It is very much a concern to me.

However, there are many instances where building inspectors may not wish to approve ungraded lumber for reasons of liability. I have also heard that municipalities in eastern Ontario have been very vocal in expressing their bewilderment on the subject of ungraded lumber. I understand many municipalities have approached the Ministry of Housing for clarification on the ungraded lumber issue. As critic for the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, and having been involved in agriculture all my life, I am aware of the serious financial difficulties many farmers are in right now. In the event that the chief building official is not aware of how to apply this complicated regulation, the farmer will be the loser.

In conclusion, I hope this bill works its way through the legislation and that there will be many amendments in an effort to meet with building officials, municipal councils, sawmill operators and farmers to clarify what is now a complex set of procedures.

The Acting Speaker: I'd like to thank the honourable member for Cornwall for his participation. Questions and/or comments?

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I compliment the member for Cornwall on a fine presentation on behalf of the farmers of Ontario. I represent a part of the north that has an experience much like Mr Cleary's area, where the farmers in my area build many of their buildings and their storage sheds from ungraded lumber. As a matter of fact, I would be hard pressed to go through my riding and find one that was built from graded lumber.

Mr Speaker, you would be aware that we've had a very difficult week in Algoma-Manitoulin and that we've had quite a dramatic wind storm. We've lost about 30 barns. I'm sure my farmers will be very busy right now concerning themselves with how they will store their hay etc through this coming winter, so they'll be thinking about barns. We would like to see, as our critic has so ably pointed out, a situation where ungraded lumber can be used for these because it has been the tradition, and certainly the buildings I have seen built from these materials are as good as any.

I want to compliment the Agriculture critic for the Liberal Party on his fine presentation and take a moment to also compliment our Housing critic, the member for Eglinton, who has made what I would consider, although perhaps maybe not the most exciting speech I've heard in the Legislature, one of the most comprehensive speeches in this Legislature on second reading.

It is not important to be exciting in here; it is important to bring forward the relevant points of legislation. I think the member for Eglinton has pointed out the deficiencies in the legislation and the points of concern to the people of Ontario. I congratulate her for bringing forward so much good information to the members here tonight.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Ms Poole: I too would like to commend the member for Cornwall for his very thoughtful comments and for very succinctly putting the case of the farmers of

this province who are quite distressed about the regulation regarding ungraded lumber. He made a number of very important points.

First of all, he reinforced the point that these regulations do not come under public scrutiny. He said furthermore that he's concerned that farmers and the municipalities may not have an opportunity to comment and to comment publicly on this particular aspect and on other aspects of the Building Code Act.

Because the subject of ungraded lumber and the exemption of farmers from building code provisions is extremely crucial to the farm areas, and also because, of the seven members who have spoken in the House so far tonight, six of the seven have mentioned the subject of ungraded lumber and the devastating impact it's having on our farmers, I wonder if perhaps we could call upon the parliamentary assistant to give a very brief response and let us know whether indeed the government is considering amendments.

My understanding is that the government has also been approached by many of the farmers, who have expressed their concern, and that indeed the government has made some commitment to looking at it and bringing forward an amendment. If this is true, I would like the parliamentary assistant to comment on it and perhaps give us a time frame, if there is an amendment, of when we might be expected to see it and whether we could perhaps have some input into the development of that particular amendment and that particular subject. I would be most appreciative if the parliamentary assistant could share her thoughts with us tonight.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): I would like to commend the member for Cornwall for what was evidently a very sincere critique of the legislation. His concerns are real and it's obvious that his criticism was not criticism for criticism's sake but because he wanted to see changes made that would benefit his constituents and the constituents of all of Ontario.

I am not very familiar with the effect it would have on farmers except from the mail I get. Being an urban member, all my familiarity with that aspect of the legislation is strictly through the mail, and I'm very happy that we have a member who is well versed in the concerns of farmers and is able to present them so distinctly.

May I say that the member for Eglinton, prior to him, gave an overall critique of the legislation that is very important for the government to take seriously. Knowing the member for Eglinton, I know she does her homework and that when she speaks, she speaks to represent the concerns not only of herself or of this party but of all people in the province, because she has, as we all do, the interests of everybody at heart.

Often we get lost in partisan politics, but I think in this case this is not partisanship. This is concern for very real concerns expressed by people in the province, hoping that the government will be open to changes, that the government will prove it can listen and can adapt when it is presented with sincere efforts on the part of the opposition.

So I do hope the government will react to the member for Cornwall's concerns.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant. Seeing none, the honourable member for Cornwall has two minutes in response.

Mr Cleary: I would like to thank my colleague the member for Eglinton, because I think she made a fine speech. She pointed out some different things that I was attempting to do, but I still think she shed light on a lot of issues. Also the member for Algoma-Manitoulin; I share his concerns, and just on what he had told me this week about losing all the barns, I'm sure someone will be building barns back there. Knowing the material that farmers use to build their barns, when they cut a two by six, it's two by six. It's not 1¾ by five; it's a real two by six. So there's a lot of strength there.

I would like to thank my colleague the member for Mississauga East for his remarks, and I would also like to mention some of the issues that some of my Conservative colleagues brought up earlier. They were absolutely right in what they said about the farm meetings they've had. I know I've had many. I hope that when this legislation gets to committee, some of the issues will be straightened out. If we're going to be in the business of agriculture, I think we've got to work with the farm community and we've got to listen to it more, not only on this but on some of the other labour legislation that it seems it is going to be faced with shortly. It will be very hard on them and maybe even put some of them out of business.

Once again, I hope that when it gets to committee we'll come out with something that will be suitable to all in Ontario.

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The Acting Speaker: Further debate on Bill 112, An Act to revise the Building Code Act.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I want to join this debate because Bill 112 has a provision that has occupied a great deal of my time over the past winter, and it's something my friend the member for Cornwall and the members for Eglinton, Simcoe East and Lanark-Renfrew, among others, have addressed here in the debate this evening.

I just want to add some comments, because I know it must strike some of the urban members as a bit peculiar that the ungraded lumber issue could be as important in rural Ontario as it has been. I just simply want to say that through the January, February and March season in my constituency, a large slice of rural Ontario north and west of Ottawa, there was no other issue in the rural community that occupied as much space in our municipal halls and in our weekly newspapers as the provision around ungraded lumber.

It's interesting that my friend the member for Cornwall made the comment that people have been talking about farm buildings. I'm here to tell you that where I grew up, in the village of Barry's Bay and in the entire surrounding district, until very recently you built your house with ungraded lumber. Many of my friends are still doing it and I would do it without giving any thought to it for a whole variety of reasons.

My friend the Minister of Labour, who has a cottage in the area, probably would at least consider it in this sense as well, that in my part of rural eastern Ontario, where there's one of the oldest lumber cultures anywhere in the country, the countryside is full of farmers and sawmillers and others who produce their own sawlogs, who cut their own lumber and who sell it at very attractive, affordable prices to their families, to their friends and to some of their relatives from places like Hamilton, Oshawa and elsewhere.

The idea, in a place like Wilno or Palmer Rapids or Barry's Bay, that you would pass up the chance to go down to Donnie Etmanskis's mill and buy top-quality ungraded lumber, to go an extra few miles and pay a substantially higher price for stamped lumber from Georgia Pacific would be perfectly outrageous. I wouldn't do it and I wouldn't recommend to any of my friends in the assembly that they do it. It's not because I want to recommend that something unsafe be done. Donnie Etmanskis knows his lumber, and you make a quality judgement in those small towns. My friends opposite know—the minister of highways knows it well—that this is part of the reality, particularly in communities like Renfrew county where for six generations the good Polish people of Wilno know this like they know the back of their hand.

I repeat, I'm not here just talking about farm buildings; I'm talking about houses, I'm talking about cottages and I'm talking about farm buildings, to be sure. But this is a very real issue about life in rural Ontario and particularly that part of rural Ontario where you have, as in Renfrew county, a very significant lumber community and forestry culture. To be told by officials that there was a very intensive, long-running process, initiated I gather by the Peterson government and culminating in the term of the Rae government, that was going to somehow strip out the possibility that had existed—and how it had existed was not exactly clear, as the several meetings to which I was invited in the winter of 1991-92 made plain.

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs): It's got nothing to do with this act.

Mr Conway: I want to tell my friend that I am here tonight because if I got one instruction, and I know other members did as well, it was, "You better hustle yourself to the Legislature, and if you don't do anything in the coming session, you better talk to the building code when it's brought forward." I'm told of course now by some that it has nothing to do with this act. That's not what the very good officials from the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Municipal Affairs told us at the several meetings.

One of the reasons I'm on my feet tonight is to give thanks and congratulations to the excellent public servants working in the ministries of Housing and Municipal Affairs who came to some extremely heated public meetings in my constituency just a few months ago. In fact, I want to particularly thank Mr Ali Arlani, the manager of the Ontario buildings branch at the Ministry of Housing, because he did an excellent job of explaining what was happening and what could in fact be done to address the concerns not just of farmers in my constituency but of many people living in the rural community who want the right to continue, under

certain reasonable circumstances, to use farm-run lumber or lumber that is produced in many of our local mills and that is graded by a knowledgeable individual but not someone who has the papers.

I just simply want to say that this was a very interesting experience. I want to say parenthetically that we are now engaged in another one, and it's not proper for me to engage that tonight, but I'm going to say, as I hope others will, that the discussion paper on the new Trees Act is the same kind of issue all over again.

I will say to my friends in the government, particularly the Minister of Transportation and others, I hope you have a chance to talk to the Minister of Natural Resources and to dissuade the honourable minister from putting us through a similar kind of song and dance, which is only going to anger and annoy a lot of the farmers and rural folk, at least in my part of the province.

If there is an issue and a concern, as there probably is, in the rural counties of the southwest, so be it; let the government go forward and address that problem. But one of the issues that the building code amendments brought forward was the way in which we advertise not just some of the changes we are going to make but in fact how the act operates ordinarily.

There were people around who were very concerned about the extent to which the politicians knew what these changes were doing. My guess is that the current Minister of Housing, a very bright and capable person, like most people in the cabinets I have known, wouldn't have had a clue as to what these changes could or would in fact mean in the rural community because, as people undoubtedly have indicated, the Ontario Building Code is like the old Eaton's catalogue, and the regulations that go with it are even more voluminous. It's not the business of the legislators to understand that in all its specificity, to use that wonderful Joe Clark word.

The fact of the matter is that a lot of the confusion seems to have been created when the government did not advertise the exemption provision that apparently has been in the building code for some time, that is, section 9.3.0.1, which has long allowed a municipal building inspector to approve or to allow substitute materials which, in the view of the local building inspector, meet the requirements of the situation.

It was very interesting, because as we got into this debate and as people got progressively more angry about what this building code amendment was doing to the use of ungraded lumber in rural communities like Renfrew county, it was very interesting to me that nowhere along the line were people saying:

"By the way, did you know that? There is and has been for some time an exemption provision in the code, and that can be used to allow M. Villeneuve, if he is in the townships of Hagarty and Richards and he wants to build a cottage, to go to his friend Conway, who's got a custom sawmilling operation and who's been known to supply very good quality material"—

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Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): I'm sure. Conway knows his lumber.

Mr Conway: And Conway knows his lumber. It's the only honest work I've ever done actually. You laugh, and again I didn't know very much about this, but I tell you, I got my marching orders from hundreds of people who were—and I won't use the vernacular, which is what I'd like to use—just royally ticked off. I mean, this became for them a metaphor of what's wrong with government.

I went to a meeting at the Opeongo High School in Eganville, and it was plugged with hundreds of people, fuming mad, just absolutely furious about this, because to them, this meant they could—these are farmers and rural folk, unemployed, underemployed, stressed out with this recession in ways that most honourable members can understand, and now government was telling them:

"We have news for you. We're going to stop you from using local lumber in the construction of your pole barn, your addition to the cottage, your house, and we are going to make you go down the road and buy stamped lumber" that in many cases was of lesser quality than what they could get themselves and at a much higher price.

Hon Mr Pouliot: How do you protect the consumer in Toronto, Sean?

Mr Conway: My friend the minister of highways makes a perfectly good point. How do you protect the consumer in Toronto? Do you know what? It is not an issue in Toronto. To a large extent it's not an issue in the city of Pembroke, where I live. It's like the Trees Act. As one of my friends likes to say: "Conway, just answer me this. What is the problem for which this is the solution?"

All of us have got to start thinking about some of those questions, because my friend the minister of highways is absolutely right, it is not a Toronto problem. But I'm going to tell you, all the Toronto people I know in cottage country in my county are lined up at my friend Donnie Etmanski's sawmill, including some of the good people who work for the Ministry of Housing, and they're there for all the right reasons.

My point, and my criticism—and I want to say again that the officials from Housing and Municipal Affairs were extremely helpful and in my view went a considerable distance to allaying the concerns and provided for my constituents a good sense of how this could be resolved. But when I look at the problem and say, "What could we or ought we have done earlier?" there was clearly one element we could have done, and I don't know where this blame attaches. Quite frankly, and I hope I don't sound too critical, there was an element, I think, of credentialism in this little problem. The exemption clause in the code is there for good reason. It's part of the genius of lawmaking in this province.

My friend the Minister of Education is here tonight. He supervises an act that has got several of those little adjusters in it, and that makes that act bearable. Les Frost used to say that the law of Osgoode Hall was not necessarily or always the law of Killaloe. And you know what? He never spoke a greater truth.

In this particular code, there is and has been for some time an exemption clause. I repeat, it's section 9 of the code, which allows a local building inspector the right to approve substitute materials—for example, ungraded lumber from Donnie Etmanski's sawmill back of Wilno—if, in the view of the local building inspector, past practice and experience with that kind of material gives the building inspector a sufficient and adequate degree of comfort that is safe and practical.

I repeat, I grew up in a village where prior to a very few years ago you could count on one hand the number of people who actually built their houses with graded lumber; the idea that you wouldn't get your own from suppliers—and bad suppliers just didn't last. They were run out of town, because you were dealing—unlike Toronto, where of course busy people working for the banks and the insurance industry and the government of Ontario wouldn't, by virtue of their experience, daily work or general orientation, know a great deal about these things. But people in Barry's Bay and Killaloe and Beachburg understand. They understand intimately how this works. Because their rates of pay are so much lower than they are in places like Toronto, Hamilton, Windsor and Oshawa, they have to make these kinds of adjustments and decisions to survive.

You cough? You just call the treasury branch and ask for the data and you'll cough no longer.

Hon Mr Pouliot: I live in Manitouwadge, Sean. That's fair. Go to it. We dump on Toronto every second day, too.

Mr Conway: You live in Manitouwadge, and I want to tell you, in Wilno they would die for the salaries that my friend the former mayor of Manitouwadge took as a given. I remember when my teacher friends came down from Manitouwadge to try to teach me something in high school. They observed the differential pay scales between that wonderful resource community in the northwest as compared to a poorer part of eastern Ontario.

Hon Mr Pouliot: Back to building the houses.

Mr Conway: Back to building the houses.

My point is simply this: When one lives on the kind of incomes many of my constituents in those rural communities have, you have to do what governments don't generally have to do, and that is budget very carefully.

In this connection I ask the question, why didn't we make a better job of advertising the exemption section of the code? It wasn't done, for whatever reason. It has in recent times been done to a greater extent. It seems to me that if an effort had been made—whenever, but certainly earlier in the process—to tell the farm community, to tell the farm press, to tell municipal building inspectors that this section was there, it was there for a reason, and it could and should be used, then I don't think we would have had quite the whirlwind of protest and concern we had.

I simply want to say that ungraded lumber was very much the talk of my constituency. Mr Arlani and others came and expressed a helpful point of view. One of the things I was able to do was get Mr Arlani to put in writing—I won't read it but I have a much-cherished two-page letter outlining what Mr Arlani interprets the code to allow

in this connection. I expect it is going to be proceeded with in accordance with that direction.

2300

I expect as well that local building inspectors are going to exercise good judgement. I am not here, and I have said this in my own constituency, to argue the case for bad judgement and "Let anything pass." That is clearly not in the public interest and it would raise very serious issues of public safety. It is interesting to know, by the way, that under this exemption, substitute materials can be used for any building up to something like 6,000 square feet. I think 600 square metres is the conversion. That covers a lot. It covers most of what many of my constituents would expect to have covered and they are not making an argument for irresponsible action.

I simply say to the parliamentary assistant that there has been some discussion around an amendment to make plain what the very helpful officials of her department made plain under difficult circumstances at the meetings in Renfrew, Douglas and Barry's Bay just a few months ago. I would strongly encourage the government to bring that amendment forward. If it is as I have been told it might be, I expect it would be both helpful and very well received.

I would ask her again on my behalf to thank her officials for their helpfulness in this connection and to simply suggest to some of the managers that, as we look to some of these changes, it would be useful to advertise some of the flexibility in the law that allows for the kind of regional variation we've simply got to have, to recognize the long and sensibly good conduct of people in the rural reaches of the great county of Renfrew.

Mr Daigeler: It's always a pleasure to hear from the member for Renfrew North, because first of all, we get a good geographic lesson as to the parts of eastern Ontario he's from. I certainly can vouch for the in-depth knowledge he has of that area and I don't need to remind members of that.

What he is talking about are deeply held concerns which the people of that area have, but not only the people of that rural part of eastern Ontario. I represent a very urban riding, Nepean. I do have a few farmers left but not many. Still, as an urban member, I have received, as the member for Renfrew North said, some very irate calls on the question of ungraded lumber. I must admit, before that was brought to my attention, I really had no idea what my constituents were talking about. Until now, I didn't fully understand what was getting people so worked up about this issue, but I certainly understand it more now and I am pleased to hear that apparently the government may be willing to consider certain amendments that will address the very legitimate concerns and fears that have been expressed by the rural community. I'm very pleased to hear that.

You can be sure I will dig out the names of those constituents who wrote to me at the beginning of the year and who called my office. I will convey to them the Hansard record so they will see that we're all concerned about this issue and that perhaps there will be appropriate changes made to the legislation that will satisfy their concerns. I was very pleased to hear that, because this is an

issue that has been brought to the attention not just of rural members of this House but also of urban members.

Mr Sola: I'd like to congratulate the member for Renfrew North. If anybody can make ungraded lumber an interesting topic, it's the member for Renfrew North. As the member for Nepean has said, you not only get a geography lesson but you also get a history lesson of the province of Ontario, and in this case a lesson in economics. Despite the fact that his eloquence and sometimes flamboyance may almost detract from what he's saying, because it makes it sound too political, I think the sincerity in his speech was just as evident as the sincerity of the member for Cornwall. Speaking on behalf of all the constituents of Ontario—and I think perhaps the only person who could give him a run for his money in eloquence in the topic would be the member for S-D-G & East Grenville, except he'd probably do it on a higher decibel level and maybe in the other official language. But I think—

Ms Poole: Flattery will get you everywhere.

Mr Sola: Yes, I think flattery will sometimes work, but I would like to thank the member for Renfrew North for increasing my awareness of the importance of this topic. As I said, being from Mississauga East, which is a completely municipal area without any farm land whatsoever, makes you less aware of some of the concerns that may seem trivial to city people unless they have cottages in rural areas. I think topics like this have to raise the very real concerns of us municipal people because of the economic factors that we often forget once we leave areas where the economy was weak and go to an economy that is strong like southern Ontario's. It's important to keep the differences in mind.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? Seeing none, the honourable member for Renfrew North has two minutes in response.

Mr Conway: My friend from Mississauga East reminds me of a famous line from Governor Adlai Stevenson, who once said that flattery was fine as long as one does not inhale. I shall try not to inhale.

Just two things: The parliamentary assistant made a good point privately to me. I don't mean to embarrass her, but she says, "Didn't people know about this two years ago?" It's probably a very good question. I have no idea why it didn't rear its head earlier. All I know is it was a sleeper until about November of last year and it just blew up at once.

I was saying to my friend from Rexdale that I took more abuse over this issue than I've taken over just about anything in the last 10 years. That's a good thing; I'm not complaining, but it was a real lesson to me. Part of the reason people were so upset is that for a farmer in Ross township in Renfrew county who wants to build a pole barn, this is a matter of thousands of dollars for no good reason.

Some of you have cottages. I don't mean to put anybody on the spot, but I suspect I know that you probably built your cottage something like some of the rest of us built our cottage. I'm probably getting into really dangerous territory here, but it is a matter of a lot of money. We're all well paid. But if you're an unemployed or under-employed sawmill worker in Killaloe, Round Lake, and

you can't access your father-in-law's woodlot to get at some very good low-cost lumber because of this apparent regulation, and you're going to be made to go down the street and pay thousands of dollars that you wouldn't otherwise have to pay because of this kind of regulation—oh, were they mad. But they are happy that we're going to get legislative clarification that reinforces what I was saying earlier.

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The Acting Speaker: Further debate? Seeing none, would the parliamentary assistant want to summarize?

Ms Harrington: It seems to have been quite a long two hours here. I would like to thank the members for their contributions, which, for the most part, I was going to say earlier, have been quite helpful. I wanted to specifically thank the member for Eglinton for her thorough examination of the bill. She did go through all 10 important changes that are being put forward so that I didn't have to do that. She noted the similarities with the former bill, Bill 103, and of course the differences. We have definitely put our stamp on this bill. The chief building official in the city of Niagara Falls liked to call this the son of Bill 103, but I told him that this was in fact the daughter of Bill 103 and it was different.

The member also mentioned that regulations are the key part of the implementing of this act. As everyone has stated, the building code is like the Bell telephone book. When we are formulating and updating those regulations, yes, we do have to consult with all those stakeholders that are involved.

In dealing with this bill over the past year we certainly haven't come up against the question of ungraded lumber, but here we do have it before us. I would like to make a few remarks with regard to that.

First of all, we are aware it is a difficulty, especially for the rural members. The member for Renfrew North certainly explained explicitly how the many members of his riding and his constituency have been most concerned about this. I want to make it very clear that this is not in the act. It is a regulation.

I want to make it very clear also that the removal of that exemption for the use of ungraded lumber for the agricultural people was something that was initiated, implemented and changed by the previous Liberal government. That was two years ago. It happened to come into force in October 1990, as the member for Cornwall read into the record about half an hour or more ago, so it is really passing strange, as they say around here, how this happened to explode at this time. But certainly these things do happen and we want to deal with it. It just seems to be, obviously, another example of a mess that in fact we inherited and we now are in the process of cleaning up. We do this, I guess, quite regularly. But I won't get into that.

The member for Renfrew North also noted that our ministry people have been hands-on in dealing with this in a most helpful way, and I intend to certainly continue with that. I would like to let you know right at this moment that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food has been consulting widely on this and that we want to take into consideration the concerns of the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, the

small sawmill operators and all those other rural people who have expressed all these concerns. We are committed to reaching a compromise solution on this issue. We want to work with you and all those people. If you bring your suggestions forward to us, we will work with you.

I want to mention that we are also concerned about the uniformity of enforcement of the building code across this province. This is something that was mentioned earlier and it is a very legitimate concern: that something in one area is not dealt with the same way in another part of this province.

Let me reiterate: We want to streamline the process; we want to eliminate red tape. That's the purpose of it. We want innovation in this province yet we want to guard the safety of the public. That's of course why the act was brought forward in the first place many years ago. It is the first of many changes we intend to make over the next few years, but we want to get this one through as quickly as possible.

I would like to thank the opposition for its general support overall and its concerns.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for standing committee on social development.

COLLEGES COLLECTIVE BARGAINING
STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992
LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS
EN CE QUI CONCERNE
LA NÉGOCIATION COLLECTIVE
DANS LES COLLÈGES

Mr Allen moved second reading of Bill 23, An Act to amend the Colleges Collective Bargaining Act and the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la négociation collective dans les collèges et la Loi sur le ministère des Collèges et Universités.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Would the honourable Minister of Colleges and Universities have a few short opening comments?

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Colleges and Universities): Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. At this hour of the night, it would be nice to have a subject that one could mix with nostalgia and geographic reflection, and just simply indulge in the niceties of cottage life and what one builds one's cottage with and that kind of thing. But we've had an exercise in that, and perhaps that is our entertainment for the evening, mixed with very substantial comments about a previous bill.

A little more than a year ago, I stood in the House and told members about the government's intention to proceed with some legislation that arose out of a past study, a report that was commissioned by the previous government, affecting the colleges collective bargaining process in the Ontario college system. Last month I kept that promise by introducing the Colleges Collective Bargaining Statute Law Amendment Act.

This act implements some of the main recommendations that come out of the 1988 Gandz report, a commission that was established by one of the previous ministers of Colleges and Universities, Mr Greg Sorbara. This commission

was established to assess the ongoing suitability of the Colleges Collective Bargaining Act to the current and future needs of the college system.

It was not, of course, born full-blown out of Mr Sorbara's activity, because indeed the roots of this go back into the previous administration with the responses of one Bette Stephenson, a former minister of fond memory, who in the wake of a 1984 strike began to wrestle with some of the problems of collective bargaining that had grown out of that particular event. There followed, of course, the Pitman report that did some further reconstruction with regard to the capacities of the Council of Regents for the college system, moving it more to an advisory capacity from an operational capacity. The Gandz report carried that process further with respect to its recommendations touching the collective bargaining responsibilities of the Council of Regents.

There are three basic points that I would like to address that form the essence of this act and that come directly from the Gandz recommendations.

The first is the extension of bargaining rights to all part-time staff working on a regular and continuing basis in the college system. In his findings, Jeffrey Gandz stated, and I find this a very appropriate and fundamental kind of comment which leads into the bill:

"The colleges, as leading educational institutions and as publicly funded organizations, have a responsibility to be model employers. They must recognize the changing social conditions regarding part-time employment and acknowledge that part-timers are vulnerable unless they have some form of collective representation, particularly when there is a union actively working to protect the rights and security of full-time employees. Disqualifying them from seeking the certification option is simply to perpetuate the disadvantage.... Finally, the extension of bargaining rights to less than full-time employees may relieve some of the tension between the parties which has surrounded previous discussion of bargaining unit jobs and security."

What we are doing in this legislation is extending the fundamental right to participate in the collective bargaining process, a right that has been denied under the current legislation to more than 14,000 part-time workers. I pause on that figure, because that is a very large number of people to be working within our college system and not to have collective bargaining rights. It is an unfair exclusion that is out of step with the situation that generally prevails in the public sector, including the Ontario public service.

Related to the extension of bargaining rights, this legislation proposes that two new bargaining units be formed, one for part-time academic staff and one for part-time support staff. The reason separate bargaining units are being created for part-time staff is that there are few common bargaining interests between full-time and part-time staff. Secondly, sometimes their interests actually conflict. What's more, the legislation only gives part-time staff the right to bargain and whether they wish to be certified will be their own decision. This, I'd like to point out, is consistent with the proposed reform to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. In any event, provision will be made in the legislation for a possible future merging of the part-time

and the full-time units, should a majority of the employees in each bargaining unit so choose.

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While we're on this topic, I want to point out that the legislation will fold sessional staff, defined as "full-time academic staff employed up to 12 months in 24 months," part-time counsellors and librarians into the existing full-time academic unit. The reason for this is that there is a general consensus that the greatest community of interests for the sessionals and the 40-odd part-time counsellors and librarians lies with the full-time bargaining unit.

I'd like to turn to the second major thrust of this legislation, the creation of an employers' association. Once again, Dr Gandz's recommendations spelled out a number of significant reasons why an employers' association should exist. He stated:

First, that the bargaining agent for the colleges should be the acknowledged and legitimate representative of the college administration;

Second, that the ownership of the collective agreement should be enhanced by putting the responsibility for its negotiations firmly on the colleges themselves;

Third, that the maximum participation in the negotiation and the ratification of the collective agreements by the college should be encouraged so that everyone understands the agreements in their letter and spirit;

Fourth, that whoever appears at the bargaining table on behalf of the employer has the authority and the mandate to negotiate in good faith and reach a binding agreement.

In keeping with these principles, this legislation proposes the establishment of a framework for an employers' association which will be composed of the chairs of the boards of governors and the presidents of each college.

The establishment of the employers' association responds to the Gandz recommendation that a healthier college bargaining environment requires that college management assume a greater sense of ownership in the bargaining process. In my view, the creation of an employers' association should lead to a more effective and efficient negotiation process.

I want to emphasize that this legislation establishes the enabling amendments for an employers' association. The timing of a fully operational employers' association will, however, be worked out in consultation with the groups affected by its implementation.

The last point that I want to touch on before I conclude my remarks is the transferring of the responsibility of the Ontario Council of Regents for Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology for collective bargaining to the employers' association.

Once the employers' association is operational, responsibility for collective bargaining will be transferred to the association from the Council of Regents.

Under the proposed legislation, the employers' association's terms of reference will be limited to collective bargaining and other matters related to employees' terms and conditions of employment as assigned by the minister. I would like to point out, however, that the Council of Regents will retain its responsibility for the college pension plan.

I strongly believe that this legislation will lead to better labour relations in the college system. It's legislation that many will say is long overdue. It is legislation that will promote good labour relations which are of course essential in helping the revitalization and reshaping of our colleges so that they will continue to provide the education and training opportunities we will need in the future.

I look forward to the comments and observations on this second reading of this bill from the members of the opposition, particularly my two critics in this portfolio, namely, the member for Nepean and the member for London North.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments on the minister's opening remarks on the second reading of Bill 23?

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I'm a little too close to this to make much of a comment and I certainly won't say what I think—except this. In my time in this Legislature, I don't know a place where collective bargaining has been a bigger mess, a total jackpot. I guess I'm partly responsible for that, so I'm very excited that a new day is about to dawn; that Paddy Musson and friends will be singing hallelujahs till kingdom come with the passing of this legislation. I am very hopeful and I'm very expectant that those unbelievable labour disputes in the community college system of the 1980s will now be history, and that we will enter into a very calm, placid, peaceful and productive era that will have no end, because I can't imagine that with the acceptance of the Gandz report, as it has been accepted in this legislation, that any other outcome is possible.

Hon Mr Allen: I think the point is equity, not utopia.

Mr Conway: I'm all for equity—boy, am I for equity. What I say is, in my view, a criticism of government, of the council, of OPSEU and of the chairs of the various institutions. I heard what the minister said and I wish him well, and I hope that the public interest is going to receive some attention as we make these changes.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): I've got a question. Actually, I want some elaboration from the minister. I think he said that different bargaining units will be available for part-time and full-time employees because, if I understood him correctly, sometimes their interests clash. If I got that part of the statement correct, I'd like to ask him what will have precedence: Will Bill 23 override Bill 40, the Ontario Labour Relations Act, or will it be the other way around? My understanding of the OLRA is that part-time and full-time employees will be able to belong to the same bargaining unit. So in the one instance, according to the government, belonging to the same bargaining unit is in the best interests of the workers, yet according to Bill 23 belonging to different bargaining units is in the best interests of the employees.

That warrants some elaboration. I would, first of all, want to find out whether my understanding of the minister's explanation is correct and, second, if it is, which will have precedence, Bill 23 or Bill 40?

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? We have no further participation. The honourable minister has two minutes in response.

Hon Mr Allen: Do I understand then, Mr Speaker, that there is no further debate on the bill and that I might wind up?

The Acting Speaker: Yes, there is further debate. We are now asking for a two-minute response to the participants in questions and/or comments. Would the honourable minister have a two-minute response?

Hon Mr Allen: No.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

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Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean): Even though it is rather advanced in the hour, the minister is quite correct that this is a very important topic that we are discussing. I think this bill has the potential of significantly altering labour relations in the college system in the province, hopefully for the better. I think we would all be in support of that. It also has the potential of having very significant effects on the Treasurer of Ontario, and in that regard of course on the taxpayer. From that financial perspective it is also a matter of substantial interest to the people of Ontario.

Seeing that this matter is of such importance, I must say I was very surprised that the minister only about two weeks ago introduced Bill 23 for first reading, even though, as he just said in his opening statements, he announced his intentions a full year ago. In fact, it was in May 1991 that the minister pretty well said the very same things he said tonight and in his press release on the introduction of the actual bill at first reading. It was a full year ago that he said he was going to do what he did a year later. I wonder what took so long to bring in that legislation, since most of it was in fact recommended by Mr Gandz, who prepared a report for the previous government.

Then I was even more surprised when I saw on the so-called "must have" list—and I will explain what is meant by this "must have" list—that the government House leader, I presume on the instruction of the Minister of Colleges and Universities, wanted to have second and third reading right away, before the House adjourns. The "must have" list is the list of legislation—this is for the benefit of the viewers who may still be up watching us instead of the late-night show—the government is particularly keen on passing before the House adjourns for the summer recess. This legislation, according to the government House leader, is one of top urgency and top priority. I'm seriously wondering why all of a sudden that urgency. Frankly, I think I've found the answer.

Perhaps I'm being a little sceptical and somewhat sarcastic, which I don't like to be, but when I heard that the NDP was having its annual convention in Hamilton last weekend, I wondered whether perhaps the minister was particularly keen to at least keep the promise of introducing legislation to some of the very strong NDP support groups that admittedly are union members. I must say I have a sneaky suspicion that the urgency all of a sudden of having this matter passed came from the approaching convention in Hamilton. At least when it came to the accountability session,

the Minister of Colleges and Universities could say, "I have introduced this particular bill," which is of such keen interest to the union movement, in particular in the college system. At least he could say, "I've introduced it for first reading and here it is." So much for the urgency of this matter. That's why I don't see how we could pass this bill, all in one swoop, from second to third reading.

In terms of urgency, there are other matters that relate to the college and university system that are at least of equal importance. For example, he has introduced legislation on university crown foundations. He has the support of all three parties in the House on that; I think he could have introduced this particular legislation for second and third reading as well. Perhaps the opportunity to do that will still present itself. I'm sure that legislation would be very welcome to the university community, as this particular legislation would be welcome to the teaching and support staff at the community colleges.

In terms of the actual content of the legislation, I did in fact bring with me a copy of this Gandz report that was referred to several times today. Frankly it took me a while to get a copy of this report. It's a little bit faded already. Sometimes I wonder. There are a lot of studies being done by government and a lot of money being spent. Perhaps it keeps some of our university professors busy, because this particular report was in fact prepared by a university professor.

It's a rather thick report, not as thick as some of the other reports; in fact one of them we got today. Sometimes you think, "Will these reports ever be of any use?" But I have found now several times in my legislative career, which now spans almost five years, that these reports do have a rather long life and at various times of the legislative development they do come back to the attention either of a new minister, or in this case of a new government. So for those who prepare these reports and who I'm sure spend a lot of time and a lot of effort putting them together, there is hope that there will come a day when some of their recommendations are seriously introduced and looked at by the Legislature. This particular Gandz report, which was completed in 1988, is now in fact being looked at and its main recommendations are being proposed by the government as the policy of this Legislature and of the government.

I would like to start by making reference to the concluding comments Mr Gandz put together in this report. Mr Speaker, with your permission, I would like to quote. It's a bit lengthy, but given the fact that Mr Gandz did put together a report of some 300 pages and perhaps thought his report would never see the light of day, I think it's worthwhile to put some of his overall reflections on the legislative record. I think they are still valid today, and valid not just for this particular legislation but for the community college system in general and for higher education. He wrote as follows:

"For Ontario, the challenges of the next few years are going to be enormous. The need to be increasingly competitive in an era of technological innovation and expansion of the global economy has never been greater. The colleges have an important role to play in preparing young

people to meet those challenges and in re-educating and retraining adult workers to lead satisfying and productive lives by mastering new technologies and building their skills in developing sectors of the economy."

Frankly, my point here is that these are very significant insights that are worthy of being repeated here because they're still extremely valid. I go on in quoting, "Whatever direction the colleges develop in, it is hard to imagine our society being able to build its base of valuable human assets without major contributions from the college sector." I certainly agree with this particular statement.

"This kind of challenge should make the years ahead exciting ones for those who are involved in education and training"—and it should make the minister proud of being able to be involved in this particular challenge. "There are real opportunities for innovation. The colleges, with their orientation toward the workplace and the community, their flexible structures and their relatively responsive governance systems, should be exciting places to work and build satisfying careers.

"While technology is increasingly having an impact on the way students learn and are taught, no one is forecasting the demise of the skilled and motivated teacher. Teaching is a people business, and it is of critical importance to recruit, select, train, develop, reward and nurture those who teach in the colleges, the support staff without whom education and training could not be delivered, and those who manage and administer the system.

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"It is the excitement of this challenge"—and I fully agree with the description and the importance of this challenge—"which makes the existence of poor union-management relations so disheartening. There is a significant opportunity lost when so much energy and talent is spent fighting each other instead of working together to improve the quality and reliability of education and training.

"Where the relationships are good"—and there are many colleges where they are excellent—"people report that they have the opportunity to earn a living doing something worthwhile." Surely that is worth a great deal.

I'm skipping a few paragraphs here because time is moving on. Mr Gandz continues in his concluding remarks: "No one who has observed collective bargaining in the colleges can doubt that there's a need for change. The recommendations of this commission," the Gandz commission, "are designed to promote improvement in these relationships by removing some of the obstacles and impediments to constructive collective bargaining."

I have quoted these concluding remarks of the report to give a bit of the overall objectives and goals and purposes under which Mr Gandz was preparing his recommendations. I certainly, as I've indicated already, subscribe 100% to the overall goals that Mr Gandz has spelled out, and I'm sure the minister shares these goals.

The question now becomes, however, whether the recommendations that are being put forward that now form the core of Bill 23 before us in fact do meet this challenge that Mr Gandz has put out in front of us. Are we in fact going to give the college system, through this particular legislation, the tools and the ability to fulfil its vital role in

higher education? I think there are some legitimate questions that can be asked around these particular recommendations whether in fact they will achieve these objectives. I think the member for Renfrew North has already put a few of them on the record.

One of the key concerns obviously is the cost that will be associated with this particular legislation. Again to refer back to the Gandz report, when Mr Gandz was explaining the need for extending bargaining rights to part-timers—and it's part-timers, in fact, who teach less than six hours per week. Currently part-time people who teach more than six hours a week are already included in the Colleges Collective Bargaining Act. They have the right to organize. We're talking about the ones who will be teaching less than six hours a week.

What Mr Gandz is saying is that: "The issue of part-time employees has been a continuing source of frustration for the union and a recurrent problem in collective bargaining. Although these employees are not union members or members of bargaining units represented by OPSEU, the union has felt compelled to try to represent them."

The following sentence I think is very important: "While some of this is motivated by genuine concern for the plight of part-time and sessional employees, it is also motivated by healthy self-interest."

I don't think we should overlook that. I think it's quite fair to say, especially when we look at the overall economic climate out there, that there is definitely a trend by employers to hire more and more part-time people, and through that perhaps avoid some of the benefits that legitimately accrue to workers, to which they should be entitled. Certainly my party and I would not want to fall into the trap of not giving legitimate employee benefits to part-time workers.

On the other hand, we must realize that unions, when they strive for the bargaining rights of part-timers, are motivated, as Mr Gandz said here in the report, not just by concern for the part-timers and their wellbeing, but also, as he says here: "by healthy self-interest. If part-time and sessional employees are less expensive to employ because of lower salaries and benefits, or if they can be used more flexibly because they do not have access to layoff and recall procedures, then the employer is tempted to convert more and more positions to part-time status and to staff new positions with part-timers or sessionals. Without extreme vigilance on the part of the union, this would lead to a leakage of jobs from the bargaining units, a threat to their members' job security and a loss of union dues revenue."

As we can see here, the reason OPSEU has for quite some time been very forcefully pushing the government to extend the bargaining rights obviously relates to its own self-interest because it is concerned. If colleges are able to hire too many part-timers, then their own salary negotiations and benefit negotiations will not be as powerful as they could be if they're all members of bargaining units.

So obviously then what we expect from this particular legislation—and if the bargaining units are established at the colleges, as the minister has indicated, it is of course the employees themselves who have to request certification; it's not automatic—eventually, I'm sure, we will see

an increase in the overall costs to the college community. Of course, since the college community for the most part relies on the provincial Treasurer to pay its bills, we will see increased costs to the public purse. In fact, I spoke with several college presidents and administrators, and that is a very sincere concern they have.

That concern is even stronger now because we have seen, as you know, Mr Speaker, a severe cutback in the increase of the transfer payments to universities and colleges. We know that while they have experienced a cutback in transfer payments they are at the same time experiencing a tremendous growth in enrolment, so the financial pressures on the college community are already extremely strong. In light of that, one has to wonder whether an initiative is timely that has the immediate potential to bring in additional significant costs to the college community.

Perhaps in his response later on as we continue to debate this bill the minister could indicate to us whether he has any idea what the cost to the Treasurer might be of this particular provision. I would be most interested to hear the minister's comments on this.

Seeing that we're getting very close to the time for adjournment, I did want to put on the record a few comments that were passed on to the minister, I'm sure, and also to me, from the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario. These comments refer to the other aspects of the legislation, because there are two dimensions to this legislation. There is the dimension of extending bargaining rights and there is also the dimension of establishing an employers' association that will do the bargaining for the colleges in the future rather than the Council of Regents.

ACAATO is in support of the establishment of an employers' association. In principle it is in favour. However, again, it has a serious concern about the funding of this new organization. As Keith McIntyre, the chair of the Council of Presidents of the colleges, said, "as long as this new agency is properly resourced."

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They have expressed the very serious and I think very legitimate concern that moneys for this new agency will be taken out of the existing budget of the colleges and therefore there will be less money available for the department work the colleges are already doing right now. They are making the recommendation, "Please make sure that our funding is not reduced in order to establish this new employers' association."

Also, they recommend very strongly—and I'm sure the minister will be open to this—that this new employers' association work very closely with ACAATO. In fact, in this memo I'm referring to from Mr McIntyre, he is offering the office facilities of ACAATO for the use of this new employers' association to keep costs at a minimum.

Finally, they also make the point that, before we move to a strike situation in the negotiations that may be taking place between the employers' association and the bargaining units, the final offers of both parties should be provided to the entire bargaining unit by the College Relations Commission before any strike vote is taken. In view of that very strong recommendation, I think the minister should

pay attention very carefully to this request by Mr McIntyre. We all know that.

The former Minister of Colleges and Universities, the member for Renfrew North, has rightfully pointed out some of the very—"disastrous" is perhaps too strong a word—negative consequences of some of the strikes we have seen in the community college system. I have Algonquin College in my own riding and I received many calls a few years ago when we had a strike at Algonquin College about the impact of that strike on the students.

The college presidents are extremely concerned to make sure the final offers of both parties are presented to all the bargaining unit members for their full information, so that all members of the union are speaking from clear, objective information. ACAATO feels the College Relations Commission should be given that responsibility. It would feel much more comfortable with this legislation if this provision was looked into.

Just to be very clear again, I quote from the memo from Keith McIntyre to the assistant deputy minister:

"Such an important issue as a strike vote should not be allowed to occur in the college sector unless the information from both college management and union on which the important strike vote is being taken has been presented in a totally objective, unambiguous and impartial manner to the bargaining unit members."

Again, I should indicate that the general principle of the establishment of an employers' association does not seem to be a contentious issue. I've spoken with quite a few people, and if there is enough funding for this new organization, which of course is a big proviso, the community would be happy to see the responsibility for the bargaining move from the Council of Regents to this new employers' association. Mind you, it is a question as to who establishes the members of the employers' association, and we haven't really touched on that yet. I rather wonder what the minister has in mind there, because a concern of the college community is who will in fact represent them on the employers' association.

I wonder what will be left to do for the Council of Regents once the new employers' association has been established. Obviously, up to now they have been involved in a very major way in the development of negotiations, and that was a very major part of their responsibility. What is the responsibility of the Council of Regents once that employers' association is set up?

I see that some of the members opposite, not sitting in their seats, are trying to draw all kinds of sign language to me. Oh, I think I understand now. The Minister of Health is trying to indicate to me that some of the other members will want to speak. I'm sure that in due course they will be given ample opportunity to speak to this legislation, which is a very important, one, but I still want to put on the record a few aspects which are very important about this legislation.

One, in particular, is what I consider somewhat excessive powers that are being given to the cabinet. When I look at the bill and section 94, it isn't really the bill that establishes the bargaining units and it's not the bill that says part-timers should have the right to bargain collectively; it is:

"The Lieutenant Governor in Council"—in other words the cabinet—"may make regulations,

"(a) prescribing one or more bargaining units of employees;

"(b) authorizing the Ontario Labour Relations Board to combine designated bargaining units into one unit upon such conditions as may be prescribed;

"(c) governing the continuation of the status of a bargaining unit when its composition is changed; and

"(d) governing the continuation of the status of a bargaining agent for a continued bargaining unit."

That gives tremendous power to cabinet. In this House, very often the deep concern has been raised that the government, through its regulations process, is given an inordinate amount of responsibility without the control of the Legislature. Certainly with this particular provision, the minister very much falls into that very dangerous trap.

We have seen no regulations at all yet. He's leaving himself any kind of option open. He says, "Give me the authority and I will act in your best interests." That's fine, but unfortunately, as an opposition, we're just not as credulous, you may call it. We have the responsibility to be critical about the actions that seem to be taken by the government and that it may very well use not in favour of the people of Ontario but in disfavour of the people of Ontario.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. When we next reconvene to debate Bill 23, the honourable member for Nepean will have the floor. It now being 12 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until later today at 10 of the clock this morning.

The House adjourned at 2400.

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Jeudi 25 juin 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Thursday 25 June 1992

The House met at 1002.

Prayers.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

PROVINCIAL PUBLIC CONSULTATION ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 SUR LA CONSULTATION POPULAIRE À L'ÉCHELLE PROVINCIALE

Mr Turnbull moved second reading of Bill 30, An Act to obtain the Opinion of the Public on Questions of Provincial Interest / Loi visant à obtenir l'opinion du public sur des questions d'intérêt provincial.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): The honourable member for York Mills has 10 minutes for his opening remarks.

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): I am pleased to present my private member's bill, the Provincial Public Consultation Act, 1992, for debate, and I appreciate the opportunity to speak on behalf of all the citizens who are demanding a more active role in our democracy, more than just a vote on the election ballot. My bill allows for the referendum question to be placed on provincial election ballots by either the provincial government or private citizens who obtain the signatures of 15% of eligible voters on a petition.

A referendum is a vote of all eligible voters in a jurisdiction on a proposed question on a matter of public policy or law. In ancient democracies, like the Greek city states and the Teutonic tribes, each citizen had the right to express an opinion and to vote on each and every decision affecting the state or tribe. As countries got larger and populations increased, this practice became impossible and had to be discontinued. Modern technology now allows this process to be reconstituted in the form of a referendum.

If citizens in countries like Switzerland and the USA can assume more political responsibility, I believe Ontarians can equally well. The information explosion in the past 40 years, combined with increased education, means our citizens are ready and able to use referenda successfully. Citizens who have to live with the effects of legislation should at least be allowed to have their say on it.

A new-found enthusiasm for direct democracy in the form of referenda is spreading right across Canada. In June 1991 the Quebec National Assembly passed a bill which empowers the Quebec government to hold a referendum on constitutional matters. In October 1991 elections held in both Saskatchewan and British Columbia, referendum questions were placed on the ballot. It is indeed time that Ontario offered its citizens the same rights and privileges.

Turning to the need for this bill, the first point is citizen mistrust. The mood of the citizenry is one of anger and mistrust. Voters are tired of the undue influence upon legislation by individuals and organizations representing so-

called special interests. It is apparent that many Ontarians are feeling a sense of frustration at their inability to affect the policies of government. I believe this is responsible for the growing lack of respect for our political system and for politicians in general. Parliament and government are in danger of losing the respect and trust of the citizenry. If respect for government is lost, respect for law and order can also be lost.

Citizens want legislation which is more responsive to their wishes and the needs of the majority. They want government which is more accountable to the voters. Too many times all three parties take the same position on controversial pieces of legislation, for example, on separate school funding and the French Language Services Act, and those citizens opposed do not feel that their point of view receives a fair airing.

I quote from an address by Allan Gregg, the president of Decima polling company, made at a gathering of bankers and academics last year: "There has been a wholesale loss of faith in government. The population is not willing to let the government manage a two-hole outhouse." Gregg told the group that in 13 years of polling he's never seen Canadians so cynical, rudderless and full of hopelessness.

I hope my bill will address those concerns and show that Ontario legislators are open and willing to listen to its citizens, encourage public participation and trust voters with more responsibility in the decision-making process.

My second point is the sense of alienation. Many of my constituents have expressed dismay at the effectiveness of the opposition in influencing a majority government determined to pass legislation. I know many of my caucus members and fellow legislators from both other parties have also expressed the same sentiments. All too often the opinions of the legislators are ignored and bypassed by cabinet, with little or no consultation with the public. This bill may lessen the sense of alienation the public has from its government.

1010

The results of a referendum may well support passage of the legislation, but citizens would have an opportunity to express their opinions in a meaningful way, and they would have proof that the majority of the population supported the idea. Following a referendum, everyone has an obligation to support the majority decision.

NDP members should know that one of their gurus, Ralph Nader, believes that referenda can politically activate people who ordinarily would not be part of the political process. A referendum results in active citizen participation in the political process. If we are trying to buy people back into the political process, then this bill will help.

My third point is that it leads to the acceptance of legislation. Presently government does not need to consult with the people before passing far-reaching or controversial legislation. However, if ideas of government or even

all three parties lack public support, they lead to public resentment and resistance. A referendum would lead to a full airing of both sides and give the government an opportunity to garner support for its position. It will mean greater public support and acceptance of controversial legislation.

On the question of support, I wish to read from a press release prepared by the Citizens' Initiative and Referendum Committee.

"We...support David Turnbull's Bill 30 and its clear vision of the direction of much-needed reform of our Canadian and Ontario political systems.

"David Turnbull's Bill 30 will hopefully find support from those MPPs who trust the common sense and goodwill of Ontario's citizenry.

"To be against David Turnbull's advances in Bill 30 is to be against trusting the citizenry and against fuller living for the citizenry.

"There is a tremendous amount of unused talent in the citizenry of Ontario and Canada. Let's bring out the best in that citizenry."

I would like to thank the Citizens' Initiative and Referendum Committee for its fine words of support. Just this week they brought to the leaders of the three parties here at the Ontario Legislature petitions containing the names of almost 2,000 voters who want the right to have referenda.

Individual voters should have the opportunity to make their voices heard on issues of importance. The demand for this type of citizen involvement is growing and will, I predict, become such a groundswell that any government that ignores it does so at its own peril.

My referendum bill is non-binding because the courts are likely to declare unconstitutional legislation which states that a referendum automatically becomes law when it is approved by the voters in a referendum triggered by a signature drive, which is the American model. Such a bill would constitute a new legislative process in which the Lieutenant Governor played no role. In the past, the courts have held that this kind of legislation alters the Office of the Lieutenant Governor and therefore violates section 92(1) of the Constitution Act, 1867.

However, a bill which provides that when a ballot question is passed by the electorate in a referendum—the government is required to submit legislation to the Legislative Assembly implementing the proposed measure—is likely to be acceptable to the courts. Also constitutionally acceptable would be a bill providing for a reference to the electorate of legislation already passed by the Legislature.

To stop frivolous use: The common concern I have heard from those opposed to allowing referendum is that it could be used frivolously by special interest groups. I have taken several steps to guard against this: the 15% requirement of voters' signatures on the petition requesting a referendum is the highest of any jurisdiction that allows citizen-initiated referendum; the results are non-binding on the Legislature; and to be considered successful 60% of the voters must vote one way on a question in which at least 50% of those eligible vote. I believe these requirements will eliminate the likelihood of trivial questions ending up on the ballot.

In conclusion, I am not suggesting that my bill is a cure-all for the problems of our democracy or that it will solve citizen alienation, but it can help. It is a vehicle requiring the government to be more responsive to the feelings of the electorate. It can help people by having more responsibility given to them.

The Acting Speaker: Each party will now have 15 minutes to participate in Mr Turnbull's private bill number 30.

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): First of all, I'd like to say that I was here last Thursday to debate this bill and the member for York Mills didn't come to work that day. I'm very annoyed. This bill today should have gone to 132 on the list. It's really thrown a wrench into my bill that's coming up because I've been backlashed, and I want to let the people of York Mills know that the member didn't show up.

The Acting Speaker: Order. We're here to debate Mr Turnbull's private bill number 30. I would appreciate it if the honourable member could address his remarks to the Chair. Thank you.

Mr Mills: The member's bill calls for a referendum question to be placed on provincial election ballots either by the provincial government or by private citizens who obtain signatures of 15% of eligible voters on a petition.

At first blush, or should I say first flush, the idea seems to be sort of sensible until you stop and give it a little thought. The member maintains that the public will feel less alienated from government if they have the right to referendums. He goes on to say that the public feels the opposition parties have too little influence on a majority government and that there is too little public consultation.

Having followed the political scene in Ontario for many years before I was elected to the Legislature, I used to have great sympathy with the thoughts of the member for York Mills during the reign of the Progressive Conservative Party. In those days, and I can speak with a great deal of knowledge, to get the ear of that government under the reign of the God Emperor himself, William Davis, you either had to have an inside contact or know someone with rank within that party. Anything less would have been talking to a blank wall. That's true.

Today things are very different. We have a government that is open to all the people of Ontario. We have consulted with more people in Ontario than any other government of our time, all this in spite of the opposition's cynical attitude towards the consultations which this government has done in unprecedented numbers.

Effective consultation has taken place on many important issues and has resulted in improved legislation and policy. We have consulted on the custody and support legislation, we've consulted on rent controls, on health care issues, and we have consulted and will continue to consult on the Ontario Labour Relations Act regulations and so on, on many more important issues. We have heard from people from all walks of life and from various circumstances. Consultation with the voters of Ontario has become second nature to this government.

Our representative system of government in Ontario has the advantage of decision-making by a select group of

individuals who are chosen by the public to show responsible leadership and to protect the interests of the communities which they represent in this Legislature. The system allows the decisions we make to be made by those who have the time and the inclination to develop a much fuller and deeper understanding of the complex issues of the public agenda and the difficult choice of options in finding solutions.

1020

The member's bill begs the question of what's wrong with it, and that question needs to be answered. The danger of all referendums is not that they will be used frivolously, as the member has suggested, but that they could be used by special-interest groups to force very substantial and serious policy changes that would be contrary to the public interest. They allow for a mass appeal to the lowest common denominator, appealing to the most fickle of public opinion, which can be manipulated by advertising and public relations techniques that oversimplify and distort issues and options. The outcomes of referendums depend less on a thoughtful, well-considered and well-informed expression of opinion than on the manipulation of marketing and polling techniques, timing, exact wording of the question and the shifting context of recent events.

It's easy to appeal to common public fears and prey on ignorance in dealing with issues such as government spending and taxes, the fear of being a victim of crime in seeking changes to the criminal justice system, and misinformation, prejudice and misunderstanding regarding social assistance. We have had many examples of just that in recent weeks: prejudice with respect to immigration, refugee and language issues and the carefully orchestrated negative public perception of unions as demonstrated in the campaign against the amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act.

If the member's bill were to become law upon third reading and subsequent royal assent, we could have referendums placed on provincial election ballots which are totally out of keeping with the traditions we hold very dear in Ontario. These traditions centre around tolerance and respect for others of different customs and cultures. It's not very hard to imagine the kind of referendum items that could be brought forward by 15% of the people led by a special-interest lobby group that would result in very ugly and divisive campaigns and possibly very harmful outcomes. The prospect to me is alarming.

In closing, I would not be fair in this debate if I did not concede that there may be occasions when a referendum is a useful tool of public consultation. It is a tool that must be wielded with great caution and, I believe, very sparingly. With those thoughts, I will conclude by saying that based on what I've said and my perception of referendums and, lately, some of the things the leader of the Reform Party has said which are frightening as they pertain to referendums, I will not be supporting this bill as put forward by the member for York Mills.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): I rise now to speak to this bill. I was quite taken aback by the thoughts brought forward by the member for Durham East, who usually is

quite measured in his interventions. I think what has been lost on the honourable member, and perhaps others who are concerned about referendums, is the fact that what the member for York Mills has done is struggle with the whole issue which surrounds this chamber today, that is, how do we convince the public that this is a place of open and reasoned debate, measured activity designed to reach the public good?

The concern expressed by the member for Durham East about the manner in which the former Progressive Conservative administrations operated in terms of consultation is a speech which was perhaps well made in days of opposition. It might even be extended by some unsympathetic person to the way the former Liberal administration worked in its days in office, and at a time when the New Democratic Party's administration is but a memory, somebody will extend to it the same kindness with respect to the adequacy of its consultation.

By and large, what happens is that the people who are in charge of government, either at the executive level or at the bureaucratic level, attempt the best way possible to garner what they believe to be sufficient evidence to support their cause before they move. I am generous enough of opinion, experienced enough in both the role of opposition and in government, to understand that there is today a complexity of our society which precludes us from reaching a large degree of consensus among all the people of the province.

What happens when we face particularly difficult times, as we find ourselves now facing, is a sense that: "Nobody is listening. The people we elect cannot be seen to be listening if they don't agree with us, because I still feel as a citizen of this province that nothing is benefiting me that goes on in the provincial chamber." It's that difficulty—

Mr Paul Klopp (Huron): Oh.

Mr Elston: The member for Huron doesn't even understand what I'm saying. I'm saying that the people are feeling pressures that don't seem to be addressed here in this chamber. The sense I have is that each administration—Tory, Liberal or New Democrat—will do the best it can with its consultations. I don't believe for one moment that there is any administration that has precluded consultation. The style may be completely different, and I'm prepared to admit that; I don't disagree with that. But the consultation has occurred, and while our way may not be taken at a particular time as an interest in the public—you may decide, for instance, not to support an amendment to the building code which allows me as a farm person to use ungraded lumber. I may lose that day and I feel, after it's all been debated here and in the committee to which that bill is now going, that nobody listens because my way has not been heard, because when I'm under pressure and I need relief, I don't take kindly to hearing the word no.

This is nothing more here than a council chamber, a council chamber for 130 ridings in this province where we as members represent to the best of our abilities the views from our constituents, and at times of extreme stress, which is what our province is now under, at times of extreme stress

for the country, which is what we now feel, the people who are unhappy with the problems of the day would like to find some place to be heard, but they know not how to do it. "I can write a letter," they say, "I can telephone your office," they say, "I can write to the Premier," they say, "But does anybody hear? Does anybody really listen?"

What is so difficult for me to accept in listening to the remarks from the member for Durham East is that he has passed that whole concern by in expressing his concern about referenda and merrily strides beyond the issue which the member for York Mills is trying to address: It is struggling to find a way to have us look like and be like the people want us to be, that is, open for debate, accessible to debate, movable in listening to the arguments. For me, that's all this bill as a private member's bill represents, an attempt to find some way to say to the public, "We want to provide the very access that you are longing for."

It is not a ticket for any special-interest group to use to get its way, because in our society, the complexities of our interests, the dynamics of our province and of our country are such that we cannot be moved by a single-interest group against the will of the majority, referendum or no, and in particular when a referendum is not even binding.

1030

While I accept that the member for Durham East does not like the idea of a debate around referendum, I think it would have been more wise had he provided for us a sense that he understood what the member for York Mills was at least trying to address, that is, the frustration of the citizens of our province and of our country with all elected officials and all our institutions.

That is why I will support this bill, not because I'm a fan of referendum necessarily, but because I believe if I'm elected to represent the people in my riding, I am elected to find the will of my riding and then to speak in that regard with respect to particular issues if I'm allocated the time.

That would take me into a whole series of issues around what is happening with the rules here, but I won't at this stage. I only say that now the complexities are such that I cannot foresee referendum being the end of sort of consensus. I don't see this bill, if taken into committee, as being sort of the ticket for special interest to override all of us, because, in the end, each of us, as representatives of our constituencies, make decisions about how relevant a particular special interest is to our own area and what benefit it has. It is the role we play as backbenchers, the only executive function we practise. We make a decision with respect to what we see the interest being in terms of the public good in our areas, and sometimes we're influenced a little bit by our partisan allegiances.

I believe in certain things. I believe in the enterprise we practise in Ontario where people can make profit. I believe in the fairness of the distribution of that profit to the people who live here in the province. I believe in the way in which we assemble government funds and try to distribute them rationally. I even would suggest that my friend the member for Nickel Belt is engaged in that exercise now, although we may have some difficulties with the amounts of money he's giving out and the places he's putting those.

I don't think there's a great deal of difficulty with the concept that is being practised here in this province, but I come at it from a different perspective than some of my friends on the other side who perhaps are not as convinced as I am that the development of businesses that are profitable to earn money to pay to employees and to reinvest in our economy is the right way to go. I'm not a fan of total central control of our activities. I would even say that the New Democratic Party here, although espousing a number of those principles opposed to my view, is very soft on the totally centralized economy.

The whole reason for the debate this morning is not to have the member for York Mills's vote carry so that a business lobby can defeat the Ontario Labour Relations Act or so that Sunday shopping can be defeated by the union organizers who don't like it or so that somebody can't come in here and defeat the marketing boards in agriculture.

Interjection.

Mr Elston: The member for Durham East says it's all about money. Referendum may be well financed, but the signatures on the bottom line cannot be bought. The will of this chamber, in my view, cannot be bought. The members in this chamber, any one of them, cannot be purchased, and it cannot be possible when referendum is not binding to have, as indicated by the member for Durham East, money buying my consent. I believe fully it is not possible to buy any one of the consents of any one of my colleagues in the New Democratic Party, in the Conservative Party or in the Liberal Party. It cannot be that this referendum bill would allow that to occur.

In the end when it's not binding, you see, the decisions ultimately reside with me and with my friend the member for Simcoe East, a member of immense experience both provincially and municipally. It cannot be that it would be binding, or at least binding to the extent that the member for Simcoe Centre would make a decision against the public will merely because there is a referendum well orchestrated.

Mr Speaker, I think it's interesting for me, in any event, to consider what might have happened had we had a referendum on Sunday shopping, or maybe we should have had a referendum on the labour bill itself. You know what would happen. I would think that if you really sat down and looked at what would happen on Sunday shopping, it would not have passed a referendum in the 1990 election, at least by the experience I felt in my constituency. In fact, a number of the New Democrat members were elected with substantial help from the anti-Sunday shopping lobby. Isn't that interesting? I think it's interesting.

Having said that, and thinking that the election of 1990 would have told a whole group of the New Democrats that they should not have Sunday shopping, where are we today? We are today with wide-open Sunday shopping done totally without a referendum.

What what was it? What sufficiently well-financed lobby was it that changed their view? It wasn't a referendum. It wasn't the member for Welland-Thorold. My God, everybody knows what he says about Sunday shopping and everybody knows what he says about his party. It was

not a referendum, but it was a sense that the will of the public good has moved the party away from its position in 1990.

What would happen, Mr Speaker, if we took the honourable member for York Mills's bill out to committee and actually went out and talked to some people about the idea that there was another way to get to their members? I'm using what I would say is the common expression in my riding: "What does it take to get to you people?"—not to get you, but to get to you. "How is it that I know you really do express the concerns I have?" I'm doing what a lot of members do regularly: I am writing replies to letters. Some of these were form letters, but letters from people in my constituency, some from Welland-Thorold, some from Scarborough riding, some from Oshawa—

Mr David Winninger (London South): Any in London?

Mr Elston: Actually I had one from London. These were all people who are concerned about Bill 162, the Game and Fish Act, which of course causes difficulty for the people all over the province who are engaged in the practice of hunting. These are people who for years and years have enjoyed hunting and who are owners of hunting dogs.

They are concerned, and they want to know that we're going to have something to say about the Game and Fish Act, which of course we will. I understand from my colleague the member for Algoma-Manitoulin that it will probably find its way to a public committee someplace, so we can make sure there are some amendments which will address the concerns of the women and men who comprise the list of contributors to the opinion-making around Bill 162.

They want to know that there is something real that comes out of these letters. All I can say is that the member for York Mills has touched the right key. He probably has not touched the right solution in a whole series of minds, but he's touched the right key. We, as private members, have to understand what will make our roles here more effectively felt in the ridings, and that the voters can sense when they go to the polls in the next election that their vote will count for more than just the election of a person on that date and that it will have a continuing and abiding influence on the member. If it isn't just letters that can be sent, maybe the referendum is a tool that would help.

I've got more to say. I regret to say that my time has expired, but I support the idea that, as members of this Legislature, we ought to struggle very hard to find more ways to let our people know that their expressions of concern are heard and that they count.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on Mr Turnbull's private member's bill number 30? The honourable member for Simcoe West.

1040

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): It's my very great pleasure to rise this morning and speak in support of my colleague for York Mills's private member's Bill 30, An Act to obtain the Opinion of the Public on Questions of

Provincial Interest, known as the Provincial Public Consultation Act, 1992.

I also want to commend the former speaker, the Liberal member for Bruce, for what I thought was a very well reasoned and supportive debate this morning. It flies in direct contrast to the previous NDP speaker, the member for Durham East, Mr Mills, who, I would say, has either totally missed the boat on this or totally missed the boat on what in the world he's doing here on behalf of his constituents from Durham East.

I think we must get past the day, and I had hoped that long gone was the day when members of this Legislature or the Parliament in Ottawa would, as members of the governing side, take decisions from Monday to Thursday while they're at Queen's Park or Ottawa and then go back and lecture their constituents on weekends and tell them what's good for them.

That has been the style of Bob Rae and Brian Mulroney, and I tell you, Mr Speaker, that style is no longer acceptable to the people of Ontario. They do not want us to go back on weekends and tell them what's good for them because we've taken closed-door decisions or the government's taken unilateral decisions here at Queen's Park or in Ottawa.

This bill is designed to give the public a greater voice on the issues of the day and, in the process, restore its faith in politicians and in the political process. We inherited a good political process from our ancestors, and I dare say that process has been abused from time to time because of members like the member for Durham East who show a clear arrogance and a clear misunderstanding of what their role is as members of provincial Parliament. I think the member for Bruce expressed very eloquently what the purpose of this morning's legislation is and what the purpose and role of the member of provincial Parliament is, which is to speak up on behalf of your constituents.

I always say to my constituents that you either have faith in the collective wisdom of the people of Ontario or you don't. If you don't, you shouldn't be here because they're tired of being lectured to and told what's good for them by members who feel that somehow they're superior to the will of the people. That's not acceptable.

This bill would allow for a referendum question to be placed on provincial election ballots by individual citizens or the provincial government if 15% of eligible voters sign a petition. I want to take a moment, on behalf of my colleague the member for York Mills, to explain some of the guts of this bill.

If at least 50% of the electors vote in the referendum, with 60% voting the same way, then a minister of the crown is required to introduce a bill into the provincial Parliament here that proposes to implement the results of the referendum. However, the act does not bind the minister or any other members of this Parliament to vote on the bill in any particular way. The bill this morning provides specific provisions that guard against the tendency to use referendums for frivolous purposes. I think my colleague the member for York Mills touched upon that in his remarks.

The 15% requirement of eligible voters is the highest of any jurisdiction that permits citizen-initiated referendums.

Again, the results are non-binding on the Legislature, but the important part of the bill and the process as outlined in the bill is that the minister of the crown must introduce the outcome of the question of that referendum into this Parliament so the people have the opportunity to have their legislators debate that important issue on their behalf. Mass participation is guaranteed in this legislation by ensuring that referendums are endorsed by a minimum of 60% in an election in which at least 50% of those who are eligible to vote cast their ballots.

There are three types of referenda in use throughout the world. One is constitutional, and some political jurisdictions have constitutions that require that if certain measures are to be adopted by the government, they first must be approved by the people before they take effect. An example of this is a constitutional amendment itself. The government has exclusive power to decide the contents and timing of the amendment, but the referendum determines whether this amendment becomes part of that country's or that jurisdiction's constitution.

Two is an advisory referendum. An advisory, often referred to as contingent, referendum is one where the government decides that a law passed by the Legislature will only become law once it is ratified by the voters. An advisory referendum is called to solicit the views of the electorate on some matter. Again, however, the result is not binding on the government.

The third type is commonly referred to as the initiative. This type of referendum enables the voters to vote on a measure before it becomes law. It differs from both the constitutional and the advisory referenda because the decision to hold a referendum originates with the electorate and not the government itself.

For the benefit of all members in the House I want to briefly touch upon some of the background with respect to referenda throughout the world, in the United States and in Switzerland particularly.

All members are aware that the US has a long history of both government referenda and citizen initiatives. Currently 23 states and the District of Columbia use the initiative, while 25 states and also again the District of Columbia use the straight referendum.

In the past 20 years the initiative has become increasingly popular in the US. In the November 1988 elections there were more than 200 initiatives on the ballot in 41 states. In California alone there were 29 initiatives on the ballot. Thirty-five per cent to 45% of the more than 1,500 citizen-initiated ballot measures have won approval in the US, which is a remarkable track record.

Arguably, I think that all members and citizens would agree that the most famous modern-day initiative was Proposition 13 in California. This 1978 initiative slashed property taxes by half and forced significant cuts in the size of the public service.

I want to just touch upon some of the remarks made by the member for Durham East by simply pointing out that the results in the US indicate that the initiative is a politically neutral instrument—ie, no one's special interest, either individual or group, has benefited specifically from holding referenda. Forty-three of 96 initiatives, or 43%, that

were introduced by Liberal or left-leaning groups were successful, while 41 out of 91, or roughly 45%, of initiatives introduced by right-wing groups have met with success in the United States.

In Switzerland, direct democracy has deep historical roots. As early as the 13th century some Swiss provinces routinely made decisions by popular assent in citizen assemblies.

Any amendments to the Swiss Constitution approved by the federal government must be submitted to a popular referendum. One hundred thousand citizens, or 3% of the Swiss electorate, can trigger a referendum on a proposed amendment by affixing their names to a petition which contains the text of the proposed constitutional amendment within 18 months of the amendment's publication. The Swiss Parliament cannot change the proposed text in the constitutional amendment; however, Parliament can propose a counterproposal, which often leads to the withdrawal of the original initiative by the sponsor.

All constitutional amendments proposed in a referendum, including the counterproposal, must gain the support of a majority of voters nationally as well as a majority of the voters of the cantons or provinces. This latter provision ensures that large urban cantons do not steamroll the wishes of smaller rural cantons. In some Swiss cantons a referendum is required for all laws passed by the cantonal Parliament, with the exception of certain pieces of financial legislation.

I want to briefly touch upon a local example here in Ontario of how ballot questions have worked or, in the case of the current government, have been failed to be listened to by the government.

Last November in the municipal elections in my riding several municipalities put a referendum question on the election ballot. The question was simply, "Do you favour restructuring," a huge issue in my riding. An overwhelming number of residents voted against restructuring, but the NDP government is moving ahead with restructuring anyway. Ninety-four per cent of the voters in Sunnidale township were against restructuring. Eighty-five per cent of the voters in Nottawasaga township were against municipal restructuring being forced on them by this provincial government.

Although this municipal referendum afforded my constituents an opportunity to participate directly in the electoral process, the NDP government refused to act on their wishes.

1050

I took the results of those referenda questions to my riding and I introduced not one but two private member's bills in this Legislature in an attempt to ensure that the people of Simcoe county and particularly my riding of Simcoe West were listened to by this government. Promises made by Bob Rae when he was in opposition and now as the Premier that he would consult and listen—the problem we have is that this government may consult but it doesn't know how to listen and therefore follow up with action that's appropriate to the wishes of the people, because all it does is consult. I think it misuses the term

"consultation" and doesn't truly act on the wishes of the people.

That's reflected in the two bills I brought forward. One would have given a greater say for municipalities that did not want to be forced to restructure, a fairly simple principle but the NDP government voted against it. The second one, and this is the irony of ironies, was an attempt to move a boundary line in the town of New Tecumseth back over to Highway 27, where it had been prior to the restructuring in 1990. The Liberal government forced that restructuring, that boundary line, which was ill-conceived.

When we debated my private member's bill some three weeks ago today in this Legislature, the Liberal members, including the former Minister of Municipal Affairs who had drawn the boundary line back in 1990, got up in this Legislature and said: "I'm sorry; we made a mistake. You're right, Mr Wilson, your constituents are right and we're going to vote with you to put the boundary line back where it should have been. Sorry we made the mistake."

The irony of ironies is, for some reason that is totally mind-boggling to me and unexplained to my constituents to this day, that side of the House, the NDP, voted as a bloc against my private member's bill, which the Liberal government at the time had forced upon the people of my riding. Now in opposition the Liberals were agreeing with me to help correct the mistake of the past. These mindless NDP individuals over there were whipped by Dave Cooke, the government House leader and Minister of Municipal Affairs—

Mr Mills: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I resent the member calling me a mindless individual. That's unparliamentary.

Mr Jim Wilson: Mr Speaker, it was a rather sweeping accusation, but I'm glad one member caught on to whom I was referring to.

I'm very angry about this. I have consulted with my constituents and I have taken action in this House. I'm being stonewalled by a government that pays lip service to consultation but refuses, when given the opportunity in a very fair way—I met with Mr Cooke, the government House leader and Minister of Municipal Affairs, with a delegation last November. He was very courteous, he was willing to listen at the time, but he wasn't willing, when it came down to the crunch, to have his members agree with us and support my resolution.

I am very supportive of this morning's resolution. I think it'll bring some common sense back to government. I do not understand why the NDP government is once again not supportive of my colleague from York Mills, because he truly is trying to get you people to listen to the people of Ontario. I respect him for that and I know his constituents respect him for sticking up on their behalf.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands): Listening to the so-called debate has left me with some doubt about how I will vote on this. I certainly came prepared to support the bill of the member for York Mills because I thought it did make some interesting suggestions that should be looked at. However, with some of the support

he's received from his colleagues I must say my support has been called into question. That's in part because you have to look at where the support is coming from and I guess make some evaluation about the worthiness of the measure.

However, I will at least go into the reasons why I came here expecting to support the bill. At least the member for Simcoe West has given us the textbook case for referenda, and if he'd stuck with that I think then it would have been a lot better for the bill of the member for York Mills. Again, it's hard to think of moderation and to suggest this is a moderate case when it's been argued so intemperately by the member for Simcoe West. However, I will say that the member for York Mills does enjoy esteemed support from someone no less than Thomas Jefferson, who was the third president of the United States and said, "I know of no safe repository of the ultimate power of society but the people, and if we think them not enlightened enough, the remedy is not to take the power from them but to inform them by education."

I think that is of course one of our enduring ideals in Ontario. It certainly was reflected as recently as the convocation at Queen's University where an honorary doctorate was being conferred on John Polanyi. His opening remark to the graduates was, "Education is the hope of the world." So we can see that education is a very important element, and in fact I think referenda can play an educative function in our political life.

I don't see it either as supplementing the Legislature but complementing it. It's certainly the experience in the United States, and I don't think the member for Simcoe West has mentioned this, but it adds up to only around 1% of the bills that pass through the legislatures that have the referenda initiative. So I think there is a place for it and, as I say, this educative element is very important. When we think of the individuals who are deciding on referenda across the province, we have to remember them in the life they lead in the province. That's where their opinion on the referendum will be coming from.

That again is important: the education and where that comes from. I'd like to point out that measures we are proposing to amend the Ontario Labour Relations Act speak very directly to this because workers, in their relations at their workplace, gain a lot of education from being in a union because that way they're able to take a much greater role in the running of their workplace and have to contend with items such as health and safety and retraining. In that sense I would expect the member for York Mills to support initiatives like the amendments to the Labour Relations Act because they do speak very directly to that educative element.

Another example is Action Canada Network, which also educates the people of the province on the issues of the day. I think his proposal that there be a referendum to address certain issues allows that education to be used in debating the issues that face us as a province.

The member for Bruce suggested that members in the House need some help in representing their constituents. I'm not sure that's the case. We certainly have a lot more help in our staffs. The resources that the people of Ontario

provide us to do our job, I think, are certainly ample and are a great help in making that representation. Even the resources we have here at the Legislature in our very fine library, for instance, allow us to find out the information we need to carry out our jobs. That is certainly over and above what the ordinary citizen would have. Again, it comes back to the kinds of functions we set up in society to make sure that people can be informed on the issues that we're debating. Certainly the school system itself is very important and that's why we as a government are taking that so seriously: to make sure that the resources are there and the curricula we will need to educate the population in a changing environment will be there.

On these issues I think the member for York Mills would agree that it's very important to have an educated population to make these decisions, but I do see a place for the referendum as being both an element of education, because people will debate the issues—I think he certainly has put very tight restrictions on it. The idea of 15% needed to bring the referendum into the Legislature is very important and a very high figure—almost a million people would have to sign that petition—and then it has to be debated in the Legislature. So I think there are some very strong restrictions there, and I think it will serve a function, as I say, of complementing rather than replacing the representative Legislature.

I want to close by saying that democracy has been called a system that allows the people to make their own mistakes. Again, that's an educative function and it will be a help in the governing of the province.

1100

Mr Drummond White (Durham Centre): I want to compliment the member for York Mills for presenting this bill. They are of course very difficult issues, and frankly, while there are many difficulties with referenda, like my friend the member for Kingston and The Islands, I generally support it.

There are some problems. I'd like to just briefly outline one. There is the issue, for example, of Sunday shopping which we will be voting on soon, I believe, in this House, and I think probably this issue will pass here. Most people, were a question posed to them, "Are you in favour of Sunday shopping; are you in favour of convenience?", would say, of course, yes. But were the question instead posed in a different manner, "Are you in favour of Sunday working? most people would say no. If it were posed in a balanced manner, it would probably have to come out with a much clearer mix. These are difficult questions. How questions are posed is an essential issue.

I will probably be supporting my colleague's bill.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for York Mills has two minutes in summation and response.

Mr Turnbull: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I believe I have three because I think there was a little over a minute left on the clock before.

I want to thank the members who have contributed to this debate, and specifically I would like to, first of all, comment on the member for Kingston and The Islands and some of his debate.

The whole question that we're debating here is how we can complement, as he correctly said, the government legislation that is driven out by the government. As we know, very few private members' bills ever see the light of day and that's unfortunate.

The people of Canada are concerned that their political institutions are not responsive to their needs. I lived for two years in Switzerland and I saw, in living colour if you wish, how a democracy can work supported by the will of the people through reference to referenda.

I have not made this referenda legislation so that it will be on an ongoing basis other than at general elections, simply because I don't believe we can afford that at the moment, but my dearest wish would be that we could have this passed today and referred to the justice committee for examination. I recognize that there may be improvements that need to be made to this and that all sides should have their opinions thoroughly aired, but I would point out that this can work very well in restoring the confidence of the electorate.

I do not presume to believe that it will do everything to restore the electorate's confidence; however, it will go some way in that direction. I think that when one looks at the kinds of issues that are passed through referenda items in the US, it's interesting that about one third of all references to the people get passed in legislation and about half of them are so-called left-wing measures and so-called right-wing measures.

Indeed, it is an expression of the general wish of the people and I think that is a very healthy direction. I do encourage all members to vote yes to this bill so that we can send it out to committee for a thorough examination of it by all parties of all areas of the political spectrum. I think that kind of airing would be most useful to furthering democracy in this province.

With that, I thank all members who spoke in support of this.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. We will be dealing with Mr Turnbull's bill at 12 noon.

AGNES MACPHAIL DAY ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 SUR LA JOURNÉE AGNES-MACPHAIL

Mr Malkowski moved Second Reading of Bill 35, An Act proclaiming Agnes Macphail Day / Loi proclamant la journée Agnes-Macphail.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): The honourable member has 10 minutes in which to participate in the debate and will have two minutes to wrap up. All parties will have 15 minutes each for participation in the debate.

Mr Gary Malkowski (York East): I am very pleased to have the opportunity to discuss the proclamation of March 24 as Agnes Macphail Day.

On March 21, 1991, I talked about the Canadian Constitution as a shattered mirror and how we were reassembling all the pieces to make sure that Canadians are reflected in that mirror. One important part from that mirror is missing, and I think that part is the recognition in this bill of those people who fought for social equality and

social justice. I think we're putting that piece back into the mirror to honour those people who went before us and their contribution to these causes. Without those people's contributions most of us would not be in the House today.

Many people in my riding who I have met over the past two years have told me wonderful stories about the life and work of Agnes Macphail that she did in my riding, and I felt this was an important issue. Agnes Macphail was the first woman and quite a pioneer. The 50th year of her election will be marked next year in 1993. She was elected as a member, an MPP for York East, in 1943-45 and 1948-51. She was the first elected woman. There was another woman elected, Rae Luckock, and they were the first two women in the Ontario Legislature. Agnes Macphail represented my riding for two terms.

She was also the first woman elected in the federal House of Commons. Before 1919 you are aware that women were not allowed to vote on the Legislature. After that time they were given the vote and Agnes Macphail was one of the first women elected to the House.

The proclamation of March 24 as Agnes Macphail Day, I think, is very timely, because it is the 50th anniversary of her election; it will happen next year. What is really important is that compared to the national level, Agnes Macphail is not as well known here in her home province of Ontario. They have taken the initiative to recognize Agnes Macphail as a symbol. My counterpart, Alan Redway, the federal MP for Don Valley East, has already moved that she be recognized on a Canadian postage stamp to celebrate the 100th anniversary of her birth on March 24, 1890.

The leader of the federal New Democratic Party will be honouring her with an unveiling of a plaque on her former office door in the House on Parliament Hill. She will also be re-introducing a few of Agnes Macphail's motions which still have not passed, the issues of international peace, of disarmament and support for agricultural and social reform.

Agnes Macphail was a very brilliant and skilled orator. She fought for women's rights. She fought for youth, disabled groups, the poor, for farmers and for people within the criminal justice system. I think the honourable members need to know of her life and her times. A few weeks ago the honourable member for Simcoe East, Al McLearn, spoke about her birth in Grey county and the many, many progressive issues that she championed during her political life.

I think it is very important to do more than just recognize Agnes Macphail for being the first; I think she was also one of the best. She was one of the best orators in North America and was very popular. She spoke very eloquently on social justice. I think we need to honour Agnes Macphail because she fought for social justice and two of her greatest victories were equal pay for women and the provision of pensions for old people. She also worked on the abolishment of torture within prisons, and she worked to give farm families an adequate and better way of life.

1110

She had two great victories here in the Legislature. The first was equal pay for equal work for men and women,

and she also established old age pensions. Those were two of her greatest achievements.

There are many other other social justice issues, one being the reduction of torture within the penal system. She was also involved in the establishment of the Elizabeth Fry Society. She was very active with different groups that focused on social justice. Being a champion and a great symbol for those people who had experienced oppression, she tried to increase their standard and quality of life.

She also worked as a country school teacher, and then was led to positions of national and international recognition. She was picked as one of three Canadian delegates to be a representative at the 10th assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva. That assembly focused on disarmament. She talked of disarmament and of international peace and became a world leader of international peace.

We also want to honour her for the things she attempted that have still not been won today; for example, international peace and understanding and disarmament. Those goals are still worthy of attainment. They are even more critical today than in her time. We need to continue to fight for them.

She has become a symbol for people. Many people who have been oppressed are inspired as they look to Agnes Macphail who stood up and spoke out for people to fight for the right to equality.

I am sure Agnes Macphail would be watching our government members to see how we are following in her footsteps and dreams to try to improve the current situation in terms of introducing our legislation such as employment equity.

In York East some people who have participated in our committee have asked to be involved to have Agnes Macphail recognized.

Charlotte Whitton called Agnes Macphail "the most important woman in public life that Canada has produced in the 20th century." What an inspirational role model for our youth.

I would like to thank the Agnes Macphail committee—Moiria Armour, John Ridout and Susan Hughes—for their support for the introduction of this bill.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): It seems but just a few hours ago that we were debating before, but now we're debating a bill that would allow March 24 to be set aside as Agnes Macphail Day. I am delighted to support the member for York East, Mr Malkowski, in this endeavour because, as he said, Agnes Macphail was not only the first; Agnes Macphail was the best.

In 1919 there was a momentous occasion in Canadian history, that is, there was a passage of amendments to the Election Act that granted women the right to hold office at the federal level. It wasn't till 10 years later in 1929 that we were recognized as persons, but prior to that, in 1919, we at least could hold office federally.

The first election following that was 1921, and Agnes Macphail was the first woman elected in Canadian history. She was the age of 31. At that time, it was a very difficult thing. She was criticized by the media and by her male colleagues for everything from her dress to the fact she didn't wear a hat to the fact that when she was speaking in

the House she was extremely aggressive; this was tolerated in men, but not in women, of course.

She ran in several subsequent elections and she won in 1926, but in 1940 Agnes Macphail, much to her bitter disappointment, was defeated by her own constituent. But the loss in the federal Parliament was the provincial Parliament's gain because Agnes Macphail ran provincially in 1943. Along with Margaret Luckock, she became the first woman elected into Ontario's Parliament.

As the member for York East has mentioned, she was very involved in prison reform and was a founder of the Elizabeth Fry Society of Canada, which helps women on their release from prison. At that time, prison reform was considered to be a women's issue. I'd like to tell you a little anecdote about Agnes Macphail on prison reform. Once, when she was in the course of checking out conditions in prisons, she showed up at the doors of Kingston Penitentiary. She was told that no ladies are allowed. To this she responded, "I'm no lady, I'm an MP." Agnes Macphail was admitted, and prison reform was as good as won.

As was also mentioned by the member for York East, she was the first Canadian woman to be a delegate to the League of Nations, but she rejected pressure to sit on committees dealing with welfare, women and children—you know, these women's issues—and she successfully insisted on becoming the first woman delegate to sit on the disarmament committee.

As most members know, she was very active in support of Ontario's first equal pay legislation.

She was also known for her sharp wit. Once, a heckler wanted to know why she didn't get herself a husband. She shot back, "How do I know he wouldn't turn out like you?" Another time on the campaign trail, she was heckled by a man seated in the back row. "Don't you wish you were a man?" he shouted. "Yes," she replied, "Don't you?" So she was certainly well renowned for her wit and her sharp retorts.

She said a couple of things that I think are very interesting to women who have been fighting the battle for women's equality. In an autobiographical note, she wrote: "One of the outstanding features of this age is the number of intelligent women who do not marry. I have talked to hundreds of these fine, alert and very capable women in business, the professions and the arts, and their reason was the same as mine: The person could not be subjected."

One time in Parliament, she said: "When I hear men talk about women being the angel of the home I always, mentally at least, shrug my shoulders in doubt. I do not want to be the angel of my home. I want for myself what I want for other women: absolute equality. After that is secured, men and women can take turns at being angels."

When she was defeated from the federal Parliament, I think she had feelings of disillusionment and bitterness. One time, after her defeat, when she was in the Ontario Legislature, she told the Legislature what a short thing fame was. She said: "I had a letter returned from Ottawa, I think it was yesterday, which said, 'Not known here.'" But we will remember Agnes Macphail, and through this resolution we will remember her for some time to come.

I'd like to close with something she said of herself. She said: "It is well for us at times to be idealists, not to be scoffers and doubters, not to be cynical, but to believe that all the people of the world, regardless of colour, regardless of the country in which they live, are fine people, and if we treat them as though they are, they will treat us in the same spirit. It is well for us sometimes to go to the hilltops, and when we do as individuals and, in great moments, as nations, we see a fairer world. The fairer world is no dream; it can be made a reality if each of us takes the matter seriously and works toward that end."

I'd like to close with words of Charlotte Whitton, the long-time mayor of Ottawa, who sent a sheaf of lilies to her funeral. The card read, "To Canada's Woman of the Century." Many would agree that she still deserves that tribute.

1120

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I am pleased to be able to rise today to speak in support of the member for York East's bill, An Act proclaiming Agnes Macphail Day.

As members know, Agnes Campbell Macphail was born on March 24, 1890. At that time, her family lived in a three-room log cabin on a 100-acre farm near Hopeville in Proton township. Some time later, they moved to Artemesia township, both of which are in my riding of Grey.

Her ancestors were the sort of people I spoke about in December when I introduced my resolution which asked this House to declare April 6th Tartan Day in Ontario. I am grateful that the House chose to agree to my motion, because by doing so we can now honour the contributions made by people like Agnes Macphail's family.

Like so many others, they emigrated from Scotland and soon chose Grey as a place to settle and to work the land. Agnes Macphail is descended from people who never doubted that rewards come from hard work. They were governed by a strict moral code and relied heavily on their strong religious faith. They also believed in community service, and they instilled these values in their children. They were social, friendly people who helped their neighbours in times of trouble and who rejoiced with singing and good conversation when times were good. Thus, they exemplified those who settled the county and those we are proud to have in Grey today.

As a small child, Agnes attended SS No 4 Proton, a local one-room school house like the one I went to in Sydenham township, and she worked on the family farm. In his book, Agnes Macphail and the Politics of Equity, author Terry Crowley tells us that through these chores, she realized early that while a farm was a joint enterprise, it was a partnership where rewards were distributed unequally. She undoubtedly gave some indication of the path her life would take when she said that, "In farming, women break 50-50 with the men, but if this is true, it is \$50 to the men and 50 cents to the women, and I doubt that this is overstating the case."

With the understanding learned at a young age that she was equal to any man, and with dreams of becoming a teacher, she persuaded her family to let her travel to Owen

Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute to further her education. This is the same school that I am proud to have attended and where I was president of the student council, which they call head boy.

After achieving her goal, she taught children in several locations in rural Ontario for 10 years. Among these schools was SS No 14 in Egremont township, or Boothville as it was then called. It was during this period that Ms Macphail became interested in national issues and involved in community affairs. By writing a letter to the Owen Sound Sun, she attracted the attention of John Ross, the paper's editor, who was interested in extending the participation of women.

He introduced her to the United Farmers of Ontario. This was a populist rural movement with which she could personally identify and with which she completely agreed. It was a movement which stressed mass involvement and advocated more direct accountability by officials to the voters.

She realized that even though the agriculture sector was vital to the well-being of society, it was vastly underrepresented in Parliament. Sometimes I think that not much has changed. In my view, rural Ontario still supports the large cities, yet the large cities and this government do not always understand that and, worse, do not seem to care.

But Agnes Macphail did. Even though there was a great deal of opposition from some of the less enlightened voters in what was then Southeast Grey, who couldn't believe that there were no men left to run the county, she was nominated by the United Farmers of Ontario to be the Progressive Party candidate in the 1921 federal election.

It was difficult to be the only woman in Parliament. She recalled that at first she was intensely unhappy because many members resented her presence and made her feel uncomfortable. But she soon developed the courage to match wits and better her detractors. As a true populist, political labels mattered little to her. She believed, rather, in the people that politicians represented. In fact, she sat as an independent for most of her years in the capital.

Agnes Macphail is a true daughter of Grey. Terry Crowley tells us that no matter how far Agnes travelled, she kept returning to her birthplace. In fact, after she won the election and became a member of Parliament, she bought a house of her own in Ceylon, a small village near her birthplace and her family home. In that, she is like most Grey natives who never really lose touch with the county. I believe that if Ms Macphail were alive today, she would still feel the same way about Grey. I am sure she would delight in its natural beauty and enjoy all the recreational activities the area has to offer. She would enjoy the lovely beaches along Georgian Bay, the Blue Mountains, the beautiful walking trails and the scenic drives throughout the whole county. And I think she would be proud of the small industry which has sprung up since she left. Her own area is home to several furniture companies and although they are suffering, they are struggling to survive. She would approve of the fine artistic and cultural groups

in the county and the volunteer and service organizations which continue the sense of community that she loved.

History tells us that she excelled at athletics, so I am sure she would attend games and cheer for many of the championship softball, hockey, lacrosse and other sports teams we have in Grey.

I'm also sure she would still sympathize with the plight of the farmer who, these days, is not always making ends meet. She would also understand the concerns of the land owner who is feeling the suffocating intrusion of this government with some of its policies and legislation. I think she might be a little ashamed that the offspring of her party, which cared so much about the rural community and their property rights, would be the ones to force an ANSI program, areas of natural and scientific interest, the new amendments to the Game and Fish Act, the proposed Trees Act, the wetlands policy announced yesterday, and the Niagara Escarpment plan on the people she once represented. I cannot believe, and I am sure she would not either, that Agnes Macphail's party doesn't understand that those who own and who work and who know their land should have some say as to what happens to their property.

I am sure that she would feel at home and even assist groups like the Grey Association for Development and Growth, which has formed largely because it believes government has lost any contact with the people. For better or for worse, they think they have to take matters into their own hands in order to have legislators listen. She would empathize with the feelings of isolation and the futility they feel in having big government never taking their concerns into account, for she rarely missed an opportunity to express the farmer's point of view.

But I think that she would be pleased that she is remembered in Grey, and in Hopeville, where a statue has been erected to her memory.

In 1990, on the anniversary of her 100th birthday, the Split Rail Festival in Flesherton honoured her by making Agnes Macphail the theme of its weekend festivities. Along with many historical displays which celebrated her life, school children in Grey were invited to participate in an essay contest about Ms Macphail. I feel this was particularly fitting in that education for our young people was one of her earliest interests.

1130

I was delighted to be able to arrange a tour of the Legislature and to host a lunch at Queen's Park for the three winners of the contest, Dove Gowanlock, Laura-Ann Blakey and Sarah Reinhardt. I would now like to read the first prize essay written by Dove Gowanlock of Flesherton:

"Why Should We Remember Agnes Macphail?"

"I think that we should remember Agnes Macphail, because she had ambition and courage. She showed these two qualities when she ran for Parliament, by going out and trying a new, different and very unheard-of job for a woman in that time.

"She set the example for the future generations. Her success only makes another reason why she should be remembered. Agnes Macphail should be remembered

because she was born and raised locally, so coming from a rural community, being a politician of any sort wasn't to be expected. I'm sure her being the first female MP was quite a shock.

"Her loyalty is another factor. She was loyal to her job. For example, when she was visiting persons, she was told 'no ladies allowed.' Her reply was 'I'm no lady, I'm an MP.' I'm sure this quality was a major asset to her career.

"Finally, she set a good example. She showed how ambition and work could achieve the impossible. I feel she should be recognized for these reasons and more.

"At the funeral of Agnes Macphail, the long-time mayor of Ottawa, Charlotte Whitton, sent lilies and a card saying, 'To Canada's Woman of the Century.' Now you see how important she was. So where would we be without her?"

That was the winning essay in the contest.

Agnes Macphail had many of the character traits which we in Grey still admire. She was honest and straightforward and spoke from the heart. She was a very successful politician who was re-elected four times to Parliament in Ottawa and twice to the provincial Legislature. She was noted for her championship of farmers and women, but her interests were far broader.

She was a compassionate human being who fought injustice wherever she found it. She was the first woman to be a delegate to the League of Nations, the first woman to sit there on the disarmament committee and one of the two women first elected to the Ontario Legislature. She was the founder of the Elizabeth Fry Society of Canada, which helps rehabilitate female inmates and was largely responsible for the establishment in 1935 of a commission to investigate Canada's prisons. She fought for old age pensions, hospital insurance schemes and other social legislation for the disabled and the unemployed.

A crusading feminist of her day, her commitment to the cause was never separate from her other beliefs. She always contended that women's equality was simply a matter of fundamental human rights. When told that politics was no job for a lady, she replied that she was no lady, she was a human being. She scoffed when she heard men say that a woman was the angel of the home. "I always, mentally at least, shrug my shoulders in doubt. I do not want to be the angel of any home. I want for myself what I want for other women, absolute equality. After that is secured, men and women can take turns being angels."

Through her statesmanship and courage, she made it easier for those women who would dare to follow her into public life. I am sure she would be pleased that so many women are now involved in some area or other of politics, but I think she would agree that while progress is being made, we have a way yet to go.

Agnes Macphail was known for her wit and sarcasm which could level her opponents when she chose to do so. Her years in politics left her with few illusions, but she never lost her delight in the process or indeed in life itself.

I would like to congratulate the member for York East for bringing this legislation before the House this morning. Grey has produced many talented, dedicated and su-

premely able people who have entered all walks of life. In politics we must not forget, among others, Dr Mackinnon Phillips, WP Telford Sr and Jr, WS Middlebro, IB Lucas, Senator Brunt and Senator Jenner, Garfield Case, Roland Patterson, Vic Porteous, Walter Harris, Colin Bennett, Farquhar Oliver and, more recently, Gary Gurbin, Wally Downer, Percy Noble, Gus Mitges, Ross Whicher, Eric Winkler, Eddie Sargeant, Bob McKessock and Ron Lipsett.

But Agnes Macphail stands out. She was an inspiration to all who know of her, and even to those who are still learning about her today. Agnes Macphail makes us proud.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls): Agnes Macphail is someone for whom each of us who is a woman in this House must have great respect. We know how difficult it is now to function effectively in this House. How much more difficult it must have been then. Too often today there is still the traditional gamesmanship, the traditional maleness of the rules which, it seems, are there to be played with.

Women by necessity generally deal with life in a very straightforward manner. Women the world over deal daily with the basic necessities of feeding, clothing, nurturing their families and also earning a living with little time for games. One small example: How often do you see women involved in hockey, football or baseball? Things have to get done, when children are crying, without delay.

I am reminded of a eloquent summary of reality for women. Women make up half the world's population, perform two thirds of the world's work hours, receive one tenth of the world's income and own less than 1/100th of the world's property, and this comes from the United Nations report of 1980 at the beginning of the decade for women.

If this is the way life is today, it is hard to comprehend how many more barriers there must have been in 1921. For a 30-year-old woman to run for office in rural Ontario must have been totally incomprehensible for some. In fact the headline in the local newspaper the day after her election victory read, "Are There No More Men Left in Southeast Grey?" That says it all. Total denial.

To have the courage to run, to convince people to actually campaign for you, to undoubtedly have putdowns and be ridiculed, Agnes Macphail has earned our respect. Yet running for office was probably nothing compared to what she must have faced after that brief day of victory in 1921, to walk into the halls and the chambers of Ottawa. That must have required the utmost of strength and conviction. Of course she must have worked twice as hard and accomplished twice as much to earn her place and begrudging respect.

The outstanding record of her accomplishments includes her efforts in agriculture, in peace, in pensions and reform of the penal system. In 1943 she was elected to the provincial level as a CCF member for East York, and as was said at her funeral in 1954, "There has been little good

social legislation of the past 30 years in which she has not had a considerable part."

1140

Mr Speaker, 1993 will be the 50th anniversary of Agnes Macphail's election to the Ontario Legislature, and East York, together with MPP Gary Malkowski and MP Alan Redway, wants to honour Agnes Macphail. I ask the House to join me in endorsing their efforts.

When I walk down the second floor east hallway of the Legislature and see the row upon row of pictures of male legislators, I get a feeling of what it must have been like back then for her. To achieve equality, I believe women must participate on an equal basis in the economic and the political life of this country. I ask every one of us to consider what this country might possibly look like if we in fact had, or when we in fact have, half of the federal Parliament women, half of the provincial Legislature women and half of our municipal councils as women.

I thank Agnes Macphail for taking that long trip to Ottawa back in 1921 and coming here to Queen's Park almost 50 years ago to start us down that journey to equality.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on Mr Malkowski's private member's bill?

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Orillia): Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I'm please to rise in the debate this morning and speak very briefly. Much has been said which is historically accurate and factual, and I believe that Ontario and Canada have been blessed by leaders such as Agnes Macphail and others. For those of us who stand in their place, those of us women legislators who admire and respect the ground-breaking achievements of women like Agnes Macphail, I believe that today is a good opportunity for us as we review the history of the role of the women in politics in this country, and particularly in this Parliament in Ontario.

We know that Agnes Macphail was born in 1890 in a three-bedroom log cabin in Grey county, and we've heard quite a lot about her wit. We know that when she passed away in 1954 she was considered not only an important woman in public life, but also one of the most important women that Canada had produced. She was not only the first woman elected to the Canadian Parliament, but also the first Canadian woman to be a delegate to the League of Nations and the first woman to sit there on the disarmament committee. She followed that by being one of the first two women elected to the Ontario Legislature.

We've heard much about her this morning, and in the few minutes that I have I thought I might share a humorous aside with my colleagues here in the House. Not so long ago in question period when the Minister of Government Services referred to me as a lady, my mind immediately went to Agnes Macphail's comment in a similar situation when she said: "I'm no lady; I'm an MP."

I know how the women members of the government caucus felt when the minister made what most in this House would consider an inappropriate comment, although outside this House it would not be considered quite as inappropriate. I know that many of us thought of Agnes

Macphail and her quest to be absolutely equal with her colleagues in the political arena, her colleagues right across this country.

I thought, if I would, in just expressing my support for this kind of recognition, recognize that these are the sorts of issues which are not partisan. In fact this Legislature has produced some outstanding women. I notice today in the newspaper that Bette Stephenson has been awarded the Order of Canada, and I think that is a fair and fitting tribute to a woman who was an outstanding member of the provincial Legislature, a cabinet minister in this province, a member of the Progressive Conservative Party and a leader in the medical profession in this country.

I note also Margaret Campbell, member of the provincial Legislature, the only woman in the Liberal caucus, the first Liberal woman member, as a personal role model of mine, could also be well deserving of a day of recognition. Perhaps we will have the opportunity in the future, since the precedent has been established to recognize outstanding Ontarians, outstanding legislators, to recognize some of the achievements of people like Margaret Campbell who, I believe, deserves tremendous tribute because of the outstanding ground-breaking work she did in the area of family violence.

I stand in support of recognition of the contribution of Agnes Macphail. I agree with pretty much everything that has been said in the Legislature this morning. She is deserving of tribute today as she was deserving of tribute during her lifetime and upon her death, and I am pleased to support the motion.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Ms Anne Swarbrick (Scarborough West): I'd like to begin by giving a very sincere thank you to my colleague Gary Malkowski, the member for York East, for introducing this bill to recognize Agnes Macphail through proclaiming March 24 Agnes Macphail Day and calling for a building to be named after her.

As Canadians we're very shy to claim our heroes, and Agnes Macphail indeed is a Canadian hero, a hero for all Canadians, for all Ontarians, as well as for all women in this country.

Agnes Macphail fits the classic definition, even, of hero. She dared to go where no woman before her had, and she did so in a manner that few women or few men have.

Canadians know, and the United Nations has clearly now recognized, that we live in the best country in the world and are fortunate to do so, and it's Agnes Macphail who was one of the leaders in helping to make this country great. It's Agnes Macphail who helped to lead some of the fights for the things that are what the United Nations cites as some of the things that make this country great: the medicare, the social justice.

Some of us also celebrate the things that make us different from the United States, and some of those are the very same kinds of things that Agnes Macphail fought for. Her political goals, her political gains were for the feminism, for the equality, for the social gains that helped to define Canada as we know it today.

Agnes Macphail was a true Canadian hero, and this bill gives us an opportunity to celebrate her for all women, for all Ontarians and indeed for all Canadians.

I'd also like to point out that Agnes Macphail did all of this and dared to do it without the support, in fact, that most male politicians have. I don't say that in a begrudging kind of fashion; I say that in recognition of a real reality. As a single woman in politics there were a lot of sacrifices she made to be able to do the work that she did, and a lot of extra hardships: the realities of things like having to cook your own meals, having to do your own laundry at the same time as doing the hard work of some of the best of the men of the time.

There were a number of the firsts that she went through that have been shared by a number of the colleagues who have spoken before me in the House today: first as a woman member of Parliament, first as one of the first two women members of provincial Parliament in Ontario, being one of the first women to represent Canada internationally at the League of Nations, and the first woman to sit on the League of Nations disarmament committee. Indeed, all of these things made her a tremendous role model for Canadian and Ontario women, and I'd like to point out that she did these things at a time when it was still a popular belief that women have no place in politics. Indeed, the attitudes of the time were so challenging that another prevailing attitude at the time was that women and children should be seen and not heard.

I think it takes great courage and great heroism for a person to rise above those kinds of attitudes. She worked at the time for the social and economic improvements of us all, but she also is the only woman in the legislatures of our country, for most of her parliamentary years, who spoke as the sole parliamentary voice for a majority of the population—for 52% of the population who are women—so indeed, she often was the voice that would say, when policies were being discussed, "What about the women?"

One of the examples of that was in the federal House when the question of relief camps was raised. She challenged the Minister of Labour: "If men are not capable of taking care of themselves during periods of stress and unemployment, does Parliament think that women are more capable of taking care of themselves? If they are not, what provision has the government made, or what provision does it propose to make, for a single, unemployed woman?" Apart from a token woman on the National Employment Commission, the minister was forced to admit that the matter had not been considered.

1150

Agnes Macphail is the role model for most of us women in Parliament who have to ask the same question still today, "What about the women?" She was one who was also very able to point out some of the contradictions that still today we need to point out, contradictions like the fact that in her time, in spite of the economic demands of the war at the time, child care centres sprouted up all over the place in spite of and because of the war effort. Women's participation in the employment market not only suddenly was there in great numbers but in non-traditional

jobs. She pointed out the contradictions that once the war was over those child care centres were closed down. Once the war was over, tax deductions were changed to make it less profitable for married women to participate in the workforce, and in fact the government even resorted to a barrage of propaganda to force women back into their homes, into the family life where it was felt they belonged.

Agnes Macphail worked on so many fronts to end discrimination against women in our country, against the sexism of child rearing that ends up causing a lot of the inequalities that exist as well. She worked to assist women in Quebec in their longer battle for women's suffrage there.

As has been pointed out in this House, she had tremendous wit, humour and insight in exposing a lot of those contradictions so she was one of our earliest women to gain prominence in making comments like: "Women have, in an unusual degree, the gift of intuition. However, in women it's called jumping to conclusions, whereas in men it's called genius."

Another example of her wit that related very much to her social and economic politics was her reference to pointing out the imbalances of unbridled capitalism, where she said that capitalism reminded her of the elephant who cried, "Every man for himself," as he danced among the chickens.

Agnes Macphail's actions and her life changed our country. One of the ways it changed our country was by helping to bring to life one of her main contentions: that women's place is wherever she wants to be, as is man's.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on Mr Malkowski's private bill?

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): I stand in praise of Agnes Macphail. I don't stand in praise of her as being a woman because I know today if I stood here she would say that this is what she has fought for as a person, because I know she has done more for people than she has done for women, singularly, or for men, but collectively for people of this province, this country, this nation and this world.

Great people are always adopted by all political parties and ideologies. Agnes Macphail, as you heard, who ran for the Progressive Conservative Party at one stage and was a member, was also a member of the CCF and embraced the beliefs of the CCF and also much of the wonderful Liberal ideology that we of the Liberal Party embrace. Agnes Macphail also embraced those. So great people are adopted by all political stripes.

That is why it is so easy for us to debate or to talk in praise of Agnes Macphail. In my constituency there is a school named after Agnes Macphail in her honour, and I know that principal Iris Schickler, students, staff and parents carry that name with great honour.

We also know that at various times she was extremely active, as was said here, in the United Farmers of Ontario. Many times she was challenged about some of her beliefs and stood up very proud in defending them. It is rather ironic that today Agnes Macphail would be mentioned,

because today the debate of how we express ourselves in Parliament and how we conduct ourselves in Parliament will be a continuous debate—previous to this day and beyond. She was one who would not be restricted to the discipline of partisanship if she felt that it restricted the expression of the belief of the people.

I think it is—I was going to say “unfortunate”—but I think it’s rather fortunate that it is so, because we all will be very mindful of her belief and what Parliament is all about in expressing those things.

I would urge all my colleagues, as we name this day, not to remember her as a woman and the first woman to be elected federally and as also one of the first women to be elected provincially, but as an individual who believed in the things of democracy and the issues that were neglected day to day and that one can so express it and we should not be muzzled or restricted in doing so.

There are many, many issues out there and constituencies that need to be expressed in the House here that somehow don’t get on the floor. Also, she said there are ways in which people would like to express these things in Parliament that don’t take five minutes or 10 minutes; some people would need some time—an hour, two hours, three hours—in order to do so.

If I would speak on behalf of Agnes Macphail, because as I visit the school I get the feeling she represents something that is bigger than the individual, greater than the individual, that cause she carried forward, she would say: “No, let it be expressed. We have not yet arrived where we accept all, where we accept women as equals, we have not arrived where we accept minorities as equals. Don’t restrict the time for people to bring those issues forward, to be expressed in Parliament. Do not muzzle that.” I feel that way about Agnes Macphail and I feel that if her vision and her belief are to be carried on, we should not do that in dishonour of her name.

I praise the member for York East who brought this forward and we commend that. I said how easy it is for all of us to embrace that day of Agnes Macphail but to remember it in the right spirit—not as a woman, not as a member who was elected in York East, but as a person who believed in the rights of people regardless of partisan rulings. I stand in praise of that and I support that.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on Mr Malkowski’s bill?

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): It’s a great pleasure for me to rise and stand in support of this motion. I think it’s most appropriate, as we come up to the 50th anniversary of Agnes Macphail’s election to this Parliament, that it is the member for York East who is bringing this motion forward. As Agnes Macphail broke through many barriers and started a new course for women’s involvement in politics, the current member for York East has started a new course for involvement in politics by other members, members of the disabled community, and has set a good role model for them to become involved in the process. I think it’s very appropriate that he has brought this forward.

I also think it’s appropriate to recognize her significant contributions to this country. We don’t always recognize people who have made outstanding contributions. I know the member for York North wants to recognize one in changing his riding to York-Mackenzie and I think that’s very appropriate.

I note with great interest, as one who represents a rural riding, that Agnes Macphail’s career in politics started out in a rural riding, in the riding of Grey, and that she was an advocate for farmers and rural people and rural women as well. I think there are many women in our rural communities today who continue that through groups such as Women for the Support of Agriculture and other organizations, including the Ontario Federation of Agriculture.

I also want to take this time to note that mention has been made of Charlotte Whitton. I believe Charlotte Whitton was the first woman elected mayor in Canada, but the first actual woman mayor happened to be in the city of Woodstock—Bernadette Smith back, I believe, around exactly the same time. I want to make note of that fact: that there were strides made in Oxford as well for women to contribute.

I think what we need to look at in terms of the recognition of this day is the type of contributions that have been made. What can we learn from someone like Agnes Macphail and her outstanding contribution to Canadian society? We can learn that as an individual you can make a lasting difference. We can learn that you can go forward, that you can make progress on those issues and you can make progress by not listening to the naysayers, by having courage, by having determination, and by of course always, as has been mentioned in comments by other members, doing your homework, doing your research and being one step above the naysayers who sometimes just like to say no for the sake of saying no. She has made a significant contribution to our province, to our country and I think it’s important that we are here to recognize her.

As a male member, I must tell you that in my 18 months here I appreciate the great learning experience I have gone through. I always thought I had some understanding of the issues that many women face in many of our communities and as members of this place. I want to tell you that my learning experience has been incredible in the last 18 months. I thank my fellow members of my own caucus, I thank the many women in my own community and I thank many of the special women in my life who have taught me that we need to continue to go forward.

Agnes Macphail started something, but I think, as we recognize this day, we all need to remember that while progress has been made, we still have a lot further to go to truly make women equal in this province and country.

1200

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for York East has two minutes in response and summary.

Mr Malkowski: I was very inspired to hear the comments from the members of the opposition and from our own government side, and the comments seemed

consistent in terms of recognition of Agnes as a true symbol of a person breaking the barriers and of a champion of social justice issues.

The member for Grey talked about the experience as the only woman, and I find I have a very similar experience as being the only deaf MPP and many barriers we need to overcome. There were several members, from Eglinton, from Scarborough West and from Oriole who talked about what a great inspiration Agnes was and what an inspiration for equality in terms of equal pay for equal work. She is a symbol of feminism within the community, not only for women but for all different groups, for agricultural groups, for the poverty groups, for disability groups, for people who are within the correctional system, that you can achieve your goals.

The member for Niagara Falls was talking about the equality of men and women, and I'm sure that in comparison to the number of two women who were in the Legislature, and the number of women who we have, over 25, I'm sure that we will attain Agnes Macphail's goal of equality of men and women.

I would also like to thank all the members of the House for becoming aware of how important it is to recognize and honour the proclamation of Agnes Macphail Day, and how we will continue to remember her.

The Acting Speaker: The time for private members' public business has now expired.

PROVINCIAL PUBLIC CONSULTATION ACT, 1992

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): We will now deal with Mr Turnbull's motion.

All those in favour of second reading of Bill 30, An Act to obtain the Opinion of the Public on Questions of Provincial Interest, by Mr Turnbull, will please say "aye".

All those opposed will please say "nay".

In my opinion the ayes have it.

The vote will be deferred until after we deal with Mr Malkowski's motion.

AGNES MACPHAIL DAY ACT, 1992

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Mr Malkowski has moved second reading of Bill 35, An Act proclaiming Agnes Macphail Day.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for committee of the whole House.

1210

PROVINCIAL PUBLIC CONSULTATION ACT, 1992

The House divided on Mr Turnbull's motion, which was tied on the following vote:

Ayes—30

Arnott, Bradley, Caplan, Carr, Cousens, Cunningham, Curling, Elston, Eves, Harnick, Harris, Jackson, Johnson, Jordan, Kwinter, Mancini, McClelland, McLean, Micalash, Murdoch (Grey), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Poole, Runciman, Sola, Sterling, Turnbull, White, Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Wilson (Simcoe West), Witmer.

Nays—30

Christopherson, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Duignan, Ferguson, Frankford, Hansen, Harrington, Huget, Klopp, Kormos, Lessard, Malkowski, Martin, Mathysen, Mills, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury), O'Connor, Perruzza, Rizzo, Sullivan, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Waters, Wessenger, Winninger, Wiseman, Wood.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): In this case, the Chair will support the motion by Mr Turnbull. I declare the motion carried.

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): I would ask that this be referred to the justice committee for consideration.

The House divided on whether Mr Turnbull's bill should be referred to the standing committee on administration of justice, which was negated on the following vote:

Ayes 28; nays 32.

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: How is it possible that during the vote for this very important matter, the member for Durham Centre and the member for Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings had the audacity to vote in favour of the bill, but when the Speaker asked whether or not—

The Acting Speaker: That's not a point of order.

Mr Mancini: —we should refer the bill to the justice committee, those two members had the audacity to vote against such a motion. What hypocrisy.

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. It now being past 12 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock this afternoon.

The House recessed at 1219.

AFTERNOON SITTING

The House resumed at 1330.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

MINING INDUSTRY

Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora): My statement today is directed to the Minister of the Environment. Mr Speaker, you were here last night when I spoke about the difficulties being faced by the mining industry of this province. As well, you heard me make reference to the Consolidated Professor mining project in my riding which is having some difficulty in getting its operations under way. Just imagine this: construction costs of \$53 million; generation of \$25 million on an annual basis into the region's economy, and 175 jobs to an area which has experienced some of the highest unemployment in the province.

What's holding all this up? What is preventing this development, this influx into the economy in my riding? Let me tell you, and this will not come as a surprise to a lot of the members in this House: This government cannot make a decision.

Well over a year ago, the president of the company, representatives from the neighbouring first nation and I were assured by the Premier that he would ensure that the Minister of the Environment would assist in working out solutions to the problems encountered by this company. Obviously someone is not listening or communicating because we are approaching a point where the company is ready to abandon this project. The reason is that it cannot get an answer from the government and, more important, it cannot get an answer from the Minister of the Environment.

In closing, all I can ask is that I hope this government does not let this development, one so important to my riding, slip through its fingers.

SIMCOE COUNTY FEDERATION OF AGRICULTURE

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): My statement is directed to the Minister of Agriculture and Food. The Simcoe County Federation of Agriculture will be holding its annual farm tour on July 8 to give members of the provincial Parliament and the federal Parliament an opportunity to meet with local commodity representatives and listen to their views and concerns about agriculture in Ontario.

The Simcoe County Federation of Agriculture is made up of volunteers who serve as the voice of farmers in Simcoe county. The federation represents family farm concerns to governments and the general public. It has a long and proud history of advocating in the interests of Simcoe county's farm community.

I would urge all members who have been invited to attend this unique learning experience to hear presentations by the Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario, the Pork Producers' Association, the Ontario Cattlemen's Association, the Soil Crop Improvement Association, the Simcoe county milk committee and the Simcoe County Federation of Agriculture.

The \$36-million decrease in his ministry's operating budget is a concern to farmers; that there were no new income assistance programs announced in the last provincial budget; the detrimental effects on the agriculture industry of the Ontario labour relations reform legislation.

The minister must convince his cabinet colleagues to include farmers in his government's long-term vision of the future. The government has the obligation to collaborate with the farming community to ensure productivity and fair distribution. I say this because a province that cannot be reasonably self-sufficient and secure in its production of food risks losing a precious measure of independence, security and prosperity.

NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE BICENTENARY

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): I rise today to remind members of this House that Niagara-on-the-Lake in my riding is celebrating its bicentennial this year.

Members may recall from their history lessons that Niagara-on-the-Lake, formerly called Newark, was named the first capital of Upper Canada by then Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe. It was in Newark that Upper Canada's first Legislature was established.

Next week, from July 3 to 5, the old town and the village of Queenston will play host to a variety of activities including fireworks, parades and mock battles. In short, it promises to be a fun-filled four days steeped in the history of another era.

The highlight of this week is July 4 when several hundred re-enactors set up camp and present colourful displays of late-18th-century garb and military artefacts. Six tall ships will sail from Toronto and anchor at the docks along the Niagara River. Native re-enactors will also be mingling with the crowd, answering questions about traditions and heritage.

But that's not all. The celebrations move closer to home this fall when our Legislative Assembly visits Niagara-on-the-Lake on September 17 to hold a special open-air session. I know the town has spent many months planning for this event and eagerly anticipates the full participation of all members.

I invite everyone to take a step back 200 years into the past and visit Niagara-on-the-Lake this summer and this fall.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): I recently received a copy of a letter which was sent by Scarborough's mayor, Joyce Trimmer, to the Minister of Revenue on June 18, 1992.

This letter goes over the numerous attempts—including leaving at least half a dozen unanswered telephone messages—made by the mayor to have a meeting with the minister rescheduled. This meeting, originally scheduled for May 12 and then abruptly cancelled due to "circumstances," was to have been held to discuss market value

assessment, which is an issue of great importance to Scarborough residents. To quote Mayor Trimmer:

"I respectfully suggest that it is inappropriate to have to go to such lengths simply to secure a meeting with you on a topic of major concern and importance."

I am certain that all members of this Legislature, Mr Speaker, including yourself, who represent ridings in Scarborough, will join me in urging the minister to keep her commitment to meet with Mayor Trimmer on this very important matter.

Let me emphasize that this is not a single time we have seen this happen. Consequently, we are having very much difficulty getting ministers to meet, and I know it's not the Premier's intention and that he would like his ministers to meet especially mayors who represent all people, and especially in a great city like Scarborough. I would urge you, Madam Minister to meet with the mayor.

LANDFILL SITES

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I rise today to speak to the House about the 15 dump sites within my riding of Dufferin-Peel. I have heard from literally thousands of Caledon residents who cannot believe this government would even consider a massive landfill site for this area.

What should I tell a person who discovers that the farm that has been in their family for 100 years could be expropriated for a dump?

This morning alone, I received another 40 letters from citizens who want action. They have a common theme: Don't ruin prime agricultural farm land and the natural beauty of Caledon with garbage from the greater Toronto area. It is unnecessary; it is immoral; it goes against everything that this government has been promising in terms of a progressive agricultural policy.

I will deliver these letters to the Premier, the Minister of the Environment and the Minister of Agriculture and Food so that they can read them personally. I urge the Premier, I urge the Minister of the Environment and I urge the Minister of Agriculture to listen to the people of this province. Reconsider your plans to destroy Caledon. Repeal Bill 143. Replace it with an equitable system that restores the process that the people of this province deserve: full environmental assessment of all possibilities.

WASTE DISPOSAL

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): I rise today to inform the House of a very serious issue that is developing in my riding of Lincoln. As I have told this House on numerous occasions, there is a proposal by the Ontario Waste Management Corp to build a giant toxic waste facility in my riding to incinerate all hazardous waste for the province.

In a recent study, the California Environmental Protection Agency estimates that residents living near the facility will face a risk of developing cancer 1,000 times greater than other Ontarians. This is outrageous. The study shows that the other studies conducted for the environmental assessment hearing neglected to include the effects of human exposure to breast feeding, showering and eating fish caught in nearby waters. Besides putting all the people in

Niagara at risk, the effects could be much farther-reaching, as Niagara is the only area left in Ontario where tender fruit is grown.

The facts are on the table. The Ontario Waste Management Corp's own studies show that this monstrous plan will contaminate the ground water, making it useless for future generations, and this study shows that the people in the area will not be able to enjoy living in a healthy environment.

This proposal should be stopped now, before it's too late, and we must begin to look at the alternatives and the 3Rs if we truly want to solve Ontario's waste management crisis.

1340

SEMAINE FRANCOPHONE

M. Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa-Est) : Monsieur le Président, depuis vendredi dernier, la communauté francophone célèbre la Semaine francophone en Ontario. On a eu des pique-niques, des soirées de cinéma, de la musique et de la littérature. Bref, c'était une semaine de fête pour la communauté francophone. C'est dans ce contexte que j'aimerais faire quelques observations sur le gouvernement d'aujourd'hui, vis-à-vis la communauté franco-ontarienne.

Lors de la dernière campagne électorale, l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario a fait circuler un questionnaire concernant les politiques en matière d'affaires francophones. Les réponses de Bob Rae ont soulevé les espoirs de la communauté franco-ontarienne.

M. Rae a déclaré être en faveur de promouvoir les services en français en matière de services de santé. Le NPD a promis aux francophones de la province qu'il mettrait sur pied un réseau de collèges pour les Franco-Ontariens et les Franco-Ontariennes. Bob Rae a déclaré être en faveur de créer des conseils scolaires en langue française pour desservir les Franco-Ontariens et Franco-Ontariennes. Il a déclaré être en faveur de la création d'une station de radio pour défendre les besoins des francophones qui habitent Toronto.

On attend depuis 1990 des actions concrètes du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones. Le ministre déploie toute son éloquence, mais ses mots sont vides de sens.

MEMBER FOR WELLAND-THOROLD

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): It gives me great pleasure to rise today to congratulate a colleague and member of this Legislature, the member for Welland-Thorold, Mr Peter Kormos, who has won a very prestigious award. Mr Kormos has been recognized by the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, and I'd like to read from a letter I have from the Association of Trial Lawyers to Mr Kormos. It states:

"It is my pleasure to formally share the good news that you have been selected as a recipient of the ATLA Amicus Award of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America. The award is presented as warranted for outstanding contributions to the civil justice system and preservation of victims' rights.

"As an ATLA member and steadfast pioneer in the fight to preserve the right of innocent accident victims to

be adequately and fairly compensated for their losses, we are honoured to notify you of your selection for this award."

If I might have just a few more seconds, I know that everyone in this House is feeling the same way I am and very proud of Mr Kormos's accomplishments. Although they are not always accomplished on the conventional path, Mr Kormos is recognized probably far and wide in this province as being the one and only person who sits in this government who represents the rights of innocent accident victims and is in fact fighting for those rights and on behalf of those thousands of people.

I convey my congratulations to Mr Kormos. I wish him well, and I tell him to keep up the good fight.

EVENTS IN HAMILTON

Mr David Christopherson (Hamilton Centre): I rise in the House today to inform members of a number of events that took place in my riding of Hamilton Centre on Sunday, June 14, 1992.

In celebration of Canada's 125th anniversary, most events were tied to the National Neighbourhood Party. As part of the Neighbourhood celebrations, I attended the Fairleigh Avenue street party and the Church of the Ascension party on Forest Avenue, which drew enthusiastic crowds. On the same day, Hamiltonians took part in the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of Dundurn Castle's restoration. These festivities also highlighted the joy people of Hamilton take in Canada.

Another important event that I know many members have taken part in was the Decoration Day service in remembrance of Hamilton's war heroes. Along with the hundreds of war veterans, Hamilton MPPs marched in the Veterans Day parade and placed a wreath at the cenotaph.

This weekend also marked the closing ceremonies of Lusofest, which I attended with the honourable Minister of Citizenship, Elaine Ziemba. Members are familiar with Lusofest from my June 10 statement to the House in which I outlined the activities surrounding Lusofest.

All of these events had a common theme: the importance of building on our national pride. While we often criticize our neighbours to the south for their flag-waving enthusiasm, we should occasionally stop and consider the benefits and feelings of satisfaction Canadians can get from boasting about our own great country. We should do it more often.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON ELECTION FINANCES

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I beg to inform the House I have today laid upon the table the 17th Annual Report of the Commission on Election Finances, which covers the year 1992.

LEGISLATIVE PAGES

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I would also appreciate members' attention to the fact that this is the last day for the service of our current pages. They have, I think you will agree with me, served the members and the House with distinction over the past five weeks, and indeed I think they deserve our heartfelt praise for their hard

work. I would invite you to join me in thanking them most warmly for their dedicated service.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship and Minister Responsible for Human Rights, Disability Issues, Seniors' Issues and Race Relations): This afternoon I will introduce an historic piece of legislation, our government's employment equity bill.

Before I do this, I would like to acknowledge the hard work and the dedication of my employment equity commissioner, Juanita Westmoreland-Traoré, and the hard work and dedication of a group of a people who came together in my technical advisory committee.

Those people are Judith Andrew from the Canadian Federation of Independent Business; Tom Corcoran, Ontario Chamber of Commerce; Julie Davis, Ontario Federation of Labour; William Frakes, Unilever Canada Ltd; Amy Go, Coalition of Visible Minority Women; Irene Harris, Canadian Union of Public Employees; Ian Howcroft, Canadian Manufacturers' Association; Beverly Johnson, Ontario Public Service Employees Union; Michael Lewis, United Steelworkers of America; Judy Maddocks, Royal Insurance Canada;

Charlotte MacFarlane, Association of Municipalities of Ontario; Carole McGregor, Disabled People for Employment Equity; Handel Mlilo, Alliance for Employment Equity; Peggy Nash, Canadian Auto Workers; David Onyalo, Canadian Union of Public Employees; Judy Rebick, National Action Committee on the Status of Women; Robert Richardson, Alliance for Employment Equity; David Williams, National Grocers Co Ltd, and also Helen Cooper, who is president of AMO.

Today for me, this is a moment of tremendous pride. I'm privileged to have worked on this important initiative with many committed business, labour and community leaders. The employment equity legislation will open doors for many and will add a wealth of untapped human resources to our workplaces.

I would like to take a moment to quote from the last throne speech: "Ontario's people are its greatest strength.... Using the talents and abilities of all our people will help us compete in a global economy. Simply put, employment equity makes good economic sense."

This government believes in investing in people and investing in Ontario. I am honoured to say that we are following through on our commitment. We are proud to be the first province in Canada to introduce mandatory employment equity legislation.

The simple fact is that employment equity makes good business sense, and it's fair. It encourages employers and employees to work in partnership, to tap the skills of highly capable people who have been excluded in the past. Employment equity involves comprehensive and cooperative strategies to level the playing field in the working world. It's about reaching out to all Ontarians to hire, train and promote people according to their ability to do good work. It's practical. It's grounded in workplace realities and it seeks results. Any business with its eye on the bottom line

will hire and promote from the widest possible pool of candidates.

This legislation is rooted in extensive public consultations. We have listened to the people of Ontario and we have listened well. Juanita Westmoreland-Traoré, Ontario's first employment equity commissioner, held meetings across the province and received more than 400 submissions from business, labour and community groups. I'm pleased to announce that the commissioner's consultation report is being released today to complement the introduction of legislation.

In early May I set up an advisory group with representatives from business, labour and designated groups. In fact they are here today, as I mentioned earlier, and I want to say personally that this group will continue to play a key role in developing the regulations. It will be a rigorous process to be chaired by the commissioner. Our goal is to develop effective and cost-efficient rules to make employment equity work for Ontario's employers and employees. We aim to present the draft regulations as we go into second reading of this bill.

Before I go into some of the key elements of the bill, I'd like to reiterate that employment equity is about partnerships. It is about results. As one designated group member put it eloquently, "Employment equity is making a difference between our reality and our dream."

1350

The legislation targets four groups of people who have suffered profoundly from systemic discrimination in our society. They are aboriginal people, persons with disabilities, racial minorities and women.

My ministry will convene a working group to consider special employment equity measures for persons with severe disabilities. We will also develop an action plan to coordinate government-wide initiatives involving education, training and access to transportation.

Francophones will continue to be a designated group in the Ontario public service employment equity program. Aboriginal people, persons with disabilities, racial minorities and women who are also francophones will be covered by this legislation.

This government is also committed to responding to the concerns of the gay and lesbian communities by reviewing anti-harassment provisions of the Ontario Human Rights Code.

An employment equity workplace will benefit all workers. The principles of employment equity as established in this bill represent a statement of public policy and, as such, we hope the spirit of these principles will be embraced in all workplaces.

Because we welcome the chance to set an example for all employers, this government, the second-largest employer in the province, will be the first required to comply with the legislation.

This fair, rational and practical bill recognizes the different needs and capacities of different-sized workplaces and so provides for flexible timing and implementation. The bill therefore establishes simplified requirements and longer, phased-in time frames for smaller businesses.

This legislation will cover about three quarters of all employees in Ontario. We believe this proposed coverage is fair and effective.

In recognition of the Statement of Political Relationship with the first nations, we will conduct government-to-government discussions to develop requirements for aboriginal workplaces.

I cannot emphasize enough the importance of partnerships. Employers and employees will work together to coordinate employment equity measures.

An independent employment equity commission will be established to administer the legislation. An employment equity tribunal will have the power to ensure compliance with this legislation. We aim to eventually bring all our equity initiatives under one combined system.

To conclude, employment equity is about fairness in the workplace. It is also about a new vision for Ontario. It is a vision of social justice succinctly put by the Premier's Council on Health, Wellbeing and Social Justice:

"We see an Ontario where people value the dignity and self-worth of individuals, where systemic discrimination and barriers are eliminated and where society celebrates human diversity and strives towards a common purpose."

I am proud that this proposed employment equity legislation will be a landmark to this new vision of Ontario. It is a turning point. Together with all our partners, we will take on the challenge.

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): Three weeks ago I brought before the House a package of reforms to the Ontario Labour Relations Act to improve workplace relationships and foster a more productive and cooperative approach to labour-management relations.

I also stated at that time that further amendments to the act were pending. Later this afternoon, I will introduce legislation to promote greater democracy, freedom and local control in the relationships between internationally based parent unions in the construction industry and their Ontario-based locals.

Ontario-based construction locals have long expressed a desire for greater control over and involvement in their affairs. I am proud to say that this government is responding positively to those concerns.

Right now these local unions need more say in how internal union jurisdictional issues are resolved. They need a fair voice in the collective bargaining process and they need protection from sanctions imposed by their parent international unions. These Ontario locals often have little input into the administration and use of their funds for employee benefit and pension plans to which their members have contributed.

These circumstances have developed over time and can be traced to the unique nature and history of trade union organization by craft in the North American construction sector. For example, under the Labour Relations Act designated trade unions hold bargaining rights for any tradesperson who wishes to work in the construction industry. No avenues currently exist to change these bargaining agents. Yet in every other industry, decertification would be possible.

The Labour Relations Act has an entire section dedicated to ensuring stable collective bargaining in the construction industry. Members will know that the province has long maintained an active interest in this area. Several positive precedents have been achieved between employers, the unions and the government in regulating this sector.

Today I am building on those precedents. These amendments will bring a sense of balance and fairness to the relationship between locals, their members and international parent unions. In particular, these reforms will guarantee to Ontario construction locals: shared bargaining rights in the non-industrial, commercial and institutional sectors, a right currently enjoyed in the ICI sector; much greater control over the resolution of jurisdictional disputes within their trade; protection from interference or reprisals from their parents; proportionate control over their benefit plans; rights of successorship conditional on the consent of their international parent and achieving a double majority vote of both locals and members.

It is important to note also that a provision has been included to maintain province-wide agreements where they already exist. Many local construction trade unions have voiced their support for these reforms. My ministry has also sought the advice of the bipartite Construction Industry Advisory Board and major employer organizations in the construction sector. We intend to continue consultations with business and labour over the summer. Further refinements are quite possible.

Our government believes that promoting fairness is directly compatible with the progressive spirit and tone of our major law reforms.

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Before this House meets next on Monday, the second oldest musical organization in the country, the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, will be in bankruptcy and the Art Gallery of Ontario, the largest art gallery in Canada and one of the largest in North America, will close its doors. I don't understand why this so-called Cinderella who laughs with Prince Charles hasn't got a statement to make to this House about our cultural institutions—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for St George-St David will know that it is not a point of order.

Mr Scott: She gets in her car, directing the chauffeur to go hither and yon.

The Speaker: I ask the member to come to order. It's time for responses.

RESPONSES

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): I too want to commend those who have assisted the minister in the process of bringing the employment equity introduction today. But I should say, Madam Minister, with all that help, it still seems that the government was not really ready for an introduction of employment equity. They have done a tremendous job and my hat is off to you because it is a very, very difficult policy paper to present.

We are dismayed that this government, which has made very clear and rather specific promises about employment equity, has been dithering about on this important topic for over 18 months. Now all they have come up with at this point is that the minister says she will propose introducing legislation today. You may recall, Mr Speaker, they were supposed to have been ready because of their little private member's bill that the then Leader of the Opposition, now the Premier, had in hand.

The Liberal Party, as you know, Mr Speaker, is extremely committed to eliminating barriers to full employment in Ontario and we are dismayed that this government, which has made a very clear and specific promise of employment equity, has taken such a long time to bring it forward.

1400

If the NDP was really committed to employment equity it would not have taken this long to produce this legislation. The public consultation, as you know, as I mentioned, was extremely extensive and has been completed for months. What on earth took so long? It seems that as I saw the applause and everyone hugging each one there, there must be some division in cabinet.

We're concerned that the minister might not have had the full support of her cabinet colleagues such as the Minister of Labour, and that this might account for some of the delay. I notice that the construction industry is not included in this, and you can then extend your thoughts on that.

This legislation is not what the NDP promised. It has once again abandoned a firm commitment it made to the people of Ontario, has abandoned the promises it made to specific groups and has abandoned, as I said, Bob Rae's private member's employment equity legislation, that really model bill that was put forward.

We're also concerned that the NDP government fails to keep Bob Rae's promises to implement the recommendations of the access to professions report, which is sitting there, Mr Speaker, and has not been done. This is an important bill on creating full equity in the workplace.

When she was asked in the press conference about the cost she didn't know what it cost; the response was that it was more costly not to implement it. Employment equity has no cost and the Advocacy Act that they're putting in has no cost to it. Maybe they're not ready. The regulations are not ready. We hope it's not a closed-door thing. We hope they make it quite open. We have many questions to ask you, Madam Minister, which cause concern. I stand here to help you and this government and the legislation in order that we have proper employment equity.

Interjections.

Mr Curling: The heckling that's coming from over there tells me, Mr Speaker, that there is not a full understanding of what we're about to do. I am in support of what the minister is trying to do. It's an extremely difficult task. You yourself, with your shouting—

Interjection.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. The member for Yorkview, come to order.

Mr Curling: I hope that at some time he could meet quietly with me, and I'd be able to explain to him, just in an elementary way, what employment equity is about. You can then direct those directions to the minister and we can have good employment equity. I look forward to many questions in this House.

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North): In response to the statement by the Minister of Labour, I think that at the outset I could categorize it as an interesting statement. It's one, I can tell you, that we're going to be looking at very closely in terms of what it means and what it does.

The minister has indicated correctly that this legislation was coming when he introduced his changes to the Labour Relations Act last June 4. Since then I've been contacted by many union members adamantly opposed to the legislation the minister says he's going to introduce today. Members from across the province involved with bridge structure, ornamental ironworkers, members across the province from the boilermakers' union and members from all over have indicated their concerns about this legislation.

With respect, I have also spoken to those in favour. One thing is clear: The minister has not done any consultation with respect to the matter of this bill except for possibly one day in November. I would like to serve notice to the minister that we will discuss this bill. We will ask questions about this legislation, about what it means and about its impact. I want to give the minister notice that that will take place when this bill is called for second reading, which I would expect, because of its introduction so late in this session, won't be until the following fall session.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member's time has expired. Responses, third party.

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): I'd like to respond first to the new labour law amendments, which are supposed to clarify the trade union relationships in the construction sector.

I'd just like to say to the Minister of Labour that you've done it again. You have not conducted a consultation process or listened to the individuals. Our fax machine at times feels like it's burning up. Unions are sending us faxes, and I can assure you that they are not happy with what you have brought forward today. I would just suggest to you, Minister of Labour, that you could take a page out of the book of the Minister of Citizenship.

I would also say that you indicate you'd like to promote greater union democracy and fairness. If that is indeed your objective, then you should amend Bill 40 to allow for secret ballot votes, because that would give greater union democracy and fairness.

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): I'd like to turn now to the statement concerning employment equity, and I'd like to start by offering my congratulations to the minister and also to the commissioner for the manner in which they have conducted the consultation process. They have made the effort, unlike the Minister of Labour, to listen to all the concerned parties. They went out with

questions and they were looking for solutions. They did not take the Premier's agenda, the bill of 1990, and rigidly adhere to that agenda. They did honestly listen, and I think the willingness to listen, the willingness to incorporate all the views, has resulted in the document we have before us today. Certainly we do appreciate very much the process that has been used.

I also congratulate you on setting up the technical advisory committee, because, again, this is very different. These people are going to have an opportunity to define some of the specifics of the bill. This again is in stark contrast to what happened when the Liberals introduced pay equity in 1987 and some of the mistakes that resulted.

I can assure you the small business community is happy, because those who employ fewer than 50 are exempt from the legislation.

However, there are still many concerns that need to be addressed. First of all, it's still a numbers-based system. Certainly we agree that the emphasis should be on education. We prefer to see, if at all possible, the voluntary best effort, and I believe we need to continue to focus on education, on training and removing the barriers to access.

As well, we are not aware of the compliance cost to business. How much is this legislation going to cost business in Ontario? Certainly in these very difficult economic times that is a question the government must answer for people. Furthermore, what will the administration and the monitoring cost be to the taxpayer? How many millions of dollars will it cost to set up and operate the commission?

Unfortunately what we have here today is a legislative solution instead of a concentration on opportunity equity. I go back to what I said before. We need to concentrate our energies on giving people the skills, the education, in order to prepare them for the modern-day workplace and occupations. You cannot force employers to draw from a talent pool that is not filled.

There's also no mention in here of an incentive tax to businesses that are going to modify their businesses to accommodate the disabled, and I would hope some consideration will be given to doing exactly that.

I would hope that as the government proceeds it will handle this issue very sensitively. There is still fear out there that no one outside the designated groups will be hired. Unfortunately, employment equity makes it matter to people that they belong, however artificially, to groups. Again, there's some concern that the individual is being ignored, and I hope that will be handled in a very sensitive manner.

We must do everything possible to avoid the hardening of attitudes and the further division of groups of people. Racism and sexism have always been wrong and they remain wrong today. We must make sure that, whatever we do, we do not attempt to correct past discrimination by focusing discrimination on another group of individuals. Therefore, I would encourage the government to do everything within its power to focus on the job training, the education and the removal of the barriers to access. I would encourage you to reach out to the four groups, encourage them to apply and encourage employers to recruit them vigorously.

1410

RACE RELATIONS

Ms Zanana L. Akande (St Andrew-St Patrick): On a point of personal privilege, Mr Speaker: I rise to respond to the questions of some members yesterday. I want to explain to the House the context of my comments on June 20.

I have spent more than 20 years of my life building a fairer Ontario, an open, multiracial Ontario, an Ontario free of racism. I have also committed my life's work to young people as a school teacher, as a school principal, as a mother of three and as a United Way board member and volunteer.

It was with great pride, then, that I accepted the Premier's request to bring Jobs Ontario Youth on board this summer. This is a program for all young people: black, white, Chinese, native. It also includes a special effort to get young blacks employed because of the higher unemployment and dropout rates among black youth.

The final youth selection decisions rest with the employers, companies such as the Bank of Montreal, IBM Canada, Noranda, Canadian Tire and the municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto, Windsor, Hamilton and Ottawa. Most employers have agreed to take the government's plan to recall all unemployed youth and also to make a special effort to reach out to black youth. Employers receive candidates of any racial and ethnic background from youth employment agency workers.

During a workshop at the NDP convention last weekend I was explaining how the youth employment agencies were handling the policy of serving all youth and reaching out to black youth. I praised the work of these youth employment service workers and the employment agencies, who have undertaken a difficult task quickly.

I gave different examples, and then I noted one instance that made me disappointed. I described an in-service training session for the youth service workers, and I recounted a question from one of the youth workers who had not seemed to understand the government policy of serving all youth and reaching out to black youth. I said that her question had been, "How will we be able to tell who is a black youth in order to implement this program?" I and others at the meeting were surprised at such a question, especially a question from a front-line worker. The question was an unusual one to be posed by an employment service worker involved in the placement of youth, especially after a thorough presentation of the program.

My answer reflected my disappointment and my frustration with such a question posed by a person in this role. It was at that point I said: "No one seems to have a problem identifying us when they want to shoot us. It seems to me they can use the same identification skills when they want to employ us."

I told this story to convention delegates at 9 am on a Saturday morning. Now this one explanatory comment has been raised in this House. It was an expression of my disappointment at the question raised by the youth worker during an in-service session.

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): You repeated it later.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Ms Akande: In conclusion, I know that all members of this House welcome efforts to provide jobs for unemployed youth and simultaneously to make a special effort to reach out to black youth, who are experiencing higher unemployment and dropout rates. As well, I know that all members will support the efforts of many chief executive officers and municipal councils in making the program a reality.

The Speaker: I thank the member for her point of personal explanation.

ORAL QUESTIONS

ARTS AND CULTURAL FUNDING

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): I have a question for the Premier. I know the Premier has been away a lot on business and will probably want to refer this, as he has been doing with important questions, to other ministers. But I ask the Premier to consider answering this question personally because of the very grave concerns the cultural community has about the disposition of its institutions at the hands of this government.

The Art Gallery of Ontario has been open on a daily basis for almost 100 years. The gallery has announced today that because it has suffered a net loss of funding of \$2.6 million, more than 25% of its annual budget, it will be closing after the weekend and will not be able to reopen at the—I see the sign has been given that the Premier doesn't want to deal with this so we'll have Cinderella answering the question.

The fact of the matter is that this gallery has been open for 100 years and it has suffered a net loss of its funding at the hands of this government; 45,000 children visit it annually and dozens of thousands more visit its partner galleries in 120 community centres across Ontario. I want the Premier to tell the people in Ontario—in addition to half the gallery staff who have been permanently terminated or laid off—what he is going to do to preserve this important cultural institution in the province.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member conclude his question, please.

Mr Scott: I think the cultural community of Ontario is entitled to have an answer from the head of the government.

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I'll refer this to the Minister of Culture and Communications.

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): In reality I did not cut funding to the AGO. The funding base to the AGO was \$8.5 million. In a time when my ministry took a \$6-million cut, I was able to put together a package for the AGO of \$3.8 million, consisting of \$1 million to its base—in the next fiscal year it will receive \$9.5 million, an increase to the base to the AGO—and I have also released \$1.8 million in a special exhibit fund for them to use for staff and for installing new work in their new gallery, and I have also made available an additional \$1 million they can apply for as a grant to help

support the art services and the outreach programs they have.

This was not a cut. This was an increased package of \$3.8 million to the art gallery.

Further, Mr Speaker—it was a long question; I have a long answer.

The Speaker: I ask the minister to try to make it succinct.

Hon Mrs Haslam: Further, it is important to note that the AGO is not closing its doors. It has accelerated a program where it was going to close for three months in order to open its new gallery in January. As a cost reduction effort on behalf of the board, they decided to accelerate that.

Mr Scott: I'm disappointed that the Premier has plenty of time to travel to Japan, to cut all the ribbons that are available and to hobnob with his new friend, the Prime Minister of Canada. But cultural institutions in Ontario have a serious problem and to pass it off with the triviality that—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Scott: The honourable members think this is a laughing matter.

Interjections.

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): You used to be a serious politician.

The Speaker: The member for St George-St David.

Mr Scott: The House leader says because I ask a question about the Art Gallery of Ontario I am not a serious politician. I reject that.

I think this is an important cultural institution in Ontario that has been open for 100 years. Its budget has been cut. I see all the flim-flammy. I tell the Premier in this context: We are told that with \$1.2 million more this year the staff can be retained and the gallery remain open. The question is one of priorities.

The government can spend over \$1 million for a hotline to send people copies of speeches from the throne and other irrelevant trivialities that aren't acted on. Why can they spend money on that? Why can they spend \$1.9 million to move Ministry of Natural Resources staff to North York when next year they're going to move them to Peterborough? Why can they spend \$2.5 million to move the cabinet office across the street? Why is it that they can't raise \$1.2 million out of those funds to save the Art Gallery of Ontario?

1420

Hon Mrs Haslam: I understand the concern about jobs because that is why I was able to put together a package for \$3.8 million. I sympathize with those people. I sympathize with the board. As the minister faced—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mrs Haslam: I do understand the pressures the AGO is facing. I want to say that it is my understanding that half of the jobs that will be laid off will be rehired when the AGO opens in January. In terms of the numbers

of layoffs, it is sadly a predominant feature in our recessionary times. It is not the only agency facing layoffs. I do want to say, though, that to make those decisions within the ministry, those are tough decisions that have to be made and the AGO is now making the same tough decisions.

Mr Scott: I've been a minister. I understand the difficulties that ministers have. That's why I asked the question of the Premier, because the question is one of priorities. You're spending this money there and you're not spending that money here. That's why I want to know. The question isn't whether people are having hard times. Of course they are. The point is that this gallery, after 100 years, is closing for at least six months.

The question I have for the Premier—and I suppose he won't answer—is this: When he can spend \$2.5 million to move his offices across the street—they were fine where they were as far as we were concerned—when he can spend \$1.9 million to move Natural Resources to North York for one year, when he can spend over one million dollars to put in a hotline so people can get material from his government and so they can get lists of people to send NDP material to, and when—wait until you hear this—he, the Premier, elects to spend \$30 million on new telephones for Management Board when they didn't even answer the old ones, why can this Premier, who ducks all the tough questions if they aren't raised in a constitutional setting or in Japan, not take a bit of this money and keep our gallery, visited by hundreds of thousands of citizens and tourists, open at least one more year? All it takes is \$1.2 million. I know, Minister, you can't do anything about it.

The Speaker: Will the member conclude his question.

Mr Scott: If it isn't an opening, your hands are tied. I want to hear from the Premier. Where are his priorities, telephones for Management Board or the Art Gallery of Ontario?

Hon Mrs Haslam: I think each minister in this government is dealing with the same situation. There is \$5 million less in revenue. There is less support coming from the federal government. There are caps. There are problems in transfer payments for the Health ministry. There are a lot of things that this entire government has to deal with.

I am only one minister who has to do what I have to do within the ministry to support the arts and culture for all of Ontario. It's what the ministry is trying to do. We're also very pleased to see the Art Gallery of Ontario working with us, trying to restructure what it does, to work within the allocations it gets. I've had to very carefully say to the AGO that it must live within their budget, that there will be no bailouts, and that is what the AGO is attempting to do.

The Speaker: New question.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): Our second leader's question is to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, who I gather is on his way. Therefore I'll stand it down until Mr Philip arrives.

RACE RELATIONS

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I have a question to the Premier concerning a question yesterday and his commitment to come back to the House today with an answer and a position on his parliamentary assistant affair.

Today we heard from the parliamentary assistant about the good work she is doing in promoting and encouraging more employment for youth. We agree. She talked particularly about the difficult problem facing black youth. We agree. We didn't agree with the lecturing tone. We're not so sure we understood the reference to the NDP card-carrying civil servant on the front line asking an inappropriate question at your convention.

However, Mr Premier, I heard nothing from the parliamentary assistant as to whether she thought the comment was appropriate or whether an apology was forthcoming to the police. I heard nothing from the parliamentary assistant as to whether she recognizes how very difficult it will be for her to be perceived as one who can calm the rhetoric and bring people together in this very difficult affair facing us this summer.

I would ask you, Premier, if you, in your silence today, are condoning the statement, if you believe it was productive and if that is the position of you, the Premier's office, your party and the government of Ontario.

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I think the member for St Andrew-St Patrick has given an explanation to the House as to what her work and her efforts have been on behalf of all the people of the province. I'm certainly satisfied with the explanation she gave today and she has my full support.

Mr Harris: I believe we are all very supportive of helping to solve the difficulties of the unemployment of our young people with hope and opportunity, particularly those of visible minorities and particularly blacks facing extraordinarily severe problems.

However, there is another very major problem that is facing us in this summer of 1992 and it has to do with the relationship of the police to minorities in our communities, particularly the black minority. The Police Association of Ontario, represented by Robert Morrison, wrote to you, Mr Premier, indicating, "How you would expect this person to in any way contribute to the lessening of tensions and the healing of wounds between the police and the black community is beyond our comprehension."

Where wounds need to be healed, where understanding needs to take place, where we must bring police and blacks particularly together just as quickly as we possibly can, one of the parties is expressing a complete lack of confidence in your parliamentary assistant having any role in this. Surely the goal and one of the roles of a parliamentary assistant in the Premier's office is to help tone down the rhetoric, not elevate it, and to help bring the sides together in understanding, compassion and working forward. In light of that, Mr Premier, do you believe this parliamentary assistant and this viewpoint expressed on your behalf are going to be helpful in that debate?

Hon Mr Rae: I certainly do believe the honourable member is going to be not only helpful but enormously

constructive and a very important part of the work of this government. I think when all things are seen in the perspective which she has brought to this job, the directness she has brought to this job, the commitment, the passion, I do believe the honourable member can do great service to the public of Ontario.

Mr Harris: Mr Premier, 21,000 members of the Police Association of Ontario wrote to you through their president asking, "As a result of her unconscionable behaviour, we are demanding that Ms Akande be directed to apologize to all police officers in the province for her intemperate and insulting comments."

I did not hear an apology today, Mr Premier. From you I have heard acquiescence to the comments, and I did not hear an apology from you. I ask you one more time, if you're not prepared to apologize on your own, if you're not prepared to direct that Ms Akande apologize, would you agree with the 21,000 police officers represented by the Police Association of Ontario that Ms Akande should be either directed to apologize or relieved of her responsibilities?

Hon Mr Rae: I very much want the member for St Andrew-St Patrick to carry on in her duties. I think she has a great deal to contribute to the public life of Ontario.

1430

ONTARIO HYDRO CONTRACTS

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): My second question is to the Minister of Energy. On Monday I asked the minister about Ontario Hydro's exclusive contract with Bell Canada for up to \$10 million worth of telecommunication service. This contract is currently being negotiated without going out to tender. The minister responded to me that it hasn't been awarded yet. It's true, it hasn't been awarded yet. I'm trying to prevent a terrible tragedy from occurring. Before these negotiations are allowed to continue, I'm trying to bring your attention to the fact that Ontario Hydro is not putting out to tender \$10 million worth of new telephone equipment.

The minister said he'd get back to me. That was three days ago. I would ask if he can now, after my having brought it to his attention, assure this House that Ontario Hydro will be ordered to go out to full tender for the full amount of this contract that it has currently been negotiating in secret with Bell.

Hon Brian A. Charlton (Acting Minister of Energy): First, there are obviously no secret negotiations. The member is aware of them. Second, no, I can't assure the member that the minister will force Hydro out to tender on this issue. Third, I've requested of the chairman of Hydro a full and complete response, which the member will receive in due course.

Mr Harris: Either you believe in the tendering process or you don't. Your response to me and your attitude in this House to these issues that I've raised with Hydro before indicate you do not believe in the tendering process.

Will you, Minister, put a stop to this negotiation that is going on, this exclusive status that one monopoly that you control and are responsible for and now under Bill 118 can

direct to do your bidding—and with Marc Eliesen there, if that doesn't work, the Premier will make him do the bidding—will you assure us that all contracts will go out for full tender and that you will stop in its tracks the negotiation of this \$10-million exclusive contract being negotiated right now with Bell Canada? Did you direct them of that, and if not, why not?

Hon Mr Charlton: I've already answered the last part of the question of the leader of the third party: No, I did not direct, and no, I will not direct.

The leader of the third party is obviously seriously out of touch with the private sector in the province of Ontario, seriously out of touch with the business community in this province and how it operates. The vast majority of Hydro's contracts go out to full tender, and I set that out in my answer to the member on Monday.

There are a range of circumstances around which tender is not the most appropriate approach. Does the member who is leader of the third party put it out for tender when his car needs an oil change and a new oil filter? It's time the member who leads the third party took the time to sit down and look carefully at the response with which I will provide him within a day or two.

Mr Harris: The minister is quite right if he suggests that I don't understand why it's okay for his government to condone and for Hydro to do a \$10-million deal without going to tender for a product and for services that are available from many companies right here in Ontario.

I ask you one final time: Will you insist that Hydro stop this so-called strategic purchase agreement, which is what they're smoking past you to justify not going to tender on this \$10-million deal, and on up to hundreds of millions of dollars that they plan to smoke through you under this same strategic purchase agreement in the future? Will you put a stop to that today?

Hon Mr Charlton: I repeat, no, and I will provide the leader of the third party with a full, detailed response from the chairman of Hydro.

I really must comment on his reference to smoking, because his tone of voice obviously indicates that there's some smoke and some fire in himself.

At the same time, he doesn't understand that in fact there are not, in this particular instance, other companies able to deliver the service.

AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): My question is to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, and I offer this question against the backdrop that the government, in my view, quite rightly has indicated that its top priority is job creation in Ontario.

Accepting that our collective responsibility in this Legislature is to create an environment for job creation, can the minister for the province of Ontario report to this House today on the latest developments in the American rail strike, which strike is now into its third or fourth day and is threatening in a very real and immediate way tens of thousands of jobs in the Ontario manufacturing sector, most especially the auto sector, which of course employs one in 10 Ontarians?

Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology): I can report that we are naturally concerned about that and the effect on jobs in our industry. We understand that, at least for a few days, there is no immediate crisis, but my staff are working with people in the industry and talking with them. Some of the companies will be affected more than others because some, of course, use truck transportation rather than rail transportation for most of their parts.

Mr Conway: I very much appreciate the minister's concern. He will know that the auto makers in this province are reporting in the press today that in some cases they feel they are but a day or two away from very significant shutdowns.

Since the American rail strike, it seems to me, makes a very real and significant point in the summer of 1992 of just how incredibly vulnerable are the tens of thousands of jobs in the Ontario manufacturing sector, but particularly, to use a case study, the Ontario auto and auto parts industry, having regard to what this American rail strike is doing to that sector, does the minister of industry for Ontario not agree that his government's Bill 40, particularly some of its provisions around replacement workers as they will apply to the Ontario-based auto sector, could very quickly create precisely the situation that has brought the minister and all of us today to the point of very real concern about what the American rail strike may very well do to tens of thousands of jobs in this province today?

Hon Mr Philip: I know the honourable member, like myself, has a particular interest in the history of this province, and if he looks at the history of the auto industry in this province he will know that the problem of replacement workers has not been a particular problem in that industry. What is interesting is that the industry has a higher productivity than anywhere else in the world. You can see that, whether you talk to the Japanese-Canadian car companies or indeed the Big Three. We think that by developing a labour relations act that creates more cooperation, more partnerships between business and labour, that we will be even more productive and therefore even more competitive.

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Mr Conway: My friend the industry minister on the one hand talks about his concern as to what the American rail strike may very well do this week or weekend to hundreds, if not thousands, of well-employed Ontario people in the manufacturing sector, most especially in the auto sector. He talks of his concern. Then he talks of partners, particularly in, let's say, in this case, the auto business in the province.

Does he not understand that his partners in the Canadian and the Ontario-based auto industry are very concerned about Bill 40 and about the provisions it contains, which in their view—not mine, in their view—could create and may very well create precisely the situation the American rail strike has in fact created for the Ontario manufacturing sector this week? Is he not concerned about the view of his partners in business in this province?

Does he not agree that if the replacement issue is not and has not been a problem in the Ontario auto sector, then

why fix something that is not broken? Does he have or can he produce any studies that the Ontario industry ministry has done to look at the impact of Bill 40, particularly in this key business of replacement workers in industries like auto and petrochemical that are so incredibly sensitive and vulnerable to continental and global conditions? Has he done any studies of the impact of Bill 40, and can he and will he introduce and produce those studies forthwith?

Hon Mr Philip: As members of the advisory committee on auto parts and on the auto industry will tell you, I have very forcefully brought their concerns to the Minister of Labour and to the cabinet. In fact you will find that some 20 changes have been made in the Labour Relations Act, thanks to the input not only of the auto industry but also of other industries, and 11 are substantive. They appreciate the fact that I have brought their concerns and that they have had some changes made as a result of our listening to them. That's the kind of consultation which didn't take place in the previous government.

INVESTIGATION INTO RELEASE OF DOCUMENTS

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): My question's to the Premier, and it has to do with the abuse of power. The Premier will understand, I hope, that perhaps the most serious step a democratic government can take is to use its police force against its democratically elected opposition. You, Premier, have authorized just such moves, calling in the OPP anti-racket squad to silence the opposition.

Several weeks ago, my colleague the member for Bruce came into possession of something that was called a non-sensitive document from the Ministry of Treasury and Economics. That I know made you and the government angry, and the move you took was to call in the OPP to find out how the member got that. You personally authorized this, Premier. I realize that the phone call was made by the bureaucracy, but you were then briefed and you had a choice. You could have said, "Don't do it; stop that investigation," or you could say, "Proceed with the investigation."

The Bob Rae I thought I knew, the Bob Rae I used to see in opposition, would have said so clearly: "This is a gross abuse of the use of the OPP. We are not going to go after the opposition on a matter like this using our police force." You would have said, "Stop it." But you sat silent and you said: "Go after them. Let the investigation proceed."

It's an extremely important matter, Premier, as I hope you can appreciate, for us in the opposition. My question is clearly this: What criteria did you use to allow the OPP to continue the investigation against the opposition?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): The member says that I personally authorized a police investigation. That happens to be false—completely and utterly false.

He then says—and I'm quoting him, and if it doesn't make it sense, it's because I wrote down the quote as he said it—that I sat silent and said, "Go after them." That's the second allegation the member has made.

I want to say to the member that allegation is also completely and utterly false. It is without any foundation whatsoever. He said this twice. I understand the member's concerns. I heard him last night in the House, as I was watching him in the House, express this point of view again.

All I can say to the honourable member is this: The allegation that this government or this Premier personally authorized any kind of police investigation is completely and utterly false. It is without any kind of foundation whatsoever. I would not dream in a million years of interfering in any way whatsoever with decisions that are made with respect to the police and with respect to the administration of justice. I wouldn't have dreamed of doing it in opposition; I wouldn't dream of doing it as Premier.

I would hope that the member would have enough confidence in the integrity of the public service, in the integrity of the police process and in the integrity of our administration of justice to know that a Premier has absolutely nothing to do with the question of who investigates whom, when, why, what and where—never, ever. That's our parliamentary system.

Mr Phillips: Premier, you have to come to grips with this. There is no question that the whole bureaucracy and the opposition were waiting for your answer on this. There's no question that everyone knows you made the final decision. I was completely convinced you would say, "Stop the investigation." It makes no sense to go after the member for Bruce for a non-sensitive document. What kind of an abuse of power are you bringing to the Legislature?

My question to you, Premier, is this: What are your criteria? When will you authorize your cabinet ministers to allow the OPP to investigate the opposition? What are we to expect from you, Premier? What are your criteria, what are your guidelines and what are your principles for when the OPP can be used to go after the opposition?

Hon Mr Rae: I want to say to the member for Scarborough-Agincourt as calmly and as directly as I can that I would not dream and the cabinet would not dream—there isn't a cabinet minister around who would in any way, shape or form authorize, the way you've described it, a police investigation. It is not authorized by the cabinet. It is not discussed with me in any way, shape or form.

The idea that the Premier would suddenly be briefed on a police investigation with respect to an issue or that he would be asked to authorize such an investigation—the member sat around the cabinet table—

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): You sent them into my office.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order, the member for Halton Centre.

Hon Mr Rae: He knows the basic principles of the division of power in our society. I can only say to him that I regret very much that the honourable member would continue to make these allegations. I can tell him they're without any kind of foundation whatsoever.

He says, "The Premier of this province sat around the table and said, 'Go after them.'" He says I said that. That is absolutely ludicrous. It's completely and utterly false. I would never dream of saying such a thing. He says I authorized an investigation. That is equally false.

Mrs Sullivan: Who sent them into my office?

The Speaker: Order, the member for Halton Centre.

Hon Mr Rae: I can only say to the honourable member I think there may be a legitimate question we'll all have to discuss in this House and there may be a legitimate question that should be referred to a parliamentary committee with respect to a question of this kind.

The Speaker: Would the Premier conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Rae: I have no objection to it being considered in that way.

The member is somebody who has my respect and he will continue to have my respect, but I will say to him that to make that kind of an allegation is really unfair of the member. It is unworthy of a member who, generally speaking, is accurate and acute in the questions he asks in this House, but not in this respect and not in regard to this question.

Mrs Sullivan: On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: The Ontario Provincial Police came to my office to question me on the direction of this government in relationship to a cabinet document that had come into my hands. How did they get there?

The Speaker: I believe the member alludes to a point of privilege which she indeed raised earlier.

Interjections.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): Mr Speaker, on a point of privilege—

The Speaker: Would the member take his seat, please. I will get to him in a moment, when order has been restored to the chamber.

1450

Interjections.

The Speaker: The member for Renfrew North.

Mr Conway: On a very brief point of privilege, Mr Speaker: I listened carefully to what the Premier said but it is quite clear, speaking for the official opposition, that we are mad as hell about the fact that for the first time in my memory—and there have been about four different cases—the Ontario Provincial Police have found their way to offices of members of the Legislature. There will be a debate as to how they got there, but the Premier has made the suggestion that perhaps we ought to have some kind of an investigation.

Let me say, because this in my view is as fundamental a matter of parliamentary privilege as exists, that my friends from Bruce, Halton Centre and Scarborough-Agincourt will not rest content until they get a better indication as to how and why those police officers found their way to their offices, because it is perfectly incredible that those police officers did it entirely on their own whim.

Speaking as the deputy leader of the official opposition, I would certainly on my behalf and on behalf of my colleagues ask you at the earliest point to convene some kind of meeting so that there can be a very clear and thorough investigation as to how this deplorable conduct occurred and on whose instructions or in whatever kind of capacity it occurred so there can be a complete and full report back to the assembly at the earliest time.

The Speaker: On the same point, the leader of the third party.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I would like to rise on the same point. There is no question the members the deputy leader of the Liberal Party has referred to are upset, as any member of this Legislature would be. Indeed, I would hope all 130 of us are upset and treat that intrusion on one member as an intrusion on all of us.

Questions have been repeatedly asked in the Legislature to ascertain if the Premier was behind this. He says not. I then suggest to you, Mr Speaker, there is one recourse left to all 130 of us as members: I, on behalf of all 130, if they wish me to speak on their behalf, but certainly on behalf of the 20 of us whom I am empowered to speak for, would ask you, sir, as Speaker, to conduct a legislative inquiry into who called in the OPP.

The Speaker: To the member for Renfrew North and the leader of the third party, the members may recall that in the first instance upon this matter being brought to the attention of the House earlier, your Speaker issued instructions to all law enforcement agencies in Canada that they were to first appear at the Speaker's office prior to visiting any member's office and that the Speaker must be satisfied that any visit to a member's office would be authorized by the member himself or herself.

While I'm not sure precisely of how much further help I can be, I understand the points that are raised and I understand they are serious. I am very pleased to reflect on this and to try to provide whatever assistance my office may be able to provide. I will try to get back to the House as quickly as possible because I realize how much members are concerned about this and, as your Speaker, I'm very concerned about it as well. I'll do my best within the jurisdiction of my office to be of assistance to members.

The member for Mississauga South with her question.

ARTS AND CULTURAL FUNDING

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): Mr Speaker, I'm sorry the Premier scooped up his marbles and ran out of the House, because I actually had a question for him, and I don't think we're very late in the day with question period that the Premier had to leave. It's unfortunate because we need somebody else in this province to speak for culture other than the current minister we have.

I want to say, since I now have to ask the Minister of Culture and Communications the question, since the Premier has left, that on the very day, Madam Minister, that your government tables your employment equity legislation, which comes on the heels of pay equity, on the

very day you table that legislation, how is it that you can show so little regard for the employment of, mainly, women at the Art Gallery of Ontario? How is it that your government chooses to celebrate Canada 125 by closing the most important cultural institution in this country?

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): Mr Speaker, I think it's already been indicated that the board at the Ontario art gallery has some very difficult decisions to make. The ministry provides them with \$9.5 million in funding and they have—

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): Two point five less than last year.

Hon Mrs Haslam: Mr Speaker, the member has indicated that it's less than last year. Perhaps what the member meant was that last year the art gallery came and asked for a bailout because they had a deficit. The last minister helped them with a one-time grant of \$4 million.

It has come to this ministry and this minister to say that there will be no more bailouts.

Interjection.

The Speaker: Order, the member for St George-St David.

Hon Mrs Haslam: I understand the member's concern about jobs. I understand the hard decisions that the AGO board has to make. The ministry has had to look at those same hard decisions.

The Speaker: Supplementary?

Mrs Marland: Mr Speaker, this minister doesn't understand the meaning of the word "commitment." It was this province that initiated the expansion of the Art Gallery of Ontario. It was this province that mandated pay equity. When the art gallery went to the government last year and said, "We need some additional funding to meet your pay equity requirements," the government gave it the money for one year. What good is it to mandate a program in terms of pay equity and not give them ongoing funding? No wonder the board is making very difficult decisions. This minister's absolutely right.

But if you want to be very crass about it, I think this government, if it had any business acumen—which I doubt very much—would look at the \$500-million worth of art that the Art Gallery of Ontario owns and then it would say: "Well, in terms of a business decision, it doesn't make any sense at all to close that gallery for six months." I say to this minister again—my question is: How can you condone something that results in being so anti-culture and also anti-women?

Hon Mrs Haslam: Mr Speaker, I've think I've been very, very clear in stating how much funding the Art Gallery of Ontario receives from this government.

Besides the \$9.5 million that the art gallery receives from the ministry, it also receives funding from the Ontario Arts Council. It also receives additional moneys from the ministry to help with maintenance of its building.

The art gallery in 1987 and 1988 received over \$8 million to help it with its new stage that's being put in

place. I think it should be noted that I've seen a letter that states that when that gallery opens, the estimate of an increase to operations looks like \$320,000, and it was supposed to be in the form of a foundation that was never set up.

1500

The Art Gallery of Ontario has had to make a very difficult decision right now to take a look at living within its base allocation. This is a first step in reorganizing and restructuring the art gallery and I'm sure that the art gallery will continue to—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Would the minister succinctly complete her response.

Mr Scott: We want Rosario back first. Everything would be all right if we had Rosario back.

The Speaker: The member for St George-St David, come to order.

Hon Mrs Haslam: As I've said, there is culture in all of Ontario. This member complained a month ago because \$68,000 was going to Mayworks, which was a cultural event in other areas of Ontario. There's culture in all of Ontario; there are organizations all over Ontario. We're all in a difficult situation. We're all working to maintain the culture of all of Ontario.

BUILDING MATERIALS

Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph): My question is for the Minister of Housing. Tuesday night I was watching the news on television and I saw a story. It stated, or it really implied, that the provincial government has approved a CFC-based foam insulation product for use in residential construction. We're supposed to be getting rid of the CFCs, and I want to know why this product is being approved.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): The member for Guelph is correct; the item on the news was incorrect. We are in a situation where the federal government has approved a special CFC-based polyurethane, sprayed-in foam for insulation purposes. We have not accepted it here in Ontario for inclusion under the building code. In order for it to be included, it would have to be approved by the Building Materials Evaluation Commission. The ministry is looking at it now, but certainly it's not before the commission and has not been approved.

ARTS AND CULTURAL FUNDING

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): I have a question for the Minister of Tourism and Recreation. Mr Speaker, you and the members of this House and the people who are watching heard earlier the member for St George-St David raise questions with the Minister of Culture and Communications about the closing of the Art Gallery of Ontario and the imminent bankruptcy of the Toronto Symphony.

My question for the Minister of Tourism and Recreation is really quite simple. Given the fact that the summer is the period during which the art gallery has most of its visitations—thousands and thousands of people come to

the art gallery, and indeed thousands come to the city of Toronto and the greater Toronto area so they can visit the Art Gallery of Ontario—I want to ask the Minister of Tourism and Recreation a simple question: Has he done anything at all? Has he spoken to the Premier? Has he spoken to the Treasurer? Has he spoken to his colleague the Minister of Culture and Communications, who sits directly beside him? Has he raised his voice in protest to say that for \$1.2 million we are threatening the very tourist season in the city of Toronto and in the greater Toronto region because the government cannot find enough funds to keep one of Ontario's and Canada's premier cultural institutions open? What has he done?

Hon Peter North (Minister of Tourism and Recreation): I appreciate the question from the member. I would say to the member that the government of Ontario at the present time supports the Art Gallery of Ontario, and I'm sure he recognizes that, because the Minister of Culture and Communications has had a number of opportunities today to speak in this House about that. He would know that the Minister of Tourism and Recreation would support the Art Gallery of Ontario and that we recognize the value of what the Art Gallery of Ontario does in terms of tourism and the wealth of tourism that it creates.

I have had a number of opportunities to speak to the Minister of Culture and Communications, as well as to the Treasurer and the Premier, and he would know that, because I see these people on a regular basis. Our support is there in terms of tourism; our support will continue in terms of tourism.

Mr Sorbara: A couple of days ago the Minister of Skills Development used the forum of the Legislature to announce that he was creating some 241 temporary training jobs at a facility in southwestern Ontario. Today 244 people are about to lose their jobs at the Art Gallery of Ontario. Today the province of Ontario and the art gallery are about to forgo \$30 million in revenue because it's closing its doors. Today the Premier of Ontario refused to answer a question about it. The Minister of Culture and Communications simply stood in her place and talked about all the wonderful things that she had done for the art gallery.

The Minister of Tourism and Recreation expresses no concern, doesn't say a word about the fact that this is a direct and perhaps fatal attack on the art gallery and threatens tourism in Ontario. What are you doing about it? Are you speaking to anyone about it? Are you raising it in cabinet? Can you sacrifice \$1.2 million from your own ministry so this institution can stay open?

Mr Scott: Take the bull by the horns and cough up.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): That's always the answer with you guys.

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): No management telephones. If they answered their phones, they wouldn't need busy lines.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): With the cooperation of the member for St George-St David, the minister

will have an opportunity to respond to the member for York Centre.

Hon Mr North: I suggest to the member that I have an opportunity to try to help develop tourism in the province; the opportunity to do that is not always an opportunity that—

Mr Sorbara: Close the science centre.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr North: Perhaps unlike governments of the past, I don't have the same opportunity to simply throw money at problems, nor do I have the opportunity to help the province by political grandstanding. My opportunities in the province are based on funds that I have and on opportunities that we can either create or that already exist. The member speaks of an opportunity that exists, and rightly so, but I suggest to him that the opportunity for us to have revenues from all different venues in the province from tourism does exist and will exist in the future.

A decision has been made by the board of the AGO that this is the approach it wishes to take. I don't have the money to simply throw at the problem. I am disappointed I don't have the revenues or the dollars that governments in the past have had. I don't have that same opportunity, and for that I am sorry. But other than that, there are tremendous opportunities in this province for tourism, and I hope those will exist in the future; I know the AGO will be one of those opportunities that exists in the future.

LANDFILL SITES

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): My question is for the Minister of the Environment. The Conservation Council of Ontario has come up with a grade for the Minister of the Environment in her performance over the past term; it has come up with the mark of a D. Our caucus met, and everyone but Chris Stockwell agreed that an F would be more in order. The D, though, from the council stands for the dumps, the draconian way in which you're running things and the dictatorial way in which you're running your ministry.

My question really has to do with the selection of possible landfill sites within the greater Toronto area that fall in the watershed of Lake Ontario and of the Ganaraska. It pertains to those potential landfill sites and the very negative nature all these sites will have on Lake Ontario. Have you, as the minister, ever considered just dumping Metropolitan Toronto's garbage in Lake Ontario directly rather than doing it the slow way?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): No.

Mr Cousens: Thank goodness. Maybe she never thought of it, and that's good, because what she's done in thinking so hard is come up with a solution—

Hon Mrs Grier: Your government proposed it 15 years ago.

Mr Cousens: The proposals you are now coming out with, by having the Rouge Valley and the Ganaraska sites right next to Lake Ontario, so close to Lake Simcoe, are

further proof of this ministry's not understanding the impact of these landfill sites on our water systems.

The D mark that has been given to the minister has to do with the failure of the government to respond to the need for good sewers and to the need to dispose of scrap tires. The Ontario Waste Management Corp has failed to be reviewed. There has been no review by this ministry to look at the emission levels in the post-1994 Countdown Acid Rain program. What I'm really pointing to is a whole series of problems around this ministry, and I would therefore like to know if the minister has any plans to try to improve her credibility.

1510

Hon Mrs Grier: I assume the member has read the entire report on Ontario's environmental track record which the Conservation Council of Ontario released yesterday. As is the mandate of the council, it addressed a number of ministries and a number of issues. Coincidentally, the very day it questioned where the wetlands policy was, the Minister of Natural Resources released a very strong, comprehensive wetlands policy.

Let me direct the member to the conclusions of the report, where it states that if the province carries through with its programs, we can expect to see improved protection for natural areas, improved pollution controls and a more environmentally sound economy. I can't think of a better record or rating than that.

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

Mr Will Ferguson (Kitchener): My question is to the Minister of Citizenship and Culture. First of all, I would like to congratulate her on her announcement on employment equity today, as I'm sure my colleagues would join in congratulating her.

In the riding of Kitchener, the municipality I come from, a rather unique situation has developed. The city of Kitchener, to its credit, under the leadership of the current mayor, Dom Cardillo, had some foresight when it came to employment equipment. A number of years ago it hired an employment equity officer, did an employment equity audit and took some progressive measures in order to implement a plan and recognize some of the employment deficits that exist within the corporation itself.

However, a situation has developed recently among the firefighters of Kitchener, where the city is now putting together a new fire station and it is going to be hiring some additional firefighters. Part of that process requires that individual applicants obtain a mark of 70%. However, if you happen to be a white male and not from one of the designated groups where there is currently an employment deficiency, you have to obtain a mark of 85% in order to move on to the next step in the process.

I'd like to ask the minister, because a number of people in the city of Kitchener are asking, and quite rightly so, is this true employment equity?

Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship and Minister Responsible for Human Rights, Disability Issues, Seniors' Issues and Race Relations): I welcome this opportunity, first of all, to congratulate Kitchener.

They did have the foresight, long before this legislation is enacted, to start to work on making sure that all their workplaces were fair and equitable and to take a leadership role. We're very pleased that they have started that process, and I want to congratulate them, as I'm sure you have already.

When it comes to the situation with the firefighters and setting various requirements that people attain certain marks within specified questions, the thing that was very interesting to me when I reviewed the process they used was that in the second round of questioning, the second test that was given to the individuals who had come to that particular point, a woman from the designated group actually scored the highest mark. It makes us wonder whether perhaps the first round had some bias in the questions. Perhaps they were not culturally sensitive and perhaps they were gender-specific types of questions. However, not having seen the questionnaire, it's very hard for me to know if that was the case.

We will be monitoring that type of outlook to make sure that what we really intend to do with employment equity—Mr Speaker, I know you want me to wind down, so I will do so—is to make sure that every individual in this province is treated fairly and equitably and is given the same treatment. That is what employment equity is all about: fairness and equity in the workplace for every one of our citizens in Ontario.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I want to refer you to standing order 51 of our standing orders. It reads as follows:

"All notices required by the standing orders of the House or otherwise shall be laid on the table or filed with the Clerk of the House before 5 pm and printed on the Orders and Notices paper for the following day."

Now, sir, I refer you to the business of the House for Thursday, June 25, 1992; that is today. I note that on page 6 of the business of the House there is a motion standing in the name of Mr Cooke, the member for Windsor-Riverside and the government House leader. I take it that this motion is printed in the Orders and Notices today because it was submitted, laid on the table, before 5 o'clock yesterday or filed with the Clerk or both.

I have a dilemma in this regard. At 6:40 yesterday, this draft of this motion was presented to our House leader by the assistant of the government House leader, Mr Cooke the member for Windsor-Riverside. The name of the assistant is Richard Lewko and at 6:40 he presented it to our House leader. At that time he was asked whether this version of this motion had yet been filed with the Clerk or tabled in the House, and the answer was that it had not, that the motion had not yet been tabled. The final version was there before Mr Elston, our House leader. So I simply put it to you, sir: How is it that this motion is printed in Orders and Notices today if it was not tabled, as confirmed by Mr Cooke through his assistant, before 5 o'clock yesterday?

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I appreciate the matter which the member has brought to my

attention. I trust that he will realize that I will have to check with the Clerk—I don't know instantly—to determine whether or not what is printed on the notice paper was in fact filed, as prescribed by the standing orders, prior to 5 o'clock.

I am informed that the motion which is printed on the paper was indeed filed prior to 5 o'clock yesterday and therefore it is in order as per our standing orders.

Mr Sorbara: Mr Speaker, I simply point out that in your conversation with the Clerk, you asked him whether it was tabled verbatim and he indicated it was. I simply want to inform you that yesterday, after 5 o'clock, I approached the table officers to see a copy of any notices that had been tabled with the table officers and I was advised that a motion had been tabled. I asked to see a copy of it and I was advised that members have no right to see a copy of those motions. I wonder if you could confirm whether that is the case, first of all, whether a document tabled or any notice tabled in this Parliament while it is in session is not available to a member.

Second, sir, I simply want to ask you to investigate the inconsistency between the information that you have been given—that this motion, as written on this piece of paper, was tabled before 5 o'clock—with the information provided by the government House leader, or the assistant to the government House leader, that the motion was not tabled as of 6:40.

In doing that, sir, I simply want to advise you that at 6 o'clock yesterday, I was part of a meeting with my House leader in which we were examining a draft motion and proposing amendments, some of which amendments were accepted by the government and included in this version as it is tabled now, so it couldn't possibly be the same as the motion that was tabled before 5 o'clock, if indeed there was a motion tabled before 5 o'clock.

1520

The Speaker: The member raises two points. On the second one, all I can deal with is the question of whether or not what is printed in the notice paper is verbatim what was tabled in the House or with the Clerk's office prior to 5 o'clock on the previous day. I'm satisfied that indeed is the case. Of course the Speaker has no knowledge of private conversations between members of the House or staff or anyone else.

On the first point the member raises, the member is absolutely right. I believe he would agree that it would be improper for any member of the House to receive information ahead of other members. It has been our practice for as long as I'm aware that all members should receive the same information at the same time. The only way we can effect that is by way of the notice paper. The notice paper is printed up and the members receive it in their offices in the morning.

To release documents prior to that, it seems to me, would be quite improper, in that one member, in this case yourself, would receive notification ahead of other members. I think the member would agree that would not be a fair situation.

Mr Sorbara: On the same point, sir, one small additional point on that matter: I submit to you that once a document is tabled in this House it is, at the moment of being tabled, available to all members for inspection. I want you, in the investigations you've undertaken to do, to advise me, sir, as to how a member of this Legislature can independently verify that a document was tabled within the time frame provided by the standing order.

You know, sir, because you are very familiar with the rules, that if the document in question was not tabled by 5 o'clock, then without unanimous consent of the House it cannot be called for debate today. Therefore, it becomes an interesting, and I would submit to you an important issue whether or not this document was tabled by 5 o'clock.

I would like you, sir, to investigate the following and report back under this standing order whether or not the document that is in the business of the House today is the document that was tabled before 5 o'clock yesterday. Sir, at the same time I would like you to show me and provide to me a copy of the document that was tabled before 5 o'clock yesterday, and at the same time advise me as to how I as an independent member in this Legislature can independently ascertain whether or not a document has been filed or tabled within the time frames provided for in the standing orders.

It's a very complicated issue, sir, and I certainly hope you can report back after your investigation.

The Speaker: To the member for York Centre, it's not nearly quite as complicated as he may wish to believe. The member will be happy to know that there is no investigation required. The member should know, and I suspect he does, as all members of this assembly are aware, that the table officers and the Clerk are trusted servants of the House. They serve all members without favour and they serve in an honest capacity. When I ask the Clerk if what is printed in the order paper is verbatim what was received in his office prior to 5 o'clock and he says yes, that's all that's required.

On the other question the member raises, it's an interesting one. I would be pleased to reflect on it, the question of whether or not, when something is tabled, at that moment does it then become available to any member who inquires. I must balance that against the principle that all members in the House should be made aware of information at the same time so that no individual member has any undue advantage.

Having said that, I'm pleased to reflect on it and to see if I can provide for the member an answer which will satisfy his curiosity on this point. I appreciate him bringing it to my attention, because it's an interesting one. To my knowledge it has not been brought to this House before and thus will require a bit of thought.

Mr Sorbara: On a further point of order, Mr Speaker: Listening to your comments, I want to make it absolutely and completely clear that I do not question for one moment the competence, integrity and hard work of our table officers. They work extremely hard, and I

suggest to members of this House put up with a lot while they sit here and listen to the debate.

I want to reiterate one point, sir, and that is to simply remind you that under the laws we pass in this Parliament, the legal meaning of the word "notice" is that when notice is given, then it becomes available for inspection to those for whom notice is given. The very nature of the term "notice" suggests that those for whom notice is given, at the point when notice is given, will have an opportunity to examine the document and independently verify that the appropriate notice is given.

I was advised yesterday after 5:30 that something had been tabled, but I was not allowed to look at it. I suggest to you, sir, that is inconsistent with the legal definition of "notice," whether used here or in other parliaments. I want you to advise me in due course what recourse I have as a member to determine independently of the table officers, in whom I have great confidence, and you, sir, in whom I have increasing confidence, that notice is given within the time frames provided for in our standing orders, and I would urgently like your response after due investigation.

The Speaker: I believe I told the member I would be pleased to reflect on it. I will take the matter under advisement with respect to the notice procedure and I will report back at my earliest convenience.

Finally, I appreciate the kind comments about the table, which I believe are echoed by every member in this chamber and well deserved. His kind personal remarks are also appreciated very much.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): Mr Speaker, on a point of order: This is a point of order on a new matter relating to what the member for York Centre just raised.

When you are reviewing this matter, I would ask you to review one further section of it. As the member has just stated, prior to 5 o'clock there was a motion tabled with our officers, and I certainly echo his words about their integrity and their competence and I have the highest faith in them. There was a tabled motion at that stage. Our House leader brought us a copy of it. Section 66a was missing from it and our House leader told us this would be in the revised copy. Today, in Orders and Notices, section 66a is in.

The question I would ask of you is, when a motion is tabled, can there be amendments made to it throughout the evening before it is printed, and would it have the same validity as if notice was given in its original form? Perhaps if we could have clarification of that, it might help resolve this matter. If indeed it cannot be amended, then I would support the argument that was just raised that this may not be in order for us to debate today.

The Speaker: I believe I can be of some assistance to the member for Eglinton in this matter. Quite simply, whatever is tabled in the House or in the Clerk's office prior to 5 o'clock will be printed verbatim on the order paper for the next day. If there are changes to be made, they may be made in the House. The Speaker, of course, has no control over private conversations, over whatever documents may or may not be altered by private parties

who are having discussions. The Speaker has no authority and no business to be involved in anything like that. The Clerk's office will simply reprint verbatim what it receives prior to 5 o'clock. Any changes that might be made to that must, of course, be made in the House or new motions tabled on the succeeding day or days thereafter. I hope that clarifies the matter for the member.

1530

VISITORS

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I would ask all members to join me in welcoming to our gallery today and to our assembly two very special visitors, His Excellency Alfred Siefert-Gaillardin, the Ambassador of France to Canada, and Mr Pierre-Antoine Berniard, the consul general of France. Welcome to the assembly.

PETITIONS

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a petition signed by 24 residents of Middlesex county, petitioning the arbitrator to "reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

I've affixed by signature.

LANDFILL SITES

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I have a petition of 2,278 names from the town of Caledon which I'd like to submit to this Legislature.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has released a list of 21 proposed sites in the region of Peel as possible candidates for landfill, 15 of which are located in the town of Caledon;

"And whereas the decision to prohibit the regions of the greater Toronto area from searching for landfill sites beyond their boundaries is contrary to the intent of the Environmental Assessment Act, section 5(3);

"And whereas the government has promised each person in Ontario the right to a full environment assessment, including the right to review all options as it pertains to waste disposal in Ontario;

"We, the undersigned, protest and petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario repeal Bill 143 in its entirety and allow a more democratic process for the consideration of future options for disposal of greater Toronto area waste, particularly the consideration of disposal sites beyond the boundaries of the greater Toronto area, where a 'willing host' community exists who is interested in developing a new disposal system for greater Toronto area waste."

I have affixed my name to that petition.

LEGISLATIVE PAGES

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): I wish to exercise my right and obligation to present a petition to you. It's a petition addressed to the government of Ontario and it reads:

"We, the undersigned, wish to congratulate the pages who have served this Legislature for the past several weeks. They, all of them, are clearly an outstanding group of young women and men who have probably taught us far more than we've taught them. We thank them for their presence here at Queen's Park and for the diligent service that they've provided to this assembly.

"We express special gratitude to young Melissa Moreau from Thorold, who has shown exceptional talent and maturity, who should be very proud of herself, because"—I tell you, Speaker—"her parents, her schoolmates, her community and her MPP are especially proud of her.

"We wish all of these pages well as they return to their homes and hope for all of them a pleasant summer and have no doubt that some of them will be gracing this chamber as adults as members representing their respective constituencies."

That is signed of course by myself, and so the initial word "we" would be appropriate; Mr Johnson joined with me.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs Margaret Marland): The member for Parkdale.

NATIVE HUNTING AND FISHING

Mr Tony Ruprecht (Parkdale): Thank you, Madam Speaker. I'm delighted to see you. You certainly brighten up this place.

I have a petition here to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and the government of Ontario from the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters. The petition, signed by 1,400 people, says:

"Since Premier Bob Rae and Natural Resources/native affairs minister Bud Wildman took their current offices, they have changed the application of conversation laws. In fact, you are no longer applying the Game and Fish Act, the migratory bird act or federal Fisheries Act to natives. I believe we should be living in a democracy where the laws apply equally to all citizens and no one is exempt. Please reconsider and take action to treat us all as equals."

Madam Speaker, I'll give this to the page to present to you.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): On a point of order, Madam Speaker: I listened intently to the petition my friend introduced. I want to assure him that I have many responsibilities in this House, but one of them does not deal with conversation laws.

Mr Ruprecht: On a point of order, Madam Speaker: That's exactly what it says in this petition. I forward it to the minister.

DRIVERS' LICENCES

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I have a petition with 141 names from my riding. It is addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the recent death and injury of five youths within the riding of Dufferin-Peel has deeply disturbed the residents; and

"Whereas these deaths might have been prevented if legislation concerning graduated licensing had been in place; and

"Whereas we would like to prevent further deaths and injuries to our new drivers and young people;

"We would like to petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to bring forward legislation to introduce graduated licences within the province of Ontario."

Madam Speaker, I have affixed my name to that petition.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): I have a petition signed by 58 constituents from the county of Middlesex. These constituents petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to set aside the Brant report, request a reduced annexation and preserve agricultural land and the rural way of life in the county of Middlesex.

This petition has been signed by residents of Granton, Glencoe and Parkhill. It was circulated and sponsored by the municipal councils and the county of Middlesex. I have affixed my name to this petition.

STUDENT SAFETY

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I have a petition of approximately 1,000 names from constituents in my riding and other parts of Peel. It is addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Matthew Morten died tragically at his residence at York University as a result of a severed brachial artery caused by a shard of glass;

"Whereas the glass which caused Matthew's death broke free from the door of his residence and was not safety glass;

"Whereas the regional coroner from Metropolitan Toronto has refused the family's request for an inquest and has indicated that it was economically unsound to make universities replace non-safety glass, although a 'recommendation' has been sent to universities by the coroner asking only that they consider replacing such glass;

"Whereas there are other issues which should also be addressed, including the late response of the ambulance because it became lost on campus and the inability of the attendants to carry Matthew out on a stretcher due to the narrowness of the stairs;

"Whereas ignoring the abovementioned circumstances may lead to another death or serious injury;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That an inquest into the death of Matthew Morten be ordered immediately to ensure the safety of other Ontario students is safeguarded."

I have affixed my signature to this as well.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): Madam Speaker, before I present my petition, may I say what a delight it is to have you grace the Speaker's chair this afternoon.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas independent and non-partisan economic studies have concluded that the proposed changes to Ontario labour legislation will increase job losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery and the maintenance of a sound economic environment in the province;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the Ontario government declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to the labour legislation in the best interests of the people of Ontario."

I too have affixed my name to this petition.

1540

FRENCH-LANGUAGE SERVICES

Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot): I have a petition here signed by residents of Kitchener, Waterloo, Linwood, St Jacob's, Elmira and Petersburg, and it states:

"We, the undersigned, do petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to:

"1. Resolve that the Ontario Transportation minister's directive to replace existing highway signs in Ontario with bilingual signs at a cost to taxpayers of more than \$4 million be revoked immediately;

"2. Repeal the discriminatory and unconstitutional Bill 8, the French Language Services Act, in the province and all areas designated as French language."

COURT RULING

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): I'm pleased to present a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario which reads in part as follows:

"That the right to appeal the decision made in the Debra Williams Ellul murder acquitting Guy Ellul of all charges be granted based on the fact that the decision not to allow the appeal does not accurately reflect the public's abhorrence and unacceptability of the outcome of this trial."

I've affixed my name to this petition.

REVENUE FROM GAMING

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I have a petition that's signed by 67 individuals from communities like Kitchener, Hillsburgh, Orton, Fergus, Arthur and Erin and it reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the abovementioned implementations,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a quick-fix solution to its fiscal

problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I have affixed my name to this petition.

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I have a petition of 11 signatures from my riding of Orangeville and other areas around the province. It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas the current government is considering legalizing casinos in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in the racing industry; and

"Whereas studies show these proposals could affect some 50,000 jobs within the industry,

"The government stop looking to casinos as a quick-fix solution to pay down the deficit."

I've affixed my name to that petition.

FRENCH-LANGUAGE SERVICES

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I have another 13,000 petitions here to bring to the total now 142,000 petitions to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the province of Ontario is experiencing a severe economic recession;

"Whereas the placement of bilingual road signs on Ontario's highways without consultation and at a cost of more than \$4 million represents a blatant misdirection of taxpayers' dollars, which should be used to address the current pressing economic and employment needs of Ontario citizens;

"Whereas citizens of Ontario are increasingly being denied essential services, such as medical treatment, for lack of adequate funding;

"Whereas Bill 8, the French Language Services Act, does not mandate bilingual highway signs, leaving interpretation to the discretion of the Ontario Transportation minister who, as the minister responsible for francophone affairs, is empowered to grant exemptions under the act,

"We, the undersigned, do petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that the Ontario Transportation minister's directive to replace existing highway signs in Ontario with bilingual signs at a cost to taxpayers of more than \$4 million be revoked immediately."

It is signed with my signature of support.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr David Tilson (Dufferin-Peel): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario from my riding and other cities around this province, from Concord, Scarborough, Thornhill and Etobicoke. It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas independent and non-partisan economic studies have concluded that the proposed changes to Ontario labour legislation will increase job losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery and the maintenance of a sound economic environment in the province,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the Ontario government declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to the labour legislation in the best interests of the people of Ontario."

Madam Speaker, I've affixed my name to this petition.

REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

STANDING COMMITTEE ON REGULATIONS AND PRIVATE BILLS

Mr White from the standing committee on regulations and private bills presented the following report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bill without amendment:

Bill Pr50, An Act respecting The Town of Mattawa and The Township of Mattawan.

Motion agreed to.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 SUR L'ÉQUITÉ EN MATIÈRE D'EMPLOI

Ms Ziemba moved first reading of Bill 79, An Act to provide for Employment Equity for Aboriginal People, People with Disabilities, Members of Racial Minorities and Women / Loi prévoyant l'équité en matière d'emploi pour les autochtones, les personnes handicapées, les membres des minorités raciales et les femmes.

Motion agreed to.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs Margaret Marland): Does the minister have comments?

Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship and Minister Responsible for Human Rights, Disability Issues, Seniors' Issues and Race Relations): Just a few comments, in that we feel very strongly as a government that we must make sure all of our workplaces in Ontario are fair and equitable for all of our citizens in Ontario. This makes good economic sense as we come out of our recession and it builds towards the partnership between business, labour, equity-seeking groups and the government. I feel very strongly that we have set a model in place that will provide for a fair way of doing business in Ontario and make sure that all of our citizens in Ontario have that opportunity to participate fully in our economic recovery.

I would just like to say in closing that I want to thank all the people who have worked very hard to make sure that this bill came to fruition today, as I stated in my statement: the employment equity commissioner, Juanita Westmoreland-Traoré, as well as my cabinet colleagues, my caucus colleagues, the equity-seeking groups and my advisory community. They have done a very good job in helping me and giving me the assistance that I needed to come forward today with this bill.

LABOUR RELATIONS AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR LES RELATIONS DE TRAVAIL

Mr Mackenzie moved first reading of Bill 80, An Act to amend the Labour Relations Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur les relations de travail.

Motion agreed to.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs Margaret Marland): Minister, comments on your bill?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): These amendments are intended to protect the integrity of Ontario construction locals.

1550

CONDOMINIUM CORPORATIONS ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 SUR LES ASSOCIATIONS CONDOMINIALES

Ms Churley moved first reading of Bill 81, An Act to revise the Condominium Act / Loi révisant la Loi sur les condominiums.

Motion agreed to.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs Margaret Marland): Would the minister like to make some comments?

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): I can do it now? Thank you, Madam Speaker. I notice my notes say "Mr Speaker." I'm pleased to be able to say "Madam Speaker" today.

I'm very pleased to introduce for first reading amendments to the Condominium Act. First enacted in 1967, this legislation has not been significantly amended in over a decade. During this period, condominium construction and ownership have increased dramatically. However, adjustments to the act and its regulations haven't kept up with the marketplace.

Provisions under the new Condominium Act will include such things as increasing the disclosure of information to condominium purchasers, improving the balance of rights and responsibilities within condominium corporations, providing increased protection for investments made by consumers in condominium housing, streamlining the approval process for condominium development, and expanding and diversifying the housing options available for condominium ownership.

I'm very pleased that today some representatives from the condominium industry are here with us and I thank them for their input over the years this has been going on. I certainly urge members to support this legislation, which will provide consumers with improved protection and make the operation and management of condominiums fairer and more accessible to the people who live in them.

BOROUGH OF EAST YORK ACT, 1992

Ms Swarbrick, on behalf of Ms Ward (Don Mills), moved first reading of Bill Pr57, An Act respecting the Borough of East York.

Motion agreed to.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

ONTARIO LOAN ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992
SUR LES EMPRUNTS DE L'ONTARIO

Deferred vote on the motion for second reading of Bill 16, An Act to authorize borrowing on the credit of the Consolidated Revenue Fund / Loi autorisant des emprunts garantis par le Trésor.

1600

The House divided on Mr Laughren's motion, which was agreed to on the following vote:

Ayes—62

Allen, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carter, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Dadamo, Duignan, Ferguson, Fletcher, Frankford, Gigantes, Grier, Haeck, Hampton, Hansen, Harrington, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Johnson, Klopp, Kormos, Lankin, Laughren, Lessard, Mackenzie, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Martel, Martin, Mathysen, Mills, Morrow, Murdock (Sudbury);

North, O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Ward (Brantford), Ward (Don Mills), Wark-Martyn, Waters, Wessinger, White, Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

Nays—28

Arnott, Caplan, Carr, Conway, Cousens, Cunningham, Curling, Eddy, Eves, Harnick, Harris, Henderson, Jackson, Jordan, Kwinter, Mahoney, Miclash, O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Poole, Ruprecht, Scott, Sterling, Stockwell, Sullivan, Tilson, Turnbull, Wilson (Simcoe West).

Bill ordered for third reading.

ARNPRIOR-NEPEAN RAILWAY COMPANY INC ACT, 1992

Mr Jordan moved second reading of Bill Pr47, An Act respecting Arnprior-Nepean Railway Company Inc.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

FAITHWAY BAPTIST COLLEGE OF CANADA ACT, 1992

Mr Wiseman moved second reading of Bill Pr1, An Act respecting FaithWay Baptist College of Canada.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

SCHOOL SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME
OF ONTARIO ACT, 1992

Mr Jackson moved second reading of Bill Pr4, An Act respecting the School Sisters of Notre Dame of Ontario.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CAMBRIDGE DISTRICT ASSOCIATION FOR
CHRISTIAN EDUCATION ACT, 1992

Mrs Witmer moved second reading of Bill Pr9, An Act to revive Cambridge District Association for Christian Education.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

1610

CITY OF LONDON ACT, 1992

Mrs Cunningham moved second reading of Bill Pr 10, An Act respecting the City of London.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

372595 ONTARIO LIMITED ACT, 1992

Mr Mahoney, on behalf of Mr Ruprecht, moved second reading of Bill Pr11, An Act to revive 372595 Ontario Limited.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CITY OF NORTH BAY AND
TOWNSHIP OF EAST FERRIS ACT, 1992

Mr Harris moved second reading of Bill Pr32, An Act respecting the City of North Bay and Township of East Ferris.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CITY OF NORTH BAY ACT, 1992

Mr Harris moved second reading of Bill Pr17, An Act respecting the City of North Bay.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CITY OF OTTAWA ACT, 1992

Mr Mahoney, on behalf of Mr Chiarelli, moved second reading of Bill Pr18, An Act respecting the City of Ottawa.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

ONTARIO ASSOCIATION OF PROPERTY
STANDARDS OFFICERS ACT, 1992

Mr Christopherson moved second reading of Bill Pr22, An Act respecting the Ontario Association of Property Standards Officers.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

PEMBROKE AND AREA
AIRPORT COMMISSION ACT, 1992

Mr Conway moved second reading of Bill Pr24, An Act respecting the Pembroke and Area Airport Commission.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CITY OF VAUGHAN ACT, 1992

Mr Mahoney, on behalf of Mr Sorbara, moved second reading of Bill Pr25, An Act respecting the City of Vaughan.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

PETERBOROUGH CLUB ACT, 1992

Ms Carter moved second reading of Bill Pr26, An Act to revive The Peterborough Club.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CITY OF OTTAWA ACT, 1992

Mr Mahoney, on behalf of Mr Grandmaître, moved second reading of Bill Pr27, An Act respecting the City of Ottawa.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

1620

CITY OF CORNWALL ACT, 1992

Mr Mahoney, on behalf of Mr Cleary, moved second reading of Bill Pr29, An Act respecting the City of Cornwall.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

SHER-BASSIN GROUP INC ACT, 1992

Mr Wessinger, on behalf of Mr White, moved second reading of Bill Pr30, An Act to revive The Sher-Bassin Group Inc.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

TOWN OF CALEDON ACT, 1992

Mr Tilson moved second reading of Bill Pr31, An Act respecting the Town of Caledon.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CINQUEMANI HOLDINGS LIMITED ACT, 1992

Mr Mahoney, on behalf of Mrs Caplan, moved second reading of Bill Pr33, An Act to revive Cinquemani Holdings Limited.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CITY OF OTTAWA ACT, 1992

Mr Mahoney, on behalf of Mr Chiarelli, moved second reading of Bill Pr34, An Act respecting the City of Ottawa.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

DUTCH CANADIAN ALLIANCE OF
ONTARIO, INC. ACT, 1992

Mr Harnick moved second reading of Bill Pr39, An Act to revive the Dutch Canadian Alliance of Ontario, Inc.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

PORT ELGIN SPORTSMEN'S CLUB ACT, 1992

Mr Mahoney, on behalf of Mr Elston, moved second reading of Bill Pr41, An Act to revive Port Elgin Sportsmen's Club.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

TRI-DELTA OF TORONTO ACT, 1992

Ms Murdock, on behalf of Ms Akande, moved second reading of Bill Pr42, An Act to revive Tri-Delta of Toronto.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

1630

CITY OF TORONTO ACT, 1992

Mr Mammoliti, on behalf of Mr Marchese, moved second reading of Bill Pr43, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

CITY OF TORONTO ACT, 1992

Mr Mammoliti, on behalf of Mr Marchese, moved second reading of Bill Pr86, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

RIDEAU TRAIL ASSOCIATION ACT, 1992

Mr G. Wilson moved second reading of Bill Pr94, An Act to revive Rideau Trail Association.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs and Government House Leader): Madam Speaker, there is unanimous consent to move third reading of Bill 16.

ONTARIO LOAN ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 SUR LES EMPRUNTS DE L'ONTARIO

Mr Cooke, on behalf of Mr Laughren, moved third reading of Bill 16, An Act to authorize borrowing on the credit of the Consolidated Revenue Fund / Loi autorisant les emprunts garantis par le Trésor.

Motion agreed to.

WATERFRONT REGENERATION
TRUST AGENCY ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 SUR L'AGENCE FIDUCIAIRE
DE RÉGÉNÉRATION DU SECTEUR RIVERAIN

Mrs Grier moved third reading of Bill 1, An Act to establish the Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency / Loi créant l'Agence fiduciaire de régénération du secteur riverain.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs Margaret Marland): Does the minister have any comments?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): No, Madam Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: Does any member wish to participate in the debate?

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): I would like to comment on Bill 1, the Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency Act. We had a chance the other evening, as we did second reading, to consider certain parts of the bill and I have to say there are two or three concerns I would like to bring before the House.

I just had a short discussion with the minister, just to confirm that this bill does not contain within it the possibility of people donating property or gifts of property to the province and then through that donation receiving a tax exemption for it. In fact, the spirit behind Mr Crombie has been one that I think is somewhat conciliatory in trying to work out a long-term plan. As people can move into that plan over a period of time, then there will be a sense that we will have protected better than we have in the past the waterfront along Lake Ontario.

If it should turn out that a generous benefactor to the province may want to give maybe a certain parcel of his property, the frontage or so many metres or feet, and then at that time relinquish the responsibility you have with ownership and the taxes that go with it, but also gain back not only the feeling of goodwill, of having contributed a lifetime gift to the province, but also to have some kind of tax benefit through that contribution, inasmuch as this bill does not contain that kind of tax advantage for people, I would hope there is an opportunity in the not too distant future where the Minister of the Environment can take the spirit of these comments and bring them forward in some other bill that might begin to encourage people to give something that is theirs to the rest of the population.

I think there is something in Scottish law where you may own something, but people can then still use it. We have a different sense of ownership on property; you can fence it and it's yours. That is something that is too bad in many cases, because sometimes we will own the best view of a river or a lake or an island and people driving by would like to see it and yet there can be no-trespassing signs that prohibit others from sharing in the beauty of that.

So as we are able to mature in our understanding of ownership of property, that is something we have to begin to say, that if you're willing to share that, then there can be a reciprocal benefit back to the benefactor or the donor of that property.

It's begun to happen at this point with snowmobiles where there are trails now crossing over private property and there's an understanding that's taken place between the owners of the property and the snowmobile clubs as they've developed fantastic winter trails through parts of the province of Ontario. That is something we can continue to develop as we develop walking trails and methods for our whole province to sort of open up, that there isn't anyone who has that classy, special privilege that separates them from others who may not have that ownership.

So the sense I'm bringing forward here certainly isn't covered in the bill. It's not reflected in any act we have before the government and I table it as something the minister might begin to look at. If I were to get a commitment from the minister that she were going to do it, I would not need to craft my own private member's bill or one from our caucus on this matter.

I want to raise as well a second subject. It has to do with the question I asked in the Legislature today. It wasn't what you'd call a friendly question to the minister, but it none the less raised the very question that was brought up last night in Whitchurch-Stouffville.

1640

When you start thinking about the effect the Interim Waste Authority could have upon the waterfront and on the water systems within the watershed of Lake Ontario and the Ganaraska and Lake Simcoe, in fact these proposed waste sites are being located on the headwaters and the tributaries of the water systems that feed into Lake Ontario and Lake Simcoe and the Ganaraska. Placing these huge, 20-year-capacity landfill sites on locations where they will possibly break through and begin to destroy right at their headwaters and within those tributaries the very water systems we are trying to protect through this regeneration bill, is a matter of great concern to people in Ontario.

People now understand the damage that was done on the Don River and on the Humber. Only recently have we begun to appreciate that the Rouge is such a valuable natural heritage that we must do everything possible to protect it in perpetuity.

The fact of the matter is that the government now is considering placing on strategic, environmentally sensitive lands landfill sites that will for ever change the potential environmental health of the waterfront and of the watershed.

It is inconceivable that the Interim Waste Authority could even have thought it was possible to place landfill sites on these watershed systems and on the Rouge Valley system. The two in Markham I'm especially familiar with feed into the Rouge Valley system. Why, in the first place, would the Interim Waste Authority consider that there could be any viability to sites that are on the Rouge Valley? Why did they consider them worthwhile, to cause the community to say, "Is this the environmental sense of the Ministry of the Environment?" If the Minister of the Environment is that far out of it to have allowed fundamentally sacred environmental sites to be selected, then that Minister of the Environment has failed in the overall environmental responsibility to the people of Ontario—no longer

green, no longer sensitive to the commitment all of us want to see on the protection of our watershed.

I can't begin to tell the Speaker and other members of this House and the people of Ontario how angry people are becoming. I guess the problem is that many people do not know how this system works here at Queen's Park. They have no sense of how a bill, such as Bill 143, brought in by the government last October, the latter part of October—the government would have tried to rush through Bill 143 so that by December 19 when the House rose it would have been dealt with, it would have been passed, and then at some choice moment the Interim Waste Authority would release the potential landfill sites that would be used for York, Durham and Peel.

I for one never suspected that the Interim Waste Authority, which is under the aegis and control of the Ministry of the Environment, would begin to choose sites that it has, sites that feed our water systems.

People are concerned about their air, their land and their water. The bill we're talking about here, Bill 1, the first bill this government wanted to present to show good faith to the people of Ontario when the House resumed back in April, was this regeneration bill of the waterfront. Good sense, good intentions, but on the one hand they present this bill as if there's something going to happen, and on the other this government is allowing sites that feed this waterfront, sites that feed into this watershed, to be considered as landfill sites. It is totally inconsistent.

That is why I asked the honourable Minister of the Environment the very simple question, "Did you as a minister consider just dumping the garbage directly into Lake Ontario?" The minister quickly responded today, and it's probably the shortest answer I've ever had from the minister. She said, "No." I'm pleased she didn't.

But the fact of the matter is that the net effect of having sites that could be part of the tributary system, the headwaters of these rivers that feed into our watershed, which can then become the lifetime habitat of our garbage, is absolutely unacceptable in the extreme.

I can't believe the Minister of the Environment has not gone back to the Interim Waste Authority and said: "Remove those sites. Remove them now from immediate consideration or further consideration. Let there be no further thought of those sites as being under consideration, because they're part of the Rouge, they're part of the Don, they're part of the Ganaraska." Because of that the minister, in her former environmental self, would have some sense to say: "Remove them. I want to take action on them."

The concern of the people in York, Durham and Peel goes far beyond the NIMBY syndrome: not in my backyard. The member for Durham-York last night obviously had a deep sense of how people were feeling. People are angry in his riding. They're angry in my riding. This government has declared war on the people in the greater Toronto area by saying, "We're going to put the garbage dump right in the most valuable land in Canada, land that can then feed right into the watershed that's part of Lake Ontario."

All the confusing signals that come out of the choices for the selection: It's on historic land, it's on prime agricultural land, it's on land near large communities—there are so many issues about the flawed choice of properties to be considered for landfill sites for the greater Toronto area. Among the most flawed is the very decision by this government to allow those sites to be on the watershed, to be on the tributaries, that then in the future our water may be something we just cannot drink. We are faced with a sense of how we can work together to protect our waterfronts. That's one of the issues.

The inconsistency of this government coming along with Bill 1 and saying, "Yes, we want to do something about the waterfront," and in following the sense that we have in the Crombie report, there you see the picture of it. Seldom do you see the context of that where you see all the tributaries feeding into Lake Ontario. What I didn't have time to do was place on this map in York, Durham and Peel where the landfill sites are and how they are going to flow into this network. That is in itself one of the master subjects that has to be dealt with.

Of course we will be told by the honourable minister that this will be given full and proper consideration through the process established under Bill 143. It's a flawed process in the first place. It's a flawed process that doesn't allow other options to be considered such as the possibility of rail-hauling garbage to other sites such as the willing host at the Adams mine in Kirkland Lake, which would mean you would not have the chance of the water systems that we're talking about in Lake Ontario being impacted negatively by having landfill sites here.

If we were allowed to rail-haul to northern Ontario, where they want it, I think, after it successfully passed an environmental assessment and it was proved that the site was worthwhile, then we might be in a position to have far more sites that are located around Lake Ontario, around Simcoe, around the Ganaraska, protected.

The Acting Speaker: Order. I would draw the member for Markham's attention to Bill 1, which is on the orders at this time, and respectfully ask him to address Bill 1.

1650

Mr Cousens: If there's any doubt I'm on topic then you obviously haven't been listening, Madam Speaker. The fact of the matter is that this ties in very closely. People are saying you've got something to do. I am mad. You can't come along and say, "Bill 1 is a statement of wonderful principle of this government," when on the other hand this government has implemented, and is in the process of implementing, Bill 143. They are not inconsistent. If the Speaker is trying to rule me out of order because I'm tying the two in, then I would like to see her ruling.

I do not see any inconsistency from where I'm coming from. I will challenge anyone who says Bills 1 and 143 are a dichotomy. What has happened with Bill 1 and what is going on with Bill 143 should be harmonized. I, for one, am not about to accept the approach that this government has considered: to allow this basic hypocrisy with the people to be perpetuated, or to allow it to go by without comment

or to allow myself to be taken in by something that is far more important, and that is the whole subject.

You cannot isolate one thing from the other. In politics people like to compartmentalize things so that you can say, "Hey, there it is." But what we're talking about with our whole watershed and the regeneration of the waterfront ties in to how you feed it in.

If this government thinks the people in York, Durham and Peel are going to stand idly by while this government is going to place landfill sites in environmentally sensitive areas that are part of the heritage and the environment, then I have to tell you, Madam Speaker, that we're in for a major confrontation, and that confrontation is really part of my speaking up today.

There are people out there who want to be heard and who want this government to understand the interaction of all the different concepts that come together to do the right thing, so that you've taken into consideration the latest technology, the social habitat, the whole environmental picture, the nine principles that are presented by Mr Crombie in his report. All of these things begin to give us a composite.

To deal with Bill 1 in isolation from Bill 143 is a mistake. Though I support Bill 1 and the intentions that are so well presented by Mr Crombie in his report and by the general intent of the bill, I dislike the fact that there is going to be more money spent—you've got another agency started and you've got a lot of hidden agendas that may come to the fore through this. I don't want to be proved wrong on this, but there is not a lot of trust on the part of people who were looking for more from the honourable minister. There is not the total commitment to water that this government was to have brought forward.

One of the things is the whole act on water, the water secretariat. Where is that legislation? It's not here.

In making my remarks, I draw attention to these very real concerns. They will not go away. The people of Ontario have lost their fighter in the opposition member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore—I hope I've got the right riding—the now Minister of the Environment, when she was in opposition and was one of the most ardent spokespeople for environmental concerns. Now that she is in the very high and lofty post of Minister of the Environment she is one who seems to have lost the grasp of the grass roots and the concerns they have about these fundamental issues. It is not a subject that will go away. I am not about to allow the subject to drop.

Different members are indicating that they would like to get on to other subjects. I really had every feeling that I had more time to pursue this subject. If that is not the case, I want to respect some of the agreements that have been made.

I have to say to you, Madam Speaker, that there is far more to be said to the Minister of the Environment and to the government on these environmental matters. I, for one, hope that I am not silenced by all these new agreements and arrangements around the Legislature, which is now somehow going to control the amount of time we have to speak and the amount we can represent for our ridings and to our people on these issues.

I believe that what I have to say on this has to be heard. I'm just sorry that though the honourable minister is here, she does not react as responsibly as I would have hoped, when you consider that in her own mark for Ontario's environmental track record from the Conservation Council of Ontario the minister has only been given a D. I would have given the Honourable Ruth Grier an A in all the subjects when she was in opposition. Now that she has a chance to do it, the marks aren't coming out as well.

May we still hope for something good, and may we, in reviewing the next few weeks as Bill 143 continues to be a subject of debate, as Bill 143 ties into Bill 1, as the whole issue of the environment heats up in the heat of summer and as people in York region, Durham and Peel continue to understand how this government has lost its mission and has lost its sense, we must remind them of the purpose we have to fight for all environmental matters and to be genuine in our commitment to make a difference in a positive way.

The Acting Speaker: Are there any comments or questions on the member's speech? Seeing none, I would ask the minister if she would like to wind up her final comments.

Hon Mrs Grier: Madam Chair, I have no further comments.

Motion agreed to.

TOWN OF MATTAWA AND TOWNSHIP OF MATTAWAN ACT (OTTO HOLDEN DAM BYPASS), 1992

Mr Eves moved second reading of Bill Pr50, An Act respecting the Town of Mattawa and the Township of Mattawan.

Motion agreed to.

Third reading also agreed to on motion.

THIRD READINGS

The following bills were given third reading on motion:

Bill 11, An Act to amend the Corporations Tax Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'imposition des corporations.

Bill 12, An Act to amend the Mining Tax Act / Loi modifiant la Loi de l'impôt sur l'exploitation minière.

1700

DISTRICT OF PARRY SOUND LOCAL GOVERNMENT AMENDMENT ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI RELATIVE AU GOUVERNEMENT LOCAL DANS LE DISTRICT DE PARRY SOUND

Mr Cooke moved third reading of Bill 77, An Act to amend The District of Parry Sound Local Government Act, 1979 / Loi modifiant la loi intitulée The District of Parry Sound Local Government Act.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs Margaret Marland): Does the minister have any comments?

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs): No.

The Acting Speaker: Does any other member wish to enter into the debate?

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): I would like to compliment the minister and his staff in the Ministry of Municipal Affairs for bringing this bill forward.

This bill will actually clear up problems in two municipalities, the township of The Archipelago and the town of Carney, which were created by the District of Parry Sound Local Government Act in 1979, and by an oversight of the government of the day—we all know who that was—the roads in those two municipalities were not transferred to the municipalities. Really, that is the purpose of this legislation: to clear up that anomaly so that these municipalities can get on with their business.

Motion agreed to.

HOUSE SITTINGS

Mr Cooke moved government notice of motion 10:

That notwithstanding standing order 6(a)(i), the House shall continue to meet commencing Monday, June 29, 1992.

Motion agreed to.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr Cooke moved government notice of motion 11:

That the standing orders be amended as follows:

The standing order 6(a) be deleted and the following substituted therefor:

"6(a) During a Parliament, the House shall meet:

"(i) from the Monday following the week prescribed by the regulations made under the Education Act for the school holiday in March to the Thursday preceding Victoria Day and from the first Monday following Victoria Day to the fourth Thursday in June; and

"(ii) from the fourth Monday in September to the Thursday preceding the week in which Remembrance Day falls and from the Monday of the week following Remembrance Day to the second Thursday in December."

That the following new standing order be added after standing order 23:

"23a(a) Except where otherwise expressly provided by the standing orders, when the Speaker is in the chair, no member shall speak for more than 30 minutes.

"(b) Notwithstanding clause (a), the first speaker for any recognized party in the House may speak for not more than 90 minutes in the following circumstances:

"(i) debate on second reading of a government bill.

"(ii) debate on third reading of a government bill.

"(iii) debate on the address in reply to the speech from the throne.

"(iv) debate on the budget motion.

"(v) debate on the interim supply motion.

"(vi) debate on any other substantive government motion."

That the following new standing order be added:

"37(f) The period for 'Introduction of Bills' shall be limited to 30 minutes."

That the following new standing order be added after standing order 44:

"44a(a) The government House leader or any minister of the crown may move a motion with notice providing for

the allocation of time to any proceeding on a government bill or substantive government motion.

"(b) At the end of the sessional day during which debate on the time allocation motion commences as the first government order of the day, the Speaker shall without further debate or amendment put every question necessary to dispose of the motion. If a recorded vote is requested by five members, the division bells shall be limited to 15 minutes.

"(c) A time allocation motion may not be moved until at least three sessional days of debate have taken place on second reading consideration of any government bill or a substantive government motion when that government bill or substantive motion has been called as the first government order of the day on each of the days.

"(d) For the purpose of this standing order the term sessional day means any day on which the House sits."

That standing order 51 be deleted and the following substituted therefor:

"All notices required by the standing orders of the House or otherwise shall be laid on the table before 5:00 pm and printed on the Orders and Notices paper for the following day. Government notices of motion shall be distributed by the Clerk to the House leaders of recognized parties in the Legislature at the time of tabling."

That standing order 66 be deleted and the following substituted therefor:

"66(a) No government public bill, other than the supply bill, introduced during the last 8 sessional days in June in the period provided for in paragraph (i) of standing order 6(a) or during the last eight sessional days in December in the period provided for in paragraph (ii) of standing order 6(a) shall be called for second reading during the same sessional period.

"(b) When the meetings of the House as provided for in standing order 6(a)(i) and standing order 6(a)(ii) are extended by motion of the House beyond the fourth Thursday in June and the second Thursday in December, no government public bill introduced during the last eight sessional days in June, the last eight sessional days in December or in the extension period shall be called for second reading in the extended period."

That these permanent standing orders come into force at 12:00 midnight on the Friday of the week that they are passed by the House.

That the Clerk of the House be authorized and instructed to print a revised edition of the standing orders of the House, renumbering as may be deemed necessary and making such technical and consequential changes as may be necessary.

That outstanding issues relating to the standing orders be referred to the Legislative Assembly committee for consideration and that the report be sent back to the House leaders of recognized parties in the Legislature for final agreement.

The Acting Speaker (Mrs Margaret Marland): Do you have any opening comments?

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): Yes, Madam Speaker. This is the government motion that

reflects discussions that have taken place over the last couple of weeks that deal with amendments to the standing orders of our Legislature.

I know there are members in the Legislature on all sides—but obviously in particular in the opposition parties—who feel very strongly about this issue and about the first resolution we presented as a government. But I want to say that I very much appreciate the work that has been done in the last week and a half or so, where the House leader for the official opposition, the House leader for the third party and myself have sat down to try to take the first draft—if we might call it that—of rule changes, work on some of those rules and try to work out as best we can a compromise to modernize the rules in the Legislature to still protect very much the role and the right of the opposition parties to oppose the government but also to bring in some changes to the rules that will allow the government of the day to get its legislative agenda through the House.

The rules change we are proposing simply deal with a few items, and I'd just like to outline them.

First of all, the calendar is changed very minimally. The calendar is changed so there is just one week off at the beginning; instead of coming back the week before the March break and then having the March break and then coming back after, we are now going to come back the week after the March break. At Christmas, there will be one fewer week so that instead of adjourning the Thursday just before Christmas, it will be one week before that, which will be exactly the same as the federal House.

The other changes deal with the provision for time allocation in the rules. The opposition parties had expressed some concern that the original time allocation motion which we proposed did not provide for adequate guarantees and protections for debate of bills at second reading or for substantive motions of the government. The compromise that's been worked out guarantees that the government of the day cannot move a time allocation motion until there's been at least three sessional days of debate at second reading or for a substantive motion of the government.

Another change being proposed is like what we did a few years ago under the previous government when restraints were put on the time to introduce petitions because of problems that occurred when we were in opposition and we used the open-ended ability to introduce petitions to hold up government business. The same thing has happened with the introduction of bills. Under this proposal there will be a 30-minute restriction on the introduction of bills.

Those are the major changes in the rules. I think they will provide some guarantees that the government will have a better opportunity to get its legislation through the House, but they will also provide more than adequate opportunities for the opposition parties to oppose and indicate their opposition to legislation that's before the House.

There are a couple of other items that were requested by the opposition parties. We've included automatic sharing of the motions that are tabled with the table officer so that at 5 o'clock, when a substantive motion is tabled,

the opposition House leaders will now be given a copy of that by the Clerk's office.

I understand there are members of the opposition parties who are not happy with the rules package, but I think it certainly was time to look at some modernization of our rules. I think this is very much a middle ground when you compare the original rules proposal that I tabled on behalf of the government with the package we are now debating.

Understanding those strong feelings, I look forward to listening to the debate this evening, and I very much appreciate the assistance and good-faith bargaining that has gone on in the last couple of weeks with the House leaders for the official opposition party and the third party.

1710

The Acting Speaker: Are there any other members wishing to enter the debate?

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): We're just sorting out some of the confusion between the third party and ourselves as to the process for this evening, Madam Speaker. It's nice to see you in the chair. It occurred to me earlier that if the member for Mississauga West and the member for Mississauga South weren't here, there might not have been any business done in this House this afternoon. So congratulations on a job well done today. It's your first time in the chair, I believe. That's terrific.

I want to take a moment to put on the record some concerns and to make it very clear to people what these changes are all about, because one of the great frustrations we've experienced in opposition is that the general consensus or feeling in the public is: "What are you guys doing? Why don't you get on with these rule changes and stop fighting about this stuff?" The media have a big yawn about it. The implication in some of the media reports was that the government House leader had arrived at a deal, I think was the terminology that was used in the media.

I want to set the record straight and tell you there was no deal on the part of the official opposition, the Liberal Party. What there was in essence was capitulation, facing the reality that the government, with its large majority, really had us in a position where we were backed up against the wall, backed into a corner, no tomorrow, all those clichés that forced us to say, "Well, I guess you're going to shove this down our throat and I guess we're just going to have to live it."

The reason there was no deal or no agreement, even through all the negotiations the government House leader referred to with regard to the opposition House leader and the House leader for the third party, is that the word "draconian" would not do justice to some of the amendments.

Just in case and in the hope someone might be watching this in the public, I just want to lay down in the clearest terms what I understand the impact of this to be.

The term "time allocation" gets thrown around as being not that significant. What this does is amend the rules where there currently is a provision for time allocation to deal with a piece of legislation, and as you know, Madam Speaker, the debate goes in rotation. The government

can stand up at some point and move time allocation under the current rules, which in essence says there will be a specific amount of time for debate, a specific amount of time for committee work and a specific amount of time to vote on the particular piece of legislation. So it lays out the ground rules.

You, in the capacity of the Speaker, would have the authority under the current rules to stand up in this place and say to the government, which is moving time allocation: "I am the Speaker. I don't believe enough time has been spent on this legislation. I don't believe there have been enough speakers. I don't believe there have been enough hours or days in that situation."

The new rules take that power away from you. They take away the power of the Speaker, more than anyone else in this place, because the Speaker will no longer have the authority to make that judgement call. The Speaker will no longer be able to say: "There have been only three members of the opposition speak against this bill and two members of the government, and I don't think that's enough debate. There has been only one day or two days of debate, and I don't think that's enough debate. We're going to continue the rotation." Your hands, your powers will be taken away and you will simply be forced to put the motion to dispose of all questions before this House as soon as the time allocation takes effect.

If a government does not abuse it, the implication may not be that great. But what about a government that does abuse it? This government may say, "Well, gee, we wouldn't do that." What if—and I would ask members in the opposition to think about this—we wound up with some very radical right-wing government, maybe 20 years from now, that might decide it's going to ram through its legislation and its agenda and to heck with the members of the opposition? This will give them the power to do it.

I ask the government House leader, why do we need to go that far? Why do we need to strip the Speaker of his or her authority to allow debate to continue when you take a look at one of the other changes—and this is a change for which there would be some sympathy in some ranks of the opposition and in the public—and that is the amendment that will reduce and limit the time for speeches?

We've all heard speeches. When we were in government, we heard one from a member up here, who will be speaking on this a little bit later, that lasted 17 hours. I think he was reading the phone book for the most part.

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): It was a good speech on a key issue of Liberal legislation.

Mr Mahoney: You thought it was a good speech. I was suffering through it at the time. I was a little less than impressed. What I was impressed with was the fact that an opposition member of this Parliament had the tools available to him to put forward the concerns of his constituents in Welland-Thorold and of all people across this province. He used it to the limit.

What we're now being told is that we're going to have limits of 90 minutes for the opening speech, which would be by the leader of the party or the critic for the issue, and then each member in this place would be limited to 30

minutes. Thirty minutes is a time frame in which you should be able to give a pretty decent speech.

But limiting the length of speeches is in effect time allocation. Saying that the leadoff is 90 minutes, there you go; you move around the rotation to your three leadoff speakers, you do 90 minutes for each one, you then come back and you do 30 minutes. If every member in the place spoke for 30 minutes, which is an absurdity—it simply would not happen—at the end of that period, time allocation would be automatic and a vote would take place.

If we're bringing in time allocation on the length of speeches, why do we need to give this government time allocation on debate on a bill? It is a double hammer that is totally unnecessary and simply shows that this government is afraid to debate the issues that are of such significance at any length beyond the controls it's putting in place. You can shake your head, Mr Mills, but I don't know what other conclusion I can arrive at, except to say you're just going to stomp your feet and you're going to use your big majority to bring in two forms of time allocation.

Let me talk about another aspect of our current regulations: closure. Closure should not, under our current regulations, be confused with time allocation. Time allocation says we're going to do the following in the following order. Closure says we're now going to put the question and there will be no more debate. You no longer need closure because time allocation under these rules in effect becomes closure. Any minister can stand up and move time allocation for any bill and it's over; the party's over. Sure, you have to have three days' debate on second reading. We had to wrestle that out of the government House leader over weeks and weeks of acrimony and fighting and disagreement to get him to agree to three days. So we get three days debate at second reading.

Then the time allocation motion is put and we get one day. It was the House leader for the third party who insisted there be at least one day's debate on the time allocation motion. He would agree, I'm sure, he had to wrestle the government House leader for weeks on end to get that. What they wanted was a one-hour debate on time allocation and the jig's up, the game's over. At least we have a day to debate time allocation. Hopefully during that day we can point out to the public, we can hope they care and the public understands, that we're having our rights taken away here.

I can just see it a year from now—maybe even sooner than that, maybe when the government puts time allocation on the amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act, because we know that's what this is all about. I can just hear the phones ringing in your office and mine, with people saying, "You're an opposition MPP; why didn't you stop those guys?" You know what I'm going to say? "Do you remember the debate on the rule changes? Do you remember the debate when one day we came in and called for a quorum and forced this House not to sit for the entire day and people said, 'A pox on all your houses'?"

I suggest to Mr Robert Fisher of Global, who apparently was the one who made that comment, to look at what these rule changes do. They put a hammer in the hands of a majority government that can stifle and shut down the

opposition in this Parliament with one single motion and four full days of debate. It calls an end to it.

Why didn't former governments do that? We had 95 members. We lived with the time allocation motion. Sure, we put time allocation, but we put it in a way that the Speaker had the option of saying, "Not enough time has been allocated to this particular bill, and I'm going to insist, as the Speaker, that debate continue." If we wanted to be heavy-handed, we could have buried the opposition. We chose not to do that because we respect the parliamentary democratic traditions of this place. We respect the fact that regardless of who you are and where you come from and what party you represent, you are one of 130 people elected to sit in this Legislature and represent your constituency; that for all our differences, we are all equal; that for all our different positions and different perks in salaries and limousines, we are all equal, we are all members of provincial Parliament.

1720

Some of you are in support of the government, some of you are the government and some of us are in opposition to the government. We have a role that should be distinguished, that should be built on the finest parliamentary traditions, which say it is not only our right but our responsibility to hold the government accountable to the voters of this province and to ensure that full debate takes place on each and every issue and motion that comes before this Legislature.

We have members of this Legislature who have been here some time, who are so disturbed by what this government is doing with these rule changes that they are thinking of resigning.

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): Oh, no.

Mr Mahoney: They are. They are distraught over the fact that they are being stripped of their right to stand up and debate at whatever length they choose an issue of significance and importance to the people they represent. For all of my philosophical differences with the socialist party in this province, I would never have believed it would sponsor such a motion. It's a shock.

I say to the people at home: "Wake up, folks. Understand this is not an issue about limiting my right to speak to 30 minutes." That's not the issue at all. This is not an issue about limiting a leader's right or a critic's right to speak for 90 minutes. This is an issue about the purest form of democratic expression this country cherishes, the right of the minority to be heard. We are the minority, for the time being. We have certain tools at our disposal to make sure our voice is heard, to make sure our issues are put forward. The New Democratic Party government in Ontario is taking that away through time allocation and through limiting of the speeches; it does not need both.

Bring in a reasonable amount of reform that puts a time on the speeches. Other jurisdictions, the federal House and other provinces, have that. We can live with that. Perhaps not all members can—some of my colleagues want unlimited speeches—but I for one would be prepared to live with some sort of orderly process that allowed for time limits on speeches. What I cannot tolerate is this bald time

allocation motion that allows this government to shut us down.

I'm only going to speak a short time on this, as much as I would truly like to go on at some length because I feel very passionately about it. But there are other members who have been here longer than I who have very strong feelings on this who will be carrying the debate and who may not be as moderate, frankly, as I have just tried to be in suggesting I would entertain some kind of motion that limited time on speeches. We have other members who think what Mr Kormos did in 17 hours is totally appropriate and that he or anyone should be allowed to continue along those lines. There is a valid argument for that. These other people are going to speak on this issue.

I want to address something else before I conclude my remarks. One of the justifications of the government House leader and members of the government whom I've talked to about this is that they want time for more participation by their backbench members. They want an opportunity for the members on the back benches of the government to stand up and speak, yet do we hear them doing that? You have all kinds of chances. Negotiate with your House leader the same way I do to get on a speakers' list. But we don't hear that.

The government says it wants more time in the Legislature for its backbenchers to speak. Could somebody please explain to me how that jibes with an amendment that reduces the sitting time in this Legislature by one week around the March break—one week less you will be here; you won't have an opportunity to speak—and we would sit for only two weeks in December instead of three? They originally wanted four weeks' less sitting time in this place and it was negotiated down to two weeks. Now it's two weeks' less time. How does it compute that you want more time to talk to your constituents and the people of this province about what it is you want to debate, yet you're reducing the sitting time of this House, assuming you call us back on time in the fall, which I have grave doubts about? There's going to be two weeks' less sitting time in this place.

I'll tell you what they want, Madam Speaker. They want two weeks, three weeks, four weeks, any number of weeks' less question period time, less pressure time for the Premier and the cabinet to be held accountable to the public. That's what they want. They want less accountability. They want a bigger hammer to put a muzzle and a sock in the mouths of the opposition members. It's absolutely undemocratic, and I can tell you that I and the colleagues in my party will be voting against these amendments, because we have not agreed to any deal. The only thing we agreed to was that it was about time we got on with some of the government business.

For the first time in weeks today, as I and other people in this House stood up and moved second and third readings on behalf of our colleagues, we went through three pages of second and third readings on bills. It was our party that was insisting we get on with government business. There were 15 bills we identified. We said, "We want you to bring them in."

Why haven't we dealt with Sunday shopping? It's supposed to be a free vote. We can't talk about it. I'd like to hear from the members opposite who don't support their Premier, and I think maybe the public would. I'd like an opportunity to debate an issue of such significance, but they bring in a bill that is retroactive so they don't care when it gets dealt with and they simply push it under the rug.

Don't kid anybody about a deal having been made. There is no deal. There is only capitulation. There is only browbeating. There is only stomping on the democratic principles and freedoms of members of the opposition by a government that is bent on its agenda, that cares nothing for the rights of the opposition which it used to defend so greatly, that believes its way is the right way and everybody else is wrong, that has become arrogant and fat and bloated in a short 18 months in office and frankly must be a terrible embarrassment to the members of the New Democratic Party and to the people who voted for them.

1730

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): I won't be nearly as lengthy as I was in my last speech on the standing orders. I believe it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of three and a half hours.

[Applause]

Mr Eves: Now that the member for Carleton has applauded, I might have to reconsider.

I would like to get a few comments on the record about the proposed standing order changes, and I would also like to talk a little bit about the process. I believe we are finally doing changes to the standing orders the way they are supposed to be done; that is, by negotiation and ultimately agreement of the House leaders of all three recognized parties in the Ontario Legislature.

I do regret the tack the government took. I've said that previously in my previous remarks, and I won't belabour it here, but I do regret the tack the government took, not only in placing on the order paper, because that has been done before, for example, by the government represented by the same party as the member for Mississauga West—at that time, the House leader of the day, who is the member for Renfrew North, tabled unilateral standing order changes on the order paper but then used that as a negotiating tactic—lever, hammer, whatever you want to call it—to bring the other two House leaders into negotiations, and ultimately the rules were changed in 1989 on that basis by consensus.

The difference here with the government of the day is that not only did it table the standing orders, it actually brought them forward as an order of the day and began debate as a further pressure tactic to get the other two parties to sit down and negotiate changes to the standing orders.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): And they didn't tell us.

Mr Eves: And they didn't tell us. That's a very important difference, I might add. It was tabled at 5 o'clock on a Thursday, and the next thing we knew, when we got up on Monday morning, we read in the *Globe and Mail* that we

were going to be discussing standing orders. I don't believe that set a very good tone at the outset, and I believe we wasted, quite frankly, some five or six days of time in this House that could have been spent dealing with legislation because we were debating a set of standing orders that everybody knew, including the government House leader, were never going to come to pass. It was not going to be done, I don't believe, unilaterally. I believe it was being used as a bargaining ploy to exert some pressure to get negotiation on a rule package.

I would submit that could have been done just as effectively through House leaders' meetings and, if necessary, by sending the package out to the Legislative Assembly committee, as was done in 1989, having it report back to the House leaders, as it did then, and agreeing by some consensus.

I don't see any need for absolutely having to have standing orders before we leave here for the summer recess. However, that is the government's prerogative and it is the government House leader's prerogative to call such orders as he or she may see fit, and in this instance the government House leader has, much to the disappointment of a lot of us, or all of us on this side of the House at least, chosen for many days in a row to call an item of business that has nothing to do with public policy, that has nothing to do with legislation, that won't create one single job in the province of Ontario and that won't help one single individual; it is to deal with the standing orders. I don't believe this is the proper place to be carrying on those negotiations. They should be carried on in committee and in House leaders' meetings.

However, having said that, I do believe we now have a package amending four or five basic standing orders that I think will make this place a more efficient operating legislative chamber. I do not totally agree with each and every new agreed-upon standing order but, as in any negotiation and consultation process, one has to make some compromises.

We in our party do not agree with the shortening of the calendar for the Legislative Assembly. Originally the government proposed that the calendar be shortened by some three weeks, and it has now backed off to shortening it by two weeks. I think the very argument the government House leader himself has made on occasion, that he doesn't have enough time to get legislation through, is kind of contradictory to the fact that now he wants to shorten the calendar by some two weeks.

I would totally agree with the member for Mississauga West when he says that the real agenda on the government's part here is probably that it wants to spend less time during question period. I don't blame any government for doing that, I guess, but I think we also have to balance that by realizing that's what makes our parliamentary democracy so different from a presidential or republican system, when the ministers of the crown, who are duly elected ministers under our system, have to appear in public every day and answer for the public policy decisions they are taking. I'm not in favour of reducing the amount of opportunity opposition members, or indeed even government backbench members, have to hold those ministers

accountable in the public forum and in the Legislative Assembly. That's standing order 6.

Standing order 23a puts limitations on the length of speeches in the chamber. This is new to us here in Ontario, but it certainly isn't new across Canada. I believe there is only one other province in Canada besides us that currently has unlimited speeches, and that is Prince Edward Island. Other jurisdictions either have something similar to what is being proposed in standing order 23a, that is, 90-minute leadoff speeches and 30-minute follow-ups—I believe four provinces, four other jurisdictions in Canada, have unlimited leadoffs and 40 minutes thereafter.

I don't totally agree with the amount of time. I would have preferred unlimited and 40 minutes. I'm sure others will speak on this matter because I know they feel very strongly about this. I do think there is something to be said in a parliamentary democracy about an individual member's right to represent his or her constituents and to represent his or her point of view with respect to any public policy issue of the day. As the member for Welland-Thorold I think so eloquently showed during his fight for what he believed in in a recent debate in the last Parliament, I think it is important that integrity and accountability of the system be left in place.

However, we must move along and we must come to some agreement, and we have, with respect to how long people can talk in certain debates if that will help expedite the process, without unduly cutting off individual members' rights to speak.

I appreciate the government's concern about standing order 37. We've added a section, standing order 37(f). The period for introduction of bills shall now be limited to 30 minutes as opposed to being unlimited. What that simply means is that opposition parties will not be able any longer to use that as a delaying mechanism or tactic to prevent the government of the day, whoever that may be, from getting to orders of the day at a reasonable period of time during the course of the day.

I think the most controversial change in the standing orders is the introduction of a new standing order called standing order 44a dealing with time allocation motions. I think people often get time allocation and closure motions confused. Time allocation motion is a motion the government or a minister of the crown will bring forward limiting or setting out how much time will be spent on each particular stage of the bill. A closure motion is simply a motion—not so simple, because it cuts off and ends debate—that is put, by parliamentary tradition or precedent, after a certain amount of debate, a certain number of rotations have taken place and a certain amount of hours or sessional days have been spent debating a particular item.

When the Speaker in his or her discretion feels that in accordance with parliamentary tradition enough time has been spent on that particular item in that particular debate, then a member, obviously usually of the government, can move that the question now be put. It is put without further debate and that is the end of the issue. That is a closure motion. That is still going to remain in our standing orders and it's still going to remain subject to the Speaker's discretion.

We on this side of the House would like to have seen a time allocation motion with the same Speaker's discretion that applies to closure motions. That was our original bargaining position with the government House leader. However, the government was insistent for its part on having something more definite in the standing orders with respect to time allocation motions.

There were other suggestions that were brought out during the discussions as well such as limiting a minimum length of time that could be set on each stage of a bill. I thought that was perhaps a lot more equitable than what was being proposed by the government; not as good, obviously, as giving the Speaker total discretion, but I thought it would have gone a long way to satisfying the government's concerns.

It would in fact have been somewhat cumbersome on the government, but I understood the government's rationale and reasoning to be that it would probably only ever use time allocation two or three times a sitting at most. Therefore, I didn't see that proposal had any real difficulty for the government, but the powers that be in government over there decided they wanted something even more definitive than that.

1740

Eventually what we ended up with is what we have in proposed standing order 44a, which is that there will be at least three full sessional days of debate on either second reading of a government bill or on a substantive government motion before time allocation is able to be moved. We asked for and got on this side of the House that such notice will be given of such a motion so the opposition will know at least at 5 pm the day before that the motion is coming.

There will be one full sessional day's debate on that motion and, although it's not the compromise I would have liked to have seen or I'm sure that members of the Liberal Party would liked to have seen, it is better than the very bald time allocation motion that was originally proposed in the government's first proposal that was tabled as a motion some days ago.

I want to point out the intent behind some of the aspects of standing order 44a and I hope this will not become the subject of controversy in the future, but I think it is important that I get a couple of these things on the record. The intent and the agreement among the three House leaders is that a full sessional day means exactly that, no matter how many hours the House sits that particular day. That is, if we get to orders of the day as we usually do in this place around anywhere from 3 to 3:30, which is the normal time, the first order called will be what we're debating and we will debate it from the very time the first order is called until the end of the day, be it 6 o'clock or be it, as we're sitting now in the last eight sitting days or sessional days, whichever language you prefer, 12 o'clock. That entire period of time from 3 to 12 constitutes one sessional day. That is what the agreement is.

If there is a motion to extend the sitting to 8 o'clock or 10 o'clock, whatever period of time that sessional day is, the full amount of time will constitute one sessional day for the purpose of standing order 44a. I want to make that

perfectly clear because that is the intent, that is the understanding and should there ever be any difficulty with it in the future, hopefully somebody will remember that I put these remarks on the record and that they would refer to them.

I also would like to speak as to the intent, I presume, of any government that was ever going to introduce a time allocation motion. I can't perceive of them ever wanting to introduce a time allocation motion after three days of second reading debate that would just absolutely cut off second reading debate right there. I would feel there would at least have to be some time provided for in the time allocation motion for some further second reading debate.

Some of the time lines we threw around when we were discussing some of these items were, for example, four weeks of public hearings on a controversial piece of legislation when the House was not in session. That means four full sitting days of committee when the House is not sitting, which usually runs from 10 am to about 6 pm with two hours off for lunch, which is about a six-hour day. Those were some of the parameters we threw around and discussed when we thought we might be able to come to some agreement on limiting each stage of a bill.

For clause-by-clause we talked about two weeks of a committee sitting when the House was not sitting. That number of hours in each case was going to be the minimum parameter we were going to suggest for such time allocation motions. A few days of committee of the whole and of course at least a day of third reading debate—those were just some of the thoughts that were thrown around and I think they would have been workable. But, as I said, the government obviously wanted something more definitive and chose to go the route we've gone instead.

I also am glad to see two minor points in the standing orders that are now being somewhat clarified, I think for the benefit of everybody. Standing order 51 talks about notices and notice being given. It is now written in the rules that when the notice is given and tabled, as it has to be before 5 pm on any sessional day, that notice will be distributed by the Clerk's table to the House leaders of each of the recognized parties. Hopefully we'll never again have a situation where we get up on a Monday morning and read in the *Globe and Mail* what we're going to be debating in the Legislature that afternoon, because we'll have had notice at least at 5 pm on the previous sessional day.

In standing order 66 we are now tightening up the language, I believe, so that the intent of the rule changes that we made in 1989 will be lived up to. I'm not saying it hasn't been lived up to. In fact, there's not been one single instance that I know of where the government, whichever party it was, has not lived up to it, but I think we've closed what we perceive to be a loophole in the language of standing order 66.

Now a government of the day will have to have introduced—if it wants the bill to go through all stages and be introduced for second and third readings before the House rises, and whatever sitting it is—that bill prior to the last eight sessional days in the calendar, and even if that sitting is extended, as is going to happen with this sitting next

Monday, then those bills will not be able to go through unless they have been introduced prior to the last eight sessional days, be it in June or be it in December. I think that will be an improvement and will clear up any misunderstanding that may arise in the future with respect to that standing order.

To conclude my comments, I think there could be other reforms to the standing orders, and each one of the three parties has submitted a list—and I'm sure there will be others yet to come—of issues and items that it would like to see discussed by the standing committee on the Legislative Assembly.

I'm also pleased to see that the wording of the motion we're passing here eventually says that the outstanding issues relating to the standing orders be referred to the Legislative Assembly committee for consideration and that the report be sent back to the House leaders of recognized parties of the Legislature for final agreement. I believe it is essential that we change the rules only by consensus of all three parties. Sure, any government, I suppose, that has a majority can change them unilaterally; none ever has in the province of Ontario and now none will up to this date.

We were hoping of course that the government would not proceed unilaterally and it did not, although a government of the day can do it if it has a majority. I think this place only works when there's a spirit of goodwill among all three parties, and in particular among all three House leaders. If any government ever did proceed unilaterally with rule changes, it would become a very acrimonious place indeed. If members of the public think it's been acrimonious in the past, I would suggest to them that it could become far more so in the future if any government decided to proceed in that fairly dictatorial manner.

A few of the changes that we'd like to see considered are secret ballots by the Legislative Assembly to confirm or appoint or, for that matter, remove certain officers and people who are appointed by and report to the Legislative Assembly directly.

We would also like to see, during the election of the Speaker, that the results of the voting be made public and knowledgeable to the members of the chamber as each ballot takes place, so we know where we stand at the end of each ballot. Election of a Speaker is a relatively new thing to our chamber and we did experience, I believe, a few minor glitches in our last election of the Speaker. I think this would help clarify some of the practical problems that occurred at that time.

Another suggestion—I'm not going to read them all—is that there be a type of bill introduced called a committee bill, which I think would go a long way to making committees a much more meaningful part of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, and that is where the majority of members of a committee decided that they wanted to change an act or even proceed by substantially changing an act, the committee could agree that a bill would be introduced in the name of the Chairperson and the government House leader would be obliged to call that for second reading debate for one sessional day minimum, within 30 legislative days of the introduction of such a committee bill.

When I attended the constitutional conference the government sponsored at Hart House—I believe it was back in February of this year—there were some very interesting working sessions and workshops that I attended conducted by a lot of people who suggested that one real way of improving the committee system here in the Legislative Assembly would be for each recognized party to have the same number of members on a committee. Then I think you would eliminate a lot of the partisanship that sometimes occurs in committees, especially with respect to government legislation. I think you would find that this would become a much more workable place. Members would actually be doing, proposing and considering changes to legislation they felt would improve the legislation, instead of just doing what their party, whatever party that happens to be, wants them to do. I think it would give members more individuality, independence and individual authority.

I hope that when we proceed, whenever that is referred to the standing committee on the Legislative Assembly, these and a lot of other items my party—and I know the Liberal Party and the NDP government—have submitted go to Legislative Assembly—this is indeed a two-way street here. We aren't here just for the benefit of whoever the government of the day happens to be. We have 130 members in this Legislature. Each and every one of us represents our constituents' point of view to the best of our ability and we are all equal, as the member for Mississauga West has already pointed out. I couldn't agree more.

Anything we can do to point out the independence of individual members will only stand us all in the system in good stead in the months and years to come. I thank you very much for listening to my few brief remarks with respect to the proposed changes to the standing orders and I look forward to hearing the comments of other members as well.

1750

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): I want to thank my colleagues, both in the opposition and significantly in the government caucus, for facilitating my participation in this debate this evening.

I'm not in any way, shape or form, I'm sure, speaking on behalf of my colleagues when I address this issue now. I am pretty confident that my lack of enthusiasm for these rule changes, for this motion, isn't shared by my colleagues in the government caucus. At the same time, I think it's important that we have the right and the obligation to do this and that's what causes me some great concern.

It's no secret, and there's been reference made to the fact that when I was in opposition—well, there were 19 of us and that was the official opposition. The third party was but 17. Already the acting government House leader, when he addressed this issue, spoke of the enormity of the Liberal government: 95 members. They were so numerous or so grand in number that they had to place them over there. There was a whole lot of them, as I said. I was as sensitive as anybody could be to the difficulties a minority in the Legislature has when it wants to deal with some very serious issues.

I don't think there's any one of the 130 people representing their communities and ridings here who don't do so with sincerity and vigour and who didn't enter politics in whatever strange or peculiar ways, as most people do, without a strong passion for making a difference. The reality is that when you come here and you're silenced, all the passion in the world is for naught. It means so little.

The fact is that this is the final safeguard. I really regard it as that and while I'm grateful and I commend the House leaders for producing a package somewhat less unconscionable than the package of reforms originally contained, I still have some serious concerns.

I have concerns, of course, about the time constraints on individual members' participation in debate. When you combine them with time allocation, it could well mean and will mean that people in this assembly will no longer have the right, as they do now pursuant to the standing orders, to participate at second and third reading of bills. As it is now, members of this assembly have that right, which I think is an entirely appropriate one. It's a right that accompanies the trust your constituents place in you when they elect you.

People in this province and this country regard this assembly and others like it as a place where democracy can be engaged in and where it can be watched, be it by people in the spectators' galleries who are of course entitled to be here or by closed-circuit television. You've heard it from every one of your constituents: People expect to hear you on your feet speaking out about issues important to people in your riding, yet the combination of time restraint, the 30-minute rule with time allocation, will mean people will no longer have the right to speak on second and third reading, and I'm sorry, I dispute the proposition that somehow it will facilitate more people engaging in debate. I tell you, friends, it will facilitate and ensure fewer people engaging in the debate. That surely is of concern to opposition members.

I recognize that it wasn't that long ago that as an opposition member, with the support of 18 colleagues in the official opposition and quite frankly with the support of the 17 members of the Conservative Party, we fought, for instance, Bill 68. We fought it because we believed sincerely in what we were doing, because we were speaking on behalf of a large number of people in this province, and we felt an obligation to speak out and to draw attention to the issue, and yes, we engaged in the tactic of filibuster. I think that's a tradition that is a long-standing one. It's a tradition of course that's being abolished by these rule changes, and I say that's an unfortunate thing.

Oh, I'm not about to suggest that changes which, for instance, restrict the time period for presentation of bills or for petitions—and in fact it was the last government that supervised the rule changes which restricted petitions to 15 minutes. Why? Because I was among the people who would stand up and read petitions for hours at a time in an effort to draw attention to a plight that was being felt by so many people out there in communities that we regarded as not being properly responded to by the government. It was all we had.

I think members of the opposition have as much of a right and an obligation to represent their constituents and their philosophies and their ideologies and their viewpoints as any other member, and indeed I think the opposition is a very essential part of this whole process. Why, there are even legislatures which you well know of where—well, one with the good fortune of a government to occupy 100% of the seats. Even there, notwithstanding the obvious temptation, opposition leaders not elected were permitted to come to the bar of the assembly to ask questions on a daily basis.

Our system depends very much on a lively, on an active, on a vocal, on an articulate, on an outspoken, on a courageous opposition. Our system also depends on the presence of government backbenchers with that same readiness to be courageous and to be articulate and vocal.

I was so pleased when my friend Mr Drainville, the member for Victoria-Haliburton, presented his proposition regarding changes in the rules to accommodate backbenchers, to accommodate independent members, members who were ousted from their caucus. I don't anticipate any special interest on my own part in that regard, but who knows? History shows that that's happened.

I tell you, it seems strange Mr Drainville's propositions with respect to reform would be applauded as a positive step, as a way of ensuring fuller participation and more accurate representation of communities across this province; it's ironic that should be applauded, yet at the same

time, rule changes such as the ones we're facing would be encouraged and presented.

I'm sorry to say that I can't support this motion. I'm sorry to say that I regard this as an unfortunate—well, more than unfortunate. It's a dangerous assault on what this institution should be. I recognize that the history of the last couple of months may well make it easier for government members to support the motion. I understand that, I think everybody does, but I'm incredibly concerned that what we're seeing here is a silencing of backbenchers, a silencing of opposition members, and I'm confident that democracy will not necessarily be well served.

However, again I commend the cooperation of House leaders and their ability to come to agreement and the somewhat more moderate proposition that's contained in this motion, and I commend the utilization of a committee process to continue to look at rule changes. But I urge people to be incredibly cognizant of the value and the relevance of opposition members and of backbenchers. I tell you, we're at great risk of becoming government by executive, and that is not a good thing for Ontario; it's not a good thing for us; it's not a good thing for the people of this province.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I thank the honourable member for Welland-Thorold for his contribution to the debate.

[Report continues in volume B]

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaitre, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/ ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale

**COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
COMITÉS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE**

STANDING COMMITTEES/COMITÉS PERMANENTS

Administration of justice/Administration de la justice

Chair/Président: Mike Cooper
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mark Morrow
Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Jenny Carter, Robert Chiarelli,
Mike Cooper, Alvin Curling, Charles Harnick, Steven W. Mahoney,
Gary Malkowski, Mark Morrow, Robert W. Runciman,
Paul Wessinger, David Winninger
Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

Estimates/Budgets des dépenses

Chair/Président: Cameron Jackson
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Margaret Marland
Members/Membres: Gilles Bisson, Gary Carr, Ron Eddy, Will Ferguson,
Robert Frankford, Wayne Lessard, Lawrence O'Connor, Anthony
Perruzza, David Ramsay
Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

**Finance and economic affairs/
Finances et affaires économiques**

Chair/Président: Ron Hansen
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Kimble Sutherland
Members/Membres: Elinor Caplan, Gary Carr, David Christopherson,
Norm Jamison, Monte Kwinter, Gerry Phillips, Norman W. Sterling,
Brad Ward, Margery Ward, Jim Wiseman
Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

General government/Affaires gouvernementales

Chair/Président: Michael A. Brown
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Carman McClelland
Members/Membres: Ted Arnott, Will Ferguson, Derek Fletcher,
Margaret H. Harrington, Randy R. Hope, George Mammoliti, Rosario
Marchese, Bill Murdoch, Dianne Poole, John Sola
Clerk/Greffière: Deborah Deller

Government agencies/Organismes gouvernementaux

Chair/Président: Robert W. Runciman
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Allan K. McLean
Members/Membres: James J. Bradley, Jenny Carter, John C. Cleary,
Will Ferguson, Robert Frankford, Bernard C. Grandmaitre, Rosario
Marchese, Chris Stockwell, Daniel Waters, Jim Wiseman
Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Legislative Assembly/Assemblée législative

Chair/Président: Noel Duignan
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mike Farnan
Members/Membres: Mike Cooper, Paul R. Johnson, Margaret Marland,
Irene Mathyssen, Carman McClelland, Gord Mills, Gilles E. Morin,
Stephen Owens, Barbara Sullivan, Noble Villeneuve
Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Ombudsman/Ombudsman

Chair/Président: Mark Morrow
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Christel Haeck
Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Dennis Drainville, Noel Duignan,
D. James Henderson, Paul R. Johnson, Frank Miclash, Bill Murdoch,
Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay, Elizabeth Witmer
Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

Public accounts/Comptes publics

Chair/Président: Remo Mancini
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Joseph Cordiano
Members/Membres: Robert V. Callahan, W. Donald Cousens, Noel
Duignan, Robert Frankford, Christel Haeck, Pat Hayes, Paul R. Johnson,
Lawrence O'Connor, David Tilson
Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

**Regulations and private bills/
Règlements et projets de loi privés**

Chair/Président: Drummond White
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Ellen MacKinnon
Members/Membres: George Dadamo, Ron Eddy, Mike Farnan,
Ron Hansen, W. Leo Jordan, Gord Mills, Tony Ruprecht, John Sola,
Kimble Sutherland, Jim Wilson
Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

Resources development/Développement des ressources

Chair/Président: Peter Kormos
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Daniel Waters
Members/Membres: Sean G. Conway, George Dadamo, Bob Huget,
W. Leo Jordan, Paul Klopp, Dalton J.P. McGuinty, Sharon Murdock,
Steven Offer, David Turnbull, Len Wood
Clerk/Greffier: Harold Brown

Social development/Affaires sociales

Chair/Président: Charles Beer
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Hans Daigeler
Members/Membres: Dennis Drainville, Joan M. Fawcett, Tony Martin,
Irene Mathyssen, Yvonne O'Neill, Stephen Owens, Drummond White,
Gary Wilson, Jim Wilson, Elizabeth Witmer
Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

SPECIAL COMMITTEE/COMITÉ EXTRAORDINAIRE

Parliamentary precinct/Enceinte parlementaire

Co-Chair/Coprésident: David Warner
Co-Chair/Coprésident: Noel Duignan
Members/Membres: Dianne Cunningham, Remo Mancini,
Kimble Sutherland
Clerk/Greffier: Smirle Forsyth

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Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Jeudi 25 juin 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Thursday 25 June 1992

[Report continued from volume A]

1800

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Continuing the debate on government notice of motion number 11.

Mr Harnick: It's indeed a pleasure to be able to rise and speak on an issue of such great importance to this Legislature and to the members who occupy it.

This set of amendments to the rules, to the standing orders, is not perfect. I don't think that when we have to compromise, we ever walk away with what we individually feel are perfect solutions, but this package is a compromise that I believe the respective House leaders worked very hard to arrive at. It's far better than the proposition that was originally delivered to this place by the government House leader.

The regret I have is that we should never be in a position to have to amend our rules by having a gun put to the head of any party or any individual in this place. Because that is the way these standing orders have been amended and the way this evolved, I look at this process and I must say I can't be happy with it. The finished product is a product I will support, but the way we got to it is absolutely wrong. We should never have a set of amendments thrust upon us, a gun put to our heads and told, "If you don't like these, then you'd better make some kind of deal, because this is coming." I don't think that's the way rules have ever been changed in this place before.

I look at these rules and, as I say, they're not perfect; they're much better than what was originally brought to us. I'm not happy about the fact that the parliamentary calendar is now going to be two weeks shorter, that there are now going to be eight fewer question periods and that because of that, the government can be less accountable to the people of this province. I don't like that. I don't find that this particular amendment is necessary. The only reason it's there is to avoid accountability, and I think that's regrettable.

I look at the issue of time limits on speeches, and in terms of the constituency work we all do—I know every member in this place works very hard at his or her constituency work—we consult with our constituents; we ask our constituents for their opinions on the issues that are of great importance and we ask for their input. Then when an issue comes along that we want to speak on, we have to be able to stand in this place and have an unfettered opportunity to do that. We have to be able to express the views of constituents without extreme time limitations. I find that the opportunity to stand for only 30 minutes to represent the views of your constituents on a major issue is a real restraint on all members in this Legislature.

The major item that is of contention with respect to these changes to the standing orders is the time allocation provisions. My colleague the member for Parry Sound

went through those in great detail. I'm not going to go through each of the sections again, but it's of interest that people have said, "Well don't worry about those time allocation changes, because they'll seldom be used." Well, Mr Speaker, I tell you that one has to have extreme trust in the government to believe that. I'm not sure, because of the way this whole process unfolded, that I have that trust.

Quite frankly, if one reads through Hansard about the closure debates that have gone on in this Legislature in the last 15 or 20 years, closure motions were virtually non-existent until some time into the late 1970s, and since the late 1970s and through the 1980s and to this point in time closure motions have become more and more frequent and we have seen these motions.

For instance, I recall not more than a month or two ago, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology stood and brought a closure motion. There was no explicable reason to do that yet it's in the standing orders. It will be used and to expect that the government won't use it whenever times get difficult is asking a lot in terms of the trust that members of the opposition have to have.

I believe that now these are going to be part of the standing orders, we will find that these time allocation procedures will be used frequently. I don't have the trust to believe they'll only be used in rare circumstances, maybe once or twice a year. I find that if you have to even use these provisions maybe once or twice a year, that's too many times. But they're here, they will be used, and I think that's regrettable.

I have reviewed these amendments. I'm a little bit concerned about the fact that the amendments seem to fly in the face of some of the amendments made the last time the standing orders were amended. At that time it was done consensually. I'm a little bit concerned that where at one point we gave you, the Speaker, a broad discretion with respect to certain issues such as closure, we're now taking that discretion away. We elect a Speaker. We did that; you are the first elected Speaker of this Legislature. That was a very significant event in the history of the Legislature, and I think it was a fundamentally good thing. It was a more democratic way to proceed, and I don't think anyone in this chamber would argue with that.

When we go ahead and have a closure section in the standing orders that allows a discretion for the Speaker but then follow this up with an amendment dealing with time allocation that does not permit the discretion of the Speaker—the duly elected, democratically elected Speaker—then what we are really doing is weakening the powers of your office, sir, and I regret that very much. I think that is an issue I would have preferred to see dealt with in these amendments. I would have preferred to see the Speaker's discretion with respect to time allocation.

I am going to support these changes. I think these changes, in terms of the involvement of all the House leaders, were drawn with a view to permitting this place to

work better. As I said, the process and how we got into the process I have great objection over. The actual process itself, the negotiations that took place between the respective House leaders, were good; they were productive. But how we got into that situation is something I very much regret. Because the changes are made with a view to making this place work better, I will support these changes and I hope we can get them passed and get on with the business of this House as soon as possible. Thank you.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Willowdale for his contribution to the debate and recognize the member for Carleton.

1810

Mr Norman W. Sterling (Carleton): It seems such a short time ago that I was talking about a different motion on the Orders and Notices put forward by the government House leader in a unilateral, arbitrary way and I'm glad, I'm happy, that the government House leader has withdrawn his motion and put forward a motion negotiated between the various parties. I am only sorry we had to debate and waste the time of this House for a period of five days in order to force the hand of the government to come to the bargaining table and bargain in good faith. It is indeed unfortunate that had to happen, and I think it's unfortunate for two reasons.

Number one is that while I will be voting to support the changes with regard to these rules, I believe we could have had some other changes to the rules which would have made this place a more efficient institution, an institution which would be supported by the public to a greater degree than these rules will afford the members that opportunity.

Having been in this Legislature for 15 years now, I have seen rule changes take place in 1978, in 1986, in 1989 and now in 1992. I just want to read the opening paragraph of a former Clerk of this House, Mr Roderick Lewis, who was the Clerk of this House for 40 years, so Mr Roderick Lewis had considerable experience in this place. He saw many parliaments, mostly by one party, but he also shared the experience of his father, who was the Clerk of this House between I believe, about 1923 and 1937 or 1938. When Mr Lewis talks about his historical perspective of the House and the standing orders, he basically opened his remarks in his book, *The House Was My Home*, which he wrote after leaving this place, by saying as his opening paragraph:

"For the many years that the writer was the Clerk of the House, and on several occasions on which he was required to redraft standing orders or specific standing orders, his aim was always to keep the procedure in the House as simple and uncomplicated as possible. Of recent years, with various committees sticking in bits and pieces to meet some condition which may or may not arise again, they're in the danger of suffering from the malaise that afflicts the procedure or rules in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom and the House of Commons of Canada; that is, they are cluttered up with a lot of unnecessary furniture."

I am becoming more and more of the opinion as my experience expands in terms of time that perhaps Mr Lewis is correct.

When I was speaking the other night, I talked about the standing orders being our constitution in this Legislative Assembly, and as I watch the constitutional discussions go on in this country, and having participated in some of those constitutional conferences, I am becoming more and more of the opinion that as we try to specify what will happen in this case or in that case and not leave it up to the parties involved to negotiate a reasonable settlement, we are getting ourselves into more and more trouble.

I think the recent constitutional discussions about how to put Canada together are more in danger of falling apart, or the ability of the country to stay together and keep together and to maintain the country is a fault which is arising from the fact that each part of the country wants specific clauses to take care of their individual problem and are not relying on the goodwill of the other partners in Confederation to make reasonable and logical and genteel decisions about what they will do in the future.

I see the Minister of Natural Resources, who's been involved in those constitutional conferences as well, and I am reading more and more articles as the days go by as more and more people are saying, "Maybe we should just stick with the status quo." I'm even hearing that from people in the province of Quebec who are saying, "Maybe what's being offered now is even worse than what we have in terms of the status quo."

One of the problems we are facing with the constant—not "constant" changing of the rules; we couldn't say that. One of the problems that seems to be arising is that in the past two changes, the 1989 changes and these changes, there are specific rule changes intended to deal with specific circumstances which may arise in this House.

I can tell the Speaker, having read the motions and the standing orders, that this will not stop the opposition from being able to delay the government when it chooses to do so. They will find a method and a means to do it. The only way we can bring respect back to this institution is if the parties can get together and work out reasonable compromises when the government is putting forward its legislative program, the opposition realizing that the government has to make progress and the government realizing it must accede to some of the wishes of the opposition.

I want to conclude by saying that I wished the serious negotiations with regard to these changes of rules had transpired over a little longer period of time. I know the government had a concern about its labour relations bill, but I believe that had the government House leader come in with his motion and allowed a period of serious negotiation over, perhaps, a two- or three-week time frame, maybe if he had brought the motion in earlier—for instance, had he brought it in in May and given opportunity for party members to get out and seriously negotiate. Parties don't seriously negotiate until the government drops its hat or puts its agenda on the table; that's when the serious negotiations take place.

I feel that the government, the opposition and the private members in this House could have benefited to a far greater degree than what I call, in my view, our somewhat important but not catastrophic rule changes. I don't think

these rule changes will change the overall tenor of what happens with regard to business in this House.

Finally, I would have liked to see, now that we have an elected Speaker, a greater degree of discretion given to the Speaker on a number of matters. I mentioned before that one of those matters dealt with supplementary questions in question period. I would like to have seen a stronger role for the Speaker so the Speaker could in fact deal with situations not specifically taken care of in the standing orders. I know from your previous rulings, Mr Speaker, that you feel especially constrained by those rules. Therefore, when a speaker rises or when a rule is used, perhaps out of the context or the intent in which it was put forward, you and your predecessor have felt constrained to make what some might consider a reasonable ruling by those who might be objective observers from neither side of these two sides of this House. I had hoped that if in fact we were into serious negotiations, that kind of understanding or that kind of discretion—at least to start towards that kind of discretion—could have been given to whomever the Speaker might be in the future.

1820

Mr Speaker, I really hate to pass this opportunity off as well, because you don't get to serious negotiations with regard to the standing orders very often in a Parliament. This will probably be the last time we'll see standing orders changed before the next election, because it just doesn't seem to happen that frequently and that's why I would have liked to have seized upon this opportunity to deal with some other matters which I believe would have been very progressive, which would have put into the public's mind a much better institution and would have made the institution a more reasonable and logical place in terms of how the public views the Parliament of Ontario.

Last, I think it's important that I'm viewing and voting for these changes as a small step towards a more efficient Parliament. I believe we could have done a lot more, but I believe, and have believed for 15 years as I have sat here as an MPP, that my first duty is to protect this institution. When I spoke last Monday night and when I'm speaking today, I'm saying that members of the Legislature must continue to fight to improve this institution and that we as MPPs must fight for it not only for the government of the day or the position we're in but for our future legislatures, because that is the only way the people of the province will continue to have some faith in us.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Carleton for his contribution to the debate and invite further debate.

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I just want to speak briefly. I've been listening to the debate with some interest. The rules of the House are changed very infrequently and when they're changed it's always at the instigation of the government. The interesting thing about what we have had happen in the recent history in Ontario is that for the first time in close to 50 years we have had all three parties with an opportunity to serve as the government.

I remember speaking to the present Premier shortly after he was elected, and he was literally overwhelmed at

the work and the issues that he had no concept of when he was in opposition. He said to me that was the most dramatic change he'd seen in his movement from this side of the aisle over to the other side of the aisle. As a minister in the previous government, I can tell you, when you're sitting on that side of the House and you're in question period, you're looking at the clock to see how quickly you can get that clock to run and to see how you can stall so that the opposition doesn't get a chance to ask you a question. When you're on this side of the House, it's just the opposite. You want that clock to grind to a halt so you can get your shots in at the government.

It is exactly the same thing when you are debating a bill. If the government has a bill that is contentious, it's immediate reaction is, "Let's get this in and out of the House as quickly as possible." When you're in the opposition, it is just the opposite. You want as much time as you can to delve fully into the ramifications and the implications of that bill to make sure all the concerns expressed by everybody out there are addressed. That is the way the system works.

Now, you would think that a government that spent so much of its life in opposition—and unfortunately, except for one member I see on the opposition side, everybody in the House at this moment is a first-time member of this Legislature—

Mr Sterling: There's Hayes too.

Mr Kwinter: Oh, I'm sorry. There is one other; there are two.

The point I'm making is that when the government party was in opposition, it was an absolute master at delay, at tricks, at coming up with procedural situations where it could bring this House to a halt.

My concern is that the government has brought in these rule changes not because people were clamouring for change in the rules; we had our last rule change in 1989, and it was done with consensus. The reason it is being done is that the government of the day feels it would be expedient to have these changes for its purposes, not for the good of the Legislature, not for the good of the parliamentary system, but it is expedient for the government to have these changes because it would make its life easier.

In conclusion, all I want to say is remember that these same rules you're changing you may have to live with in a new Parliament. If I were a cynic, I could tell you that if the polls show just before the election that this government is not going to be returned, I would not be the least bit surprised to see the House leader table one Thursday afternoon a whole new set of House rules so that when they come back in opposition, their life would be a lot easier.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Wilson Heights for his contribution to the debate and invite further debate.

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): I want to begin my remarks this evening by first expressing my regrets to the Community Living Association of South Simcoe. Because of the late night sittings we've had this week, a couple of nights ago I had to miss a very important meeting of CLASS, as it's referred to locally, and I want to extend

both my regrets and my appreciation to Mrs Margaret Bricknell of my riding who invited me to that. I did have the opportunity to speak to the Minister of Community and Social Services about their concerns, and I'll be communicating to Mrs Bricknell and the members of CLASS Ms Boyd's response to the concerns they raised.

I want to set the stage for my debate this evening—and I promise not to be too long—with some quotes I dug up from parliamentarians dating back over a century, parliamentarians representing a cross-section of all three political parties, because I think it sets the stage for my argument this evening.

Former Liberal leader Edward Blake in 1873 said, "The privileges of Parliament are the privileges of the people, and the rights of Parliament are the rights of the people."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier on April 9, 1913, said, "Heaven is my witness that I would rather stand here today defeated and in opposition by that appeal to the people that stand over there in office by the power of the gag." He went on later in life to say that the rules of the House are certainly the bulwark of freedom.

Sir John A. Macdonald in 1861 said, "Parliament is a grand inquest which has the right to inquire into anything and everything."

Rodolphe Lemieux, Speaker of the House of Commons, in 1925 said: "The rules of the House are made for the protection not so much of the majority as of the minority. The majority can always protect itself."

It brings us up to more recent days. Bob Rae on March 29, 1990, in debating then Bill 68 on auto insurance said: "The members of the Legislature are being denied the right to debate this issue and to show just how far this government has gone in caving in to the demands of the auto insurance industry in Ontario. That is what this represents. This government is bringing in the guillotine earlier in a debate of larger substance than any government in the history of the province. That is what the government is doing. It is going to pay a price for it."

He went on to say, "When it comes to an issue on which they know they are fundamentally wrong and fundamentally unpopular because they are taking rights away from every citizen of this province, the minister"—and at that time he was referring to the Liberal minister, Mr Ward—"brings in closure and the guillotine."

"There is a fundamental question here about the rights of opposition members and about the rights of the public.... The reality is that this government believes it has the right to do whatever the hell it wants to do, regardless of the views of the public and regardless of the views of those of us who oppose."

1830

Again, the Premier, Bob Rae, following the Speaker's decision not to rule that the Liberals' closure motion was out of order, back in 1990 again he went on to say: "I think we are now living with rules and with precedents in this House which will not stand democracy well at the end of the day. It would be far better to have real consensus among all the parties as to how the business of the House should be ordered and some greater willingness to listen to those of us who are in opposition."

The current Minister of Municipal Affairs and government House leader, Dave Cooke, on April 3, 1990, again, on the time allocation debate and the bill was Bill 68, auto insurance:

"This government, the majority party in here, is prepared to do anything to the standing orders in order to get its legislation through, even if it means changing the routine proceedings that we normally go through.... I would suggest that"—and he's referring to time allocation—"is incredibly unfair. It will result in the process not holding the government accountable...."

"The rules in this place are here to protect the integrity of this institution, the rules are written and changed by consensus and the rules are here to protect debate and free debate from all members of the Legislature. The government is rewriting the rules and imposing them by motion and by the use of its majority. It is clear that the government will go to whatever extent is necessary to impose its will."

Again, Mr Cooke, on July 13, 1989, referring to Bills 113 and 114:

"We believe that this motion is clearly out of order on the basis that there is no provision in our standing orders for time allocation, as we have argued in the past.... I think it is the Speaker's role to protect the process and the minority. You must protect the integrity of the legislative process. You must rule this motion out of order if the integrity of this place is going to be protected.... At a minimum, Mr Speaker, I feel you must take this matter under consideration. This is a precedent that will haunt the Legislature for years and years to come.... I think it is a short-circuiting of the process and begins to make a farce of the legislative process."

"Time allocation, I think, is a sad commentary on this government. It is a sad commentary on the majority that has become more and more removed from the people of this province."

Perhaps the most profound hypocrisy, if I may say, comes from a member's statement uttered by Dave Cooke on Monday, June 12, 1989, when he was in opposition. Mr Cooke went on at that time to say:

"I think it is important to look at a couple of the issues that have led us to the point where the government has brought in unilateral changes to our rules to make this place an undemocratic institution in Ontario."

"First of all, the Sunday shopping issue:"—it's amazing how issues keep repeating themselves—"If members recall, the former Solicitor General, Joan Smith, signed a unanimous report that called for the maintenance of the status quo and in the 1987 election the Premier said"—and he's referring to Premier Peterson at that time—"he had absolutely no intention of changing the law."

"Then the government got its majority and completely flip-flopped on the issue. In other words, they said one thing during an election and another thing after. Obviously it was the opposition's job, role and responsibility to hold the government accountable for that flip-flop no matter what the means would be."

"On the Smith affair,"—Mr Cooke went on to say—"when the then Solicitor General went and visited the

Lucan police station a few weeks ago, it obviously was the opposition's responsibility and role to hold the government accountable and to impose decent standards on the cabinet of this province, because the Premier obviously had no intention of doing it at all. He thought that because of his majority and his arrogance he could get through it and the opposition be damned.

"The government wants to avoid accountability by making this place undemocratic. This is a big, arrogant government and we simply will not let it get away with these types of activities. We have offered for quite some time to negotiate rule changes in a non-partisan, three-party approach."

Finally, for the quotes, I'd like to quote from the now Treasurer, Mr Floyd Laughren, who on January 24, 1989, in debating Sunday shopping, Bill 113, and Bill 114, the Employment Standards Act, said, "The real motive for the government," he's referring to invoking closure, "is to get these bills out of the way...and let the political heat cool off a bit because the government has not been doing very well this past session."

"They, the Liberals, are not as concerned as most of us and do not regard the whole question of closure as being as offensive to the parliamentary process as most of us do.... It really is offensive to have the government do this."

"The government finds itself walking down that road of abuse of power very easily, after only a year and a couple of months of having that power."

"I think that the government House leader, and he will not like this, follows that adage of Ronald Reagan, who said that,"—he's quoting Mr Reagan—"The worst abuse of power is to have it and not use it."

Mr Laughren goes on to say, "Now we have the government House leader saying: 'By golly, we have the power. Let's use it. Let's bring in the time allocation motion and use it....'"

In the 1980s the rule changes were usually introduced by the government of the day after extensive consultation with the opposition parties. Not only had the NDP changed the rules but it has changed the way in which these important matters have been historically dealt with. I know other speakers this evening and in the past have spoken on this topic.

I believe this is a breach of parliamentary tradition and the unilateral heavy-handed, hold-the-gun-to-the-opposition's-head approach that the government has taken to bring in the rule changes that we're debating this evening.

It's a breach of parliamentary tradition and it's just one more tradition, I believe, that the NDP have run roughshod over. Others include, and you've heard me speak often of, the oath to the Queen. I think in caving in to Susan Eng the NDP has foolishly forgotten that the monarchy serves to protect citizens against the arbitrary misuse of power.

The NDP became the first government in history to attempt to remove daily prayers in the Legislature. We had some discussion about that one day.

As recently as two years ago, Bob Rae was railing against Ontario's traditional casino economy; today, sadly, the NDP is looking towards casino gambling to solve Ontario's economic woes.

In November 1985 the standing committee on the Legislative Assembly released a lengthy report which recommended changes to the standing orders. The report and subsequent negotiations between all three parties resulted in major amendments to the standing orders in April 1986.

In June 1989 the member for Renfrew North, Mr Conway, then the Liberal government House leader, introduced a motion for extensive rule changes without consulting the opposition parties. The outcry at that time, from the opposition, I believe, caused the Liberals to back down and a new package of amendments was eventually agreed to by all three parties in July of 1989.

The point there is that Mr Conway didn't have the audacity or the arrogance to actually call the motion he had tabled in this Legislature. He simply was using it as a tactic. He has spoken quite eloquently in this House of really the need for all-party consensus when bringing in such important rule changes.

The most contentious aspects of the current rule changes are the limiting of debate and the fact that closure motions would not be subject to your interpretation, Mr Speaker.

I believe the rule changes will hinder a member's ability to articulate the concerns of his or her constituents in this Legislature. In placing a limit on the rights of members, the government is silencing the voice of the people, and that refers back to the many quotes which I spoke of in the beginning of my debate.

During my short time, some 21 months as a member of provincial Parliament for the riding of Simcoe West, I've had the privilege to be able to voice many of the concerns of my constituents in this Legislative Assembly. Some of these concerns include policing. On several occasions, as you are well aware, I have stood in the Legislature and tried to impress upon the government the need to provide 24-hour policing for the Stayner and Wasaga Beach Ontario Provincial Police detachments.

1840

I've shared with members the horror stories of crime that plagued the Smarts Pharmacy in Creemore, and Ferris Enterprises, which is the gas station in Singhampton, because criminals in my riding knew when OPP officers were going off duty. OPP staffing levels, I'm pleased to report, have improved somewhat in my riding, and I would like to think that those staffing levels have improved because of my efforts in this Legislature to make the government aware of the severity of the problem.

I've spoken at length about hospitals in this Legislature. I persistently brought this issue before the Legislature and I think that the rule changes will limit my ability to do so in the future. The issue of hospitals, particularly in Simcoe country, surrounds the redevelopment of our four hospitals. At every opportunity I have implored the government to follow through on its commitment to redevelop the Collingwood General and Marine Hospital, Stevenson Memorial Hospital in terms of its outpatient department, Orillia Soldiers' Memorial Hospital and, of course, Royal Victoria Hospital in Barrie.

While no sod has been turned, the government, I believe, has paid attention and has at the very least renewed

its commitment to assisting these hospitals. I'd like to believe that the government's commitment to this project was enhanced by the constant badgering of them in this Legislature.

The very serious issue of laid-off workers is another issue I have persistently raised in this Legislature: the plight of workers in my riding who have been forced to bear the brunt of this profound recession in the form on layoffs and industrial closings. I find it somewhat ironic when I have to explain to these workers that my inability to make the government aware of their plight is because the government has restricted my ability to raise their concerns in the Legislature. That's my fear for the future.

On several occasions in raising these important issues, particularly laid-off workers, it has taken me more than the 30 minutes now allocated for speeches. It has taken me much longer to bring all of those concerns to the Legislature during the time I was given and during the evening or the day time that we have to bring those concerns forward. I think it's instructive to remind the government that all of us who sit in this Legislature do so at the discretion of the people of Ontario and that the people of Ontario, at the end of the day, will be the judge on whether or not we're able to effectively serve their interests in this Legislature. I believe that the new time limit that's been imposed on speeches will severely hamper my ability as the member for Simcoe West to do that.

Restructuring is another issue. I almost feel that the government wants to stifle debate on this particular municipal issue because all members of the government party, I believe, are embarrassed to be continually reminded of their never-ending stream of flip-flops and hypocrisies. It's especially difficult for constituents in my riding to believe that the New Democrat party and government, which supports and encourages restructuring, is the same party and in opposition boldly stated that it would not support forced restructuring.

I recall very well, during the 1990 election campaign, Mr Rae's visit to the north part of Simcoe country, where he specifically made the promise that he would not force municipal restructuring on municipalities if those municipalities expressed the desire to not be restructured. Well, that was then and this is now. I've received hundreds of letters and phone calls from my constituents who oppose restructuring, and I'm not exaggerating. I have received hundreds of letters and phone calls. As a result I've used every opportunity to make the government aware of the overwhelming feelings of my constituents, including two private member's bills which I'm sorry to say were both defeated by a solid NDP bloc voting against my private member's bills.

I feel, however, that the government may be infringing upon my ability to continue to give a loud and clear voice to my constituents at Queen's Park. While ordinary Ontarians are unaware of the implications of these rule changes, I feel they will come to realize, over time, the significance of these changes. The current government House leader certainly waxed profound on the issue while in opposition, in April 1990. Mr Cooke said at that time:

"I continue to argue that these types of changes and motions that are being moved by the government, whether it has been time allocation or in this case the motion to move to orders of the day, are an inappropriate way to start writing our rules. If we do not have the process of coming to consensus on rules, I think that while the government might view the effect to be more time for government business in the short term, the end effect will be that this institution will not run smoothly on a daily basis."

Mr Speaker, the government House leader now appears to believe that the institution, this Parliament, works best when he holds a gun to the head of the opposition. He and his colleagues should be ashamed of themselves for another flagrant case of NDP hypocrisy.

Finally, it's an intellectual copout to rationalize the rule changes as being consistent with those in other jurisdictions. As Ontarians we have some of the finest political institutions, largely because these institutions are founded upon a Parliament that has effectively balanced the rights of minorities with those of the majority.

It is a sad day for politics in Ontario. It is a sad day for the rights of the minority in this Parliament. I truly believe from the bottom of my heart that the government and the NDP will regret holding a gun to our heads and forcing us to accept their rule changes.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Simcoe West for his contribution to the debate and invite further debate, and recognize the member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Stockwell: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I won't be very long. That'll be the last time you'll hear that because in future—

Interjection.

Mr Stockwell: I don't mind heckling at all so you can let them go ahead, particularly mindless heckling. In the future you won't have to worry about hours and hours of debates because in the new rules the longest you'll be able to speak will be some 30 minutes.

Interjections.

Mr Stockwell: I'm quite sure he isn't in his seat; I'm positive about that. If he were, I'd know it; he's been sitting across from me every day.

I'll put forward my thoughts on this in I think a reasonably non-partisan way. It was noted earlier by the previous speaker from the Liberal party that in the past less than a decade, all three parties have had the opportunity to govern this province. There have been some differences between the three parties, but in a lot of ways there has been little if any difference, particularly when it comes to the rules of debate and the rules this House abides by when dealing with legislation.

I don't come at this with any great degree of history, just a couple of short years, but the first thing I learned was that the Speaker—although it's a very prestigious and honourable position, and this is no reflection upon the Speaker today—really has very little direct control or power in the operation of this government. He runs the precinct, which is a nice way of saying "Queen's Park," a different word for Queen's Park.

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After sitting through this House for a couple of sessions, the next thing I discovered was that those in opposition are probably the only people other than the Speaker who have less power, "power" being the operative word for somebody who can effectively make change. The biggest thing you can do in opposition is embarrass or force a government into changing some small portion of the legislation, maybe even an amendment or two.

Clearly in the last couple weeks this government has brought forward amendments to legislation that range into the hundreds, and I'm not making comment that that wasn't a good idea. The point I'm trying to make is that the number of amendments that have been accepted by the government from this side you could probably count on both your hands.

I don't particularly think other governments were much different, but as a member of the opposition, with these rule changes I'm beginning to question whether this is what this place was meant to be like those hundreds of years ago in the British parliamentary system. If they could see into the future and looked at 1992 and the debate that takes place today, was this what they envisaged when they decided to go ahead with this kind of democratic process—as I say, I'm not being partisan; I think all governments are guilty of this—a democratic process that turns opposition members into less than effective members, a process that basically tells the government members—I believe all government members, past or present—how to vote?

You vote the way the government goes, and that's called party unity, discipline. You vote the way the government says you're supposed to vote. Even if you don't agree with it, you do it because it's party discipline. Then you're told how to speak and what to say and how you defend the party line or the government line—or the opposition line, in a non-partisan way. Then you're told when you can speak and what you can say. What the constituents have to say in your local riding—and I've seen cases of this in my two short years in this House—doesn't really matter a lot because you're told how to vote and how to speak and what you can say. Under the new rules, what adds insult to injury is that now you're told how to vote, what to say, when you can speak and then you're also told to sit down after 30 minutes, that you've talked long enough.

That may well be the process that was envisaged those many, many centuries ago. I don't think so, though. I don't think it was meant to be like this. I don't think it was meant to send people from across this province to this Legislature and be whipped on votes, be told how to vote and how to speak and what to say.

Although you may be suggesting this is a grander argument or a grander debate, the rule changes really are another chip, another shot at the process. It hasn't happened in just two years, it hasn't happened in two decades; it's happened over a long period of time. It's almost that you elect the NDP or the Liberals or the Conservatives and then someone comes up here to fill a seat that could be filled by a robot, on a lot of occasions. Oh, you might

come up with a heckle now and again or a good question, or you dig up a little dirt on the government or the government comes back with a witty response to a quick question. But at the end of the day, what does it matter? Because you have to vote, and when your member votes, they're representing you. You have to speak, and when that member's speaking—I look around in this House. Usually we end up in debates like this and the House is virtually empty most times, and you look at people reading—no offence; right across the floor, and I'm guilty—reading, taking notes, snoozing almost.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): They're taking notes on your speech.

Mr Stockwell: I'd like to think so, but I don't believe it. And of course heckling, which I understand. I'm one of the worst hecklers, and I make no apologies for it. I think that's part of the process as well.

The interesting thing is that we just went through a committee where some motions and recommendations and a report was put forward about opposition members and about private members and how they can have a say in the operation of this House. Private members? How about just members: government members, opposition members. I honestly believe in my heart of hearts that if these rule changes come forward—

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): You don't have a heart.

Mr Stockwell: The member says I don't have a heart. I think that's rather typical of that member, suggesting that if you don't agree with him you must not have a heart. Ignoring that, I will say that I know people across that floor, I knew them in their lives before they came here, and I know they don't support these rule changes.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): Ha, ha, ha.

Mr Stockwell: I didn't know the member for Cochrane. Maybe he does, but I know the rest of them don't, and they're going to vote for these rule changes. Then you come to the quotes. This is the most amazing part to me. Again, it's non-partisan; I'm not suggesting the NDP is guilty of this any more than the opposition party is. It just so happens that probably today they are because they're the government. But you can get Hansard out and read debates of years gone by, and you're reading quotes that are diametrically opposed to what the government is doing today. It's like water off a duck. It's: "So what's your point? Why are you bringing that up? Sure I said that before, but I'm in government now." As if that's some kind of excuse for me doing something absolutely different than I suggested months and months before.

It's the process, in a lot of respects. It's the members. It's all our fault, and do you know why it's all our fault? Because if either party was across the floor in government at this time, I'm not so sure that both these parties wouldn't be introducing something similar, because it's convenient. I can say in my mind I wouldn't vote for it, but you know what? I've never had to sit in government. Having never had to sit in government, I'm not so sure that party discipline doesn't play a far greater and more important

role than maybe I think. Because I know over there are people who don't agree with this. I know they don't agree with it, and I think they're principled people who are voting for it. I'm not so sure that their principles are any less than mine, and I'm not so sure that if I were in their place I could be any different. I hope I would be, but I can't be sure.

It has become pointless to stand in the House and go back through Hansard and read quotes by the Premier and by the House leader and by the Treasurer and so on, mostly because they're not here—I'm not blaming them; they're busy people—but, second, because it doesn't make any difference, it doesn't matter. I don't even think you're embarrassing them, because it's accepted. When you get into government, everything you said before, all bets are off.

Mr Paul R. Johnson (Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings): You change your mind.

Mr Stockwell: To change your mind is acceptable. I believe in changing your mind, but I can't believe in changing your principles. That's the big difference. You change your mind about going to the beach; you change your mind about buying a house. You don't change your mind when it comes to your principles. I don't blame this government alone. I think it's happened by all governments in the past.

So the point I get to is that it is very ironic to stand here today and look across the floor at this government, this government that I've seen in opposition at city councils across this province talk about minority rights. The interesting part is that I'm part of the minority now in this Legislature and it is not protecting me. There are backbenchers who are part of the minority, I think, and it is not protecting them.

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Mr Mammoliti: You're wrong.

Mr Stockwell: They say I'm wrong, and it wouldn't be the first time I'm wrong, but I don't believe you're protecting the minority. I'm finding that very difficult to buy, because, as I said before, that's not changing your mind; that's changing your principles.

I often recall talking many times to the NDP when the Liberals were in power, and the standard joke I heard with the NDP was: "Hi, I'm a Liberal. Here are my principles. If you don't like them, I have others." It must be government that does this to people, because they're worse.

We'll now, as members of this House, try to effect change by this government. We won't have the option of speaking for more than half an hour, no matter how important it is that we speak for more than half an hour. No matter how of my constituents think I should stand here and read their concerns into the record, it doesn't matter. No matter how important the member from Windsor thinks his constituents are, he can't speak any longer than half an hour. It is 30 minutes, no matter how important any of us think it is.

Mr Speaker, I ask you, and the members across the floor particularly, how important was it to them—and you weren't here—that Peter Kormos spoke for 17 hours? Was

that important to you? Was it important? Of course it was. Never will that happen again. Never can a filibuster take a place. Never can opposition stand up and say, "What you're doing is wrong and I'm going to draw attention to it," because the minority rights are gone.

Once you change the rules, you never change them back. There's one other sad commentary here and this is very telling: If this government loses the next election and the two other parties win the next election—one or the other—they won't change them back, because now they're government and now they can ram their legislation through this House and the members opposite will be sitting on this side of the House wailing about the unfairness of it all. It's very ironic.

I know there's another member who wants to speak to this. A lot of times, in my darker moments I suppose, as we sit in this House when I stare at empty chairs and talk over the din of conversations around me, realizing that I'm talking to potentially an audience but the audience doesn't exist in this building, as I'm sure the viewers will hear, it does become somewhat frustrating. You don't think anyone's listening, and in my darker moments I think there would be times that the taxpayer would be better served if we just elected three leaders, a Liberal, a Conservative and an NDPer, and we could save all the money, the \$30 million we spent on all of us this past period of time when they brought that down.

You could buy yourself a staff for significantly less than \$30 million and the three of them could debate in this cavernous Legislature. They could talk about the issues of the day and there wouldn't be any heckling. You know something that would be very good, Mr Speaker, you wouldn't even have to have rules about 90-minute speeches or 30-minute speeches, because you wouldn't have anyone making speeches, just the three leaders.

I suppose one day, the way these rules are going, we may well end up that way, because as we tighten the noose around opposition members and we tighten the noose around government backbenchers to the point that they have fewer and fewer rights and privileges and they have less capacity to represent the people who elected them, they'll eventually become obsolete and all we'll have is three leaders, a big hall, a lot of bureaucrats and no idle conversation when they're talking.

The Speaker: I'd like to thank the member for Etobicoke West for his contribution to this debate and invite further debate.

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I will be fairly brief in my comments but I did want to speak, just for a moment, before the member for York Centre gets a change to go on at some length about it.

I'm more concerned about the entire process than anything else. This House has worked for many years because of the fact that parties on all sides have cooperated. Some of the members will look at me and see that I've been one of the ones who have been fairly aggressive in coming to this House and some would say maybe haven't cooperated, but it's my feeling and my belief that one of the

treasures of our system is that all three parties were able to get together and decide what was going to happen.

The debates are often eloquent in here. We've got many members who do such a fine job, even the present members, some of whom are here this evening. They've spoken eloquently on a number of occasions on things that are very important to them. But all the debates happened because there was cooperation among all three parties. I think what these rule changes say more than anything else is that there's been a failure. I'm not going to apportion any blame to any party or any government, but I think one of the sad realities of these changes is that the cooperation has, for whatever reason, died. So we now need to have some of these rule changes come in because all three parties aren't able to get together.

It's important, I believe, that members get a chance to speak on behalf of their members. There is nothing better than getting an opportunity, as a member—and I know all the members will say this—to stand up and speak on behalf of your constituents. What I quite often do, because quite often my constituents will say it more eloquently than I can, is I will read into the record what some of their concerns and comments are. It gives them a chance to think they are being heard on a particular piece of legislation.

We're lucky, in the opposition; we can get up pretty much any time we want and speak, and some of the members in the government can't, on a particular issue. In fact on almost any issue you can get up and speak and are almost encouraged to get up and participate, because when you have 20 members it's difficult, sometimes, to speak on it.

But one of the things I've been able to do is to be able to carry forward the concerns of the people of my riding on an issue. Some of them will be one individual somewhere who will send some particular piece of information to me. On other particular issues you will get stacks of it. I guess the most important thing is we've always had an opportunity to get on the record the concerns of the average person. The government, at the end of the day, will do whatever it wants but in this forum it has to listen.

We had an exchange earlier today where the member for Wilson Heights had a chance to, I think very eloquently, speak to the Treasurer about many of the concerns that were there. He said it better than I think very many people could, and I know the member for Wilson Heights is here. I said to him after, "You said to the Treasurer in the 15 or 20 minutes that you spoke probably everything that many businesses, many individuals, many taxpayers would've liked to have said," but the average person doesn't get a chance to do it. They only get a chance to do it through their members.

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At the end of the day the Treasurer will make the decisions next year about what is going to happen, and in this particular case, I must say, in a non-partisan manner, he listened and truly tried to understand and appreciate what some of the concerns were. My concern with some of the rule changes is that we will lose that opportunity, that by narrowing it down and capping the amount of time a mem-

ber can speak, the public's ability, through their member, to affect change will be diminished.

I certainly am not one of the ones who is able to stand up and speak for many hours. When I kiddingly said I was going to try and beat Kormos's record, it probably would have been to just get some of the concerns of the other people on there. But it is important for the people of my riding and the people of the province to know this is the place where their voice can be heard, where they can have captive, sitting across on the other side, the Premier of the day or the Treasurer of the day or the Minister of Energy of the day, where their voice has to be heard, not necessarily listened to or adhered to, but they have to be here and listen, although that's changing even now and this place is becoming less and less relevant.

In this day of media clips, I was amazed to see that one of the groups didn't want to come in and appear before the standing committee on finance and economics, and it was a group protesting over a plant closure. During that debate, they had people who were coming in and speaking eloquently about what needed to be done, on the standing committee on finance and economics.

Another group came out and had a protest on the front lawn. Of course, the media were there and they had one individual bringing them up to the microphone. They would do the piece for the television clip and then they'd go on to the other side. So already I think this House is becoming not as much relevant to the average person because he realizes, "If you're really going to effect change, the way to do it is to get the 30-second clip on CFTO, Global, CTV, CBC or whatever."

I think we'd be amazed, and I think the Speaker often reminds us, that there's 250,000 people who listen to us speaking here. I'm afraid that by diminishing the amount of them, we may lose some of that. All the speeches in here won't be great. All the speeches won't be relevant. All the speeches won't necessarily be on topic. Lord knows that in this place that happens more often than not. But at the end of the day, I think the public will say, "We would have liked to have had as much of a chance as possible to influence the government."

I think this was well respected. Most of the members who are on the government side think opposition members like to get up and hear themselves think on occasion—maybe some of them do—but I think all members on all sides, when they speak, really do want to get to the point quickly, try and make their point and get on. I know there are occasions where, because of rule changes and working between groups, you try to put pressure on by holding things up a little bit, but at the end of the day, I hope the relevance of this Legislature, that we worked so long and hard to get into—as you know, when we all were elected, we all felt a great deal of pride because we were a pretty exclusive group coming here.

I hope at the end of the day these rule changes will not make this House less relevant than it is today. It has evolved; at the beginning there wasn't the direct communications and we weren't on TV. Maybe some would say this House wasn't too relevant then because nobody knew what was going on and that people spoke where. Nobody

knew. The bills were passed and away we went. With the advent of television, the communications, more and more people were able to flip and watch what was going on here.

People will come to me and say, on a particular issue, "I just wanted to let you know so that you could bring it up in the House." Bringing it up in the House won't effect change from the Treasurer or the Premier, but they do feel better that their view, however small it may be in the scheme of 9.5 million people—it is very important they have the opportunity to do this.

We need to speed it up. I'm one of those who honestly and truly believe that this process is bogged down, not only in this House, but the whole bureaucracy and how the bills are passed. Coming from an industry where I'm interested in trying to get things done, I think we all came in here frustrated and probably more so even the government members who thought they would come in here and move mountains within months. Because of the slow process here and the slow process of going out to committee and the slow process of going through the bureaucracy with the regulations, many people feel frustrated. If you look at it today and say, "What did we hope to accomplish after we were sworn in in October till now?" they feel very frustrated.

But you have to realize that on the other side of it, there are people out there who have genuine concerns, and I think it's been mentioned more often than not. One of the things I've learned about here is that when you come in, you've got to realize and try to look at it from the other people's perspective. I know that's difficult to do, and probably at times I'm the worst at it, but you've got to realize that when you're in government, the agenda isn't to push things through quickly.

I must say that the government has talked about discussions and cooperations and committees. They have done that, they've had many discussions through many bills, and we spent last summer on some of the bills. But I hope as a result of these changes the bottom line is that we will not diminish this House. I hope as a result of this cooperation we see going on now where two of the three House leaders are talking and working together will not be diminished, because if that dies, then I think indeed this entire process will.

The one thing we need to do in this entire House is attempt—and I think there would be agreement on this. We disagree on numerous aspects, but there does need to be give and take on both sides. I guess it's one of the pillars in here—the Speaker will know—that says that in this chamber hopefully we will listen.

When we scale it down to 30 minutes, I hope that doesn't take away from the members' ability to try and understand the other viewpoint and to remember that this House is here as the voice of the people. I hope the cooperation that's needed will be enhanced by these rules, and I hope at the end of the day the people will still feel that their voice is heard on a particular issue. The problem is, people say, "If you can talk in just 30 minutes, if you really want to hold things up, what you'll do is just talk, every member, for 30 minutes regardless of whether it's an important bill or one that's not too important."

I would hope that groups and individuals would speak on something that's important to them. I would like to have less debate on some of the bills that are non-controversial, the ones that are out there where there's very little feedback from the public, and have more debate on some of the things that are substantial. In some of the committees I've heard some of the members and I've heard individuals in this House speak for two hours and not touch on the same point. In fact I've kidded some people and I've said I would like to have that ability, and my wife said, "I hope you have that ability, but never use it." But in some of those two-hour debates you will hear things that are really important and are what the public is thinking about. There are very few people that can do that, but I hope as a result of this the public will still feel that this place will not become less and less relevant in our day-to-day operations.

We already know in the scheme of things the hours now when people listen to the debates are geared around the question period. I don't think that was always the case. Things have evolved because of the communication process. What the people want, and nowadays the fact is people don't have a great deal of time to sit at home and listen to debates with two people working and trying to get the kids to bed or one off to soccer and the other one off to ballet. But at the end of the day this is the one true forum where the people making the decisions, the people who are here tonight, the ministers who are involved, do have an opportunity and are forced to sit and listen to the views of people of this province through their elected member.

As to the rules changes that came about, I am more saddened because of the lack of cooperation and the way it was done more than anything else, but at the end of the day I hope that this legislation will be looked upon as something that will be an improvement rather than something that really limits the debate, because overall the people who are out there at the end of the day will say to a government of the day, "You have the right to make any decision you want when you win an election, but you don't have the right not to listen to the people regardless of how outrageous, how different or how small that voice is." What happens when you limit it—the big concern is, where does it stop? It's unended and people say that's too much. Then we got it down and it was going to be maybe two hours. "No, that's still too long," so now we're down to 30 minutes.

My basic feeling is that a member can be restricted in a half-hour, and I don't like the fact. I don't think any of my speeches have been a half-hour, although I said I'd be short and I'm carrying on here, but I honestly truly believe that the members in this Legislature are not here to disrupt and to prolong debate, but that they really truly try to get their points across to the government.

I will close by saying that this is not a pleasant day from my standpoint to see that changes are needed, but we will attempt to work to see that some of the concerns and the problems that are out there don't happen again, because the average person doesn't understand the rules. I've been here a period of time and I still don't understand them quite fully. Hopefully at the end of the day people will say that they're not being muzzled by these changes,

and we will work to ensure that things get through and that the people of this province are heard.

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The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for Oakville South for his contribution. The honourable member had made an inquiry of the Speaker, and indeed for his interest and information there are in fact two mottos which are carved in Latin, one to my left of the chamber door and translated it says, "Fighting is not smart," and the other motto to the right of the chamber door when translated—and it's our official motto—says "Hear the other side." I appreciate the inquiry and invite further debate.

Mr Sorbara: Mr Speaker, I guess it's an interesting consequence that you've just translated that motto "Hear the other side" before I begin my comments on what has happened here under this motion and in this Parliament and in this province over the past few days culminating in this motion, because what this is all about when you render it down, when you take out all the words that just add fluff and flair, is that the government in Ontario has determined to reduce the capacity in Ontario for the other side to be heard.

If I were a more generous person, if I were a more magnanimous person, perhaps if I had a larger heart, I think I would be beginning my comments by ironically congratulating the government House leader. He's won. He waged a brutal war. He used virtually every tactic that I've ever seen used in Parliament to get his way. He won. But I'm not in a generous mood and I'm not prepared yet to congratulate him. I'm still angry. I'm still hurt. I'm still offended. I'm still troubled. I'm still wounded. I still feel very, very badly about what's happened here.

I don't think very many people in Ontario yet know what has happened here over the past few days culminating in this vicious little piece of business that we're now debating, so I want to explain to the people of Ontario what's happened. I want to explain it to the government. There are very few government members here. There are very few opposition members here. There is no one in the galleries that I can see. The press has gone home and maybe just one or two people or 1,000 or 2,000 people are watching this debate tonight and wondering what this is all about.

In fact some people will think this is a rerun of this afternoon's debate, because there are a number of people who actually tune in to the parliamentary channel in the evening to watch a replay of the afternoon proceedings. To them I say, we are still here and we are in the final hours of a debate on a motion that I personally believe is one of the most serious mistakes that I've ever seen made in a Parliament in Canada and certainly the most serious mistake made in the Parliament of Ontario.

Why do I say that? It's quite simple. What's happened here is that the government, the state, the executive, the cabinet, the power of the state has been increased and the power of the opposition, the power of the minority, has been reduced. I want to just tell you, I think the last thing we need in this great province is a further augmentation and a further centralization of the power of the state.

I know the tactics that the government House leader has used to try and suggest that the only thing he's doing is reducing the time allotted for speeches, doing away with filibusters, making the Parliament more efficient, he said. "We need to make the Parliament more efficient." Let's translate that into language that people can understand. The government is going to be able to effect and achieve its goals more quickly and more easily and those of us who have been elected in an opposition and in a minority are going to have less power to oppose.

Bob Rae and Davie Cooke, the Premier and the government House leader, think that's just fine. Maybe the people of Ontario think that's fine as well, but I don't think that's the case. I don't believe that the people of Ontario think that the further centralization of power, a power grab by the government, a quieting of the opposition, is in the best interests of our democracy.

Democracy's a magnificent form of government. Why is that? The answer, in my view, is that the great thing about a democracy is that it defuses the collective power exercised within the state. It puts some power in the executive and some power in the Legislature and some power in the judiciary and some power in business organizations and some power in labour organizations and some power in municipalities and some power in community groups. In Canada it puts some power in the individual as well. It was only 10 years ago that we incorporated into our Constitution a Charter of Rights, which is an eloquent document that says that the individual shall have power over his or her life.

In a democracy the power is defused. In a totalitarian regime, in an autocratic regime, in a dictatorship, the power is centralized. There is no economic power outside of the government in a totalitarian regime. There's no personal power; there's no individual power. People call that repression. They fight against it, they rebel against it, they give up their lives and they sacrifice the lives of their children in order to establish places just like this, legislatures, where every single day that we sit a government can be held to account.

That's what happens, and every single thing that a government wants to do must first be debated in this chamber. Every single tax that a government wants to impose must first be approved by this chamber. But this chamber is made up, by its very nature, primarily of government members. They already have all of the power. In the end, they can force a vote on a tax or on a law, no matter how progressive or regressive. Ultimately, because a government has the majority, it can always win, so the only interest in having a Parliament is to have a minority, an opposition—right now it's the Liberal party and the Tory party—to hold the government to account. A little bit of the power we have to hold them to account has been robbed from us by the government House leader and the Premier. I will establish, later on in my remarks, authority for the proposition that this has not been negotiated; this has been robbed from us.

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What did they do? What is this motion that is now before the House? What is this little power grab by the

government to quiet the opposition, which wishes to raise questions about waste management bills and rent control bills and labour bills and tax bills and municipal bills? How did they do this?

They did three things: First, they shortened the life of the Parliament. On an annual basis they said, "We're going to sit here less time." Just ask yourself, Mr Speaker, whether the shortening of the life of the Parliament is consistent with the government House leader's arguments that we are not getting our business done and that we've got a whole bunch of bills to pass, and they're not being passed. If you were in that situation, sir, would you shorten the life of the Parliament? If you didn't like question period and if you didn't want to have to defend what you were doing every day that we sit here in the House, what would you do? Shorten the life of the Parliament, reduce it by a week, two weeks, a month, three months; only call it once every two years.

The first thing the government House leader did was to shorten the life of the Parliament—pretty clever of him: Take away question period, take away opportunities to question the government on the legislation it brings, take away the opportunity for us to debate the public's business and exercise the responsibility that we, as opposition members, are supposed to exercise; that is, examine legislation right to the minutiae of individual clauses, if that's necessary, and hold the government to account.

The first thing he did was to shorten the life of the Parliament. The second thing he did was to limit the time in which members can debate. In fact, as I see the member for Mississauga South has now taken the Chair, the speech I'm giving tonight which, I regret to say, is going to be of some length, will be the last occasion until the rules are once more opened up and modernized and the last opportunity in this province to speak at length about a serious issue. When these rules are finally voted on, on Monday, which they are going to be unless, miraculously, some government members change their minds—I want to tell you frankly that I don't expect this speech or any speech or anything to change their minds. They are ideological, they are theological and they believe anything their masters tell them. I'll expand on that later.

The government House leader, in his determination to quiet opposition to socialist government in Ontario, is limiting the time in which we can speak. I find that reprehensible. I think the very word "Parliament" comes from the French word "parler," which is to speak. One of the essential elements of a democratic society is the right to speak. In the repressive societies, in the totalitarian societies, you don't have that right to speak. That's taken away from you. You can be picked up off the street if you say the wrong thing. You can be arbitrarily put in jail. But here we have a Parliament and we have the right to speak, and if we speak too long then the people who vote us in will hold us accountable if they disagree with what we say.

But the government says it's time now to limit the right to speak. Well, if you want to quiet your opposition, then limit their right to speak, limit their right to demonstrate. If you want to ram through some legislation, limit the time the matter can be debated. That's the third thing: that this

socialist government, this government that proclaimed itself a breath of fresh air in Ontario, is also limiting the time a matter can be spoken about. We call it a time allocation motion.

It sounds wonderful to the people who rarely come here or never come here: "Oh, they're going to speak less. They're going to limit the time for debate." Well, you might think that's a good idea, and if you think that's a good idea, then welcome to socialism in Ontario. It's going to be great because the socialist agenda will now be able to be achieved with much less opposition, at least from those who were elected to hold the government to account. Because from now on, after this thing is voted on, any time the government gets in trouble on a particular bill, it can simply bring in a time allocation motion.

Doesn't it sound just antiseptic? Time allocation motion: It sounds marvellous. It's almost something that you'd think Madison Avenue made up or some Hollywood director approved for a script, a time allocation motion. Wonderful. "They're debating a time allocation motion." But what it really means when you translate it into ordinary English is: "We're going to cut off the right of the opposition to continue to speak on the matter. We're going to cut them off."

Do you know when they're going to cut us off? They're not going to cut us off when we're way off base. They're not going to cut us off when we're making no sense at all and having no impact. They're going to cut us off when we're saying what the people really believe. That's when they're going to cut us off, when we're making a political impression with the people who elect us.

Let's face it: This is a political institution. We are here on the authority of the people who voted for us. We are here having been given a mandate from our voters, and if we're here and making long speeches and our speeches ring true in the minds of the citizens of Ontario, the government now will have the power to cut us off.

They give one day for debate in this clever little Dave Cooke motion. Here's how it works. We get to debate a piece of legislation now for three days. People think that's a long time. Really, it generally amounts to, on a legislative day, 7.5 hours. It doesn't matter how important it is; we get to debate it for 7.5 hours. Then the government has the power, under the Dave Cooke regime, to cut us off. In good old socialist Ontario we have one more day of debate, and that's on a time allocation motion. Anything can be put in that time allocation motion, including an allocation of one more minute or one more hour or one day in committee or no days in committee. Anything at all can go in there and you've got one more day of debate.

I ask my friends over there in the government: Are you going to do that when our speeches are way off base, when we don't have any following for what we're saying, when people think we are not on the right side of the issue? Heavens, no. You'll let us speak for ever when we're on the wrong side of the issue. It's when what we say rings true that you will cut us off. We have no reason for debating in here other than we believe that we represent some views.

Tonight I'm here with a longish kind of speech because one of the things I feel strongest about, of all the issues that come before me, is the sacredness of this institution. Yes, I'm a Liberal. I'm not a socialist and I'm not a Tory; I'm a Liberal. But that's not as important to me as being a democrat, someone who believes very strongly in our democratic institutions: the independence of our courts, the importance of a Charter of Rights, the freedom of the individual and the freedom and independence of Parliament.

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Tonight a few government members have stuck around to see the most significant reduction in the power of Parliament since the Second World War. It's the only time it's happened. It's the only time that the trend towards a freer, more independent Parliament has been the order of the day for any government.

The great sadness of this—well, there are really four points. There are really four things that are so self-evident if you know this place and if you read the history, so self-evident that what the government is doing now is wrong.

First, the legislative history of this place since the war has been a progressive one. In other words, every change in the rules has made this Parliament more independent of the executive, the cabinet, the Premier, the head honchos in government. Every single measure of significance that has been taken has made this place a more independent institution. Every single measure has expanded and acknowledged the rights of the minority. There's a 30-year history that I'm going to be speaking about in a few moments and all of it has been in that direction. Suddenly, with the election of a socialist NDP government in Ontario, that history is starting to turn around and this is the first significant step.

It's interesting, too, because it's classic. Just read the history of virtually any government. For a government that fears its opposition and fears for what it is doing, the first thing it does is change the rules of the game. It's the first thing it does. Go back in history as far back as it was written and that's what happens. Here it's happening and nobody stayed to witness it. There's no one in the gallery to witness it. There's no press here to write about it. They don't care about it either.

On the government side, there are a few members here, simply because they've been told to be here and not one of them—save and except the member for Welland-Thorold—had the courage to speak on it. Not one of them has had the courage to speak on it other than the government House leader who introduced it and the member for Welland-Thorold who opposes it, and we'll get to that in a while. The whole history of Ontario since 1960 has been reform that has acknowledged the rights of the minority and tonight we are going to conclude a debate that turns that around.

I want to acknowledge the presence now in the gallery of the reporter from the Windsor Star. I don't want to say anything about him because I might not be charitable.

First, we are going to look at the legislative history. I'm going to remind the government members about what has happened over the past 30 years, because most of the peo-

ple in this chamber tonight on the government side have only been here for two years. They're meddling with the rules, having been here for two years. You don't do that. That's what Mulroney did. He got into power and he wanted to start to meddle with the Constitution. Look at the mess we're in now.

The second point I want to make—this one is difficult for me to make because I am so desperately angry at the New Democratic Party right now I could just spit. But I have to acknowledge, and will acknowledge in this debate, that it was the New Democratic Party that always fought the hardest in this Parliament to expand the rights of the minority. It was always the New Democratic Party. Stephen Lewis did it and he was brilliant. Bob Rae, now the member for York South, the Premier of Ontario, also did it and Donald MacDonald and the late Jim Renwick.

I'm not saying they were the only ones. There were great members on our side as well while we were in opposition who contributed significantly to that battle to expand the freedom and independence of the Parliament. But I must confess, and I almost want to bite my tongue, that it was the New Democratic Party that led that fight. It was always there. It always was prepared to give long, eloquent speeches and fight and negotiate for expanding the rights of the minority. I can't believe what's happened.

I think frankly that's one of the great dilemmas that the people of Ontario are having right now. They can't believe what they're seeing and hearing from the New Democratic Party, the socialist government which has always championed the causes. Then they get in power and it's almost like a nightmare. My God, what are they doing?

I remember Bob Rae talking about the casino economy, and now we are going to have casinos. I remember Bob Rae making great speeches when he was a member of the opposition—and we're going to get to that later on—about parliamentary institutions and the primary responsibility of the Parliament to protect the rights of the minority, the opposition, to hold the government to account. After tonight, forget about it. Parliament becomes less relevant.

I think this is one of the most fascinating aspects of what the government House leader has been saying. It's almost like Animal Farm. The government House leader stands up and says, "These rules are rules that are found in all the other parliaments in Canada, notably the House of Commons."

Do you know how much relevance the House of Commons has these days, with all due respect to my colleagues who are federal MPs? Not very much. Nothing happens up there. There are no battles any more. The government can ram through its agenda at will. That's why no one listens to the debates there in the afternoon: because it's all time allocated.

Do you remember the GST, which that party over there, now in the government, said it was going to fight? Remember the GST? They encountered a little problem there; there was one little hitch that wasn't fixed yet. It was called the Senate. So what did the Prime Minister of Canada do? He fixed the Senate. He stuck some more Tory members into the Senate to get the GST passed, so now that's fixed as well.

But the government House leader, Dave Cooke, the member for Windsor-Riverside, says, "Hey, these rules are in other parliaments in Canada." You're damn right they are and that's why those other parliaments in Canada are not very effective.

We're taking away the right to filibuster. You'll never be able to filibuster in this Parliament again. Jamais. Never again will you be able to filibuster in this Parliament. The last filibuster I recall was when we were in government and they were in opposition. It was their filibuster and it was on auto insurance and it was the member for Welland-Thorold who was filibustering.

Do you want to know something, Madam Speaker? He did a magnificent job. You were in Parliament at that time. You will recall that when the filibuster ended, all parties stood up and gave him a round of applause, a standing ovation, not because we believed that what he was saying about automobile insurance was right but because he exercised that rare tactic in this Parliament, the filibuster. Absolutely rare. I mean, I've only seen one. That was Peter Kormos's.

I say to you tonight the fact that there can be no more Peter Kormos filibusters means that this place is not what it once was and what it should be in the future. Do you know why I think we should still have the right to filibuster? Because the rules we have here allow a government—remember, governments have the majority—to cut it off. We knew that when Peter Kormos was filibustering. We knew we had the power, the sharp knife, to cut it off. We believed he was wrong in substance but Parliament demanded that he have the opportunity and the right to carry on.

The world didn't come to an end because the member for Welland-Thorold filibustered. Indeed, once he had to speak all night long. The world didn't come to an end; the province was better for it. The bill ultimately passed. But the opposition which the member for Welland-Thorold represented was fully and completely expressed in this Parliament, and that will never be able to happen again now that Dave Cooke is running this place—never again.

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Theoretically it will not be able to happen. That is eliminated. The right to filibuster has been eliminated, and it's been done by the party that used to be the champion of the minority, the New Democratic Party, now in government, now bringing you socialism à l'Ontario. It ain't good and it's not going to work and it's not going to get re-elected. One of the reasons it's not going to get re-elected is because of what it's done tonight to this Parliament.

The third point I want to speak about tonight is just to say a few words later on about the tactics the NDP has used in opposition. The Kormos filibuster, I think, was an appropriate use of the opposition minority's power, such as it is, as if we have a great deal of power in the face of a government that has 74 members and an arbitrary cabinet and a mean-spirited government House leader.

The tactics of the NDP when it was in opposition were extremely interesting. They were orchestrated by David Cooke, the member for Windsor-Riverside, when he was over here. I don't know how he has the gall to stand up in

this House and, having used all those tactics for all the years he was opposition House leader, now stand up in this Parliament and say, "Those tactics aren't available to you any more, ha ha ha." That's really outrageous, I believe.

They used the tactics for at least five years in opposition, then we had an election and they got in power and said: "Those tactics impede the business of the House and impede the government's agenda. Let's eliminate them. You've got one day to debate this thing," one day to debate this measure, which eliminates filibustering, the right to speak freely and the right to speak at length—eliminated; one day to speak about it. That's Dave Cooke in government, certainly not Dave Cooke in opposition.

Finally, the fourth point I want to speak about tonight—

The Acting Speaker (Mrs Margaret Marland): I would like to remind the member for York Centre to refer to members by their riding or by their title.

Mr Sorbara: Thank you, Madam Speaker, I appreciate the reminder. I notice that the habit of calling the member for Windsor-Riverside "Dave Cooke" has become prevalent in this chamber, and I haven't heard the real Speaker make that point very often, but it's a good point and I'm going to try and do that and not say the name "Dave Cooke" any more tonight.

The fourth point I want to make, and perhaps I'll start on that one, is that there was no crisis. There was no parliamentary crisis that would give rise to the kinds of draconian rules that were introduced by the government House leader on June 4. There wasn't a parliamentary crisis. There was no problem, as they say—*pas de problème*. We were actually moving along relatively well, given the lateness of the session, first, and second, the controversial items on the agenda. There was no crisis. In fact, I was absolutely shocked that there were any new rules put on the order paper. I was sincerely and honestly shocked that that happened.

But I've figured out since what was actually going on, and I want to speak about that for a few minutes tonight. It really is incredible. I mean, you've got to hand it to the government House leader. He orchestrated a crisis and then he brought in rules on the basis of that crisis, and it was all smoke and mirrors; there wasn't any crisis in the first place.

This is ground that actually the House leader for the third party has covered, but I think it would be appropriate to cover it again. Remember that these rule changes were brought forward on the basis that there was urgent need to get on with the government's business and the opposition was stalling. Do you remember that? I remember that. I remember those allegations. They were the silliest allegations I had ever heard. Let's go back to our rules. Let's try and establish, let's try and see, based on the real evidence, whether there was a crisis or not. The government House leader said, "Government business isn't being done."

Those who understand our standing orders, those who read them, know that the standing orders require that in the springtime this House return to work on, in this year, March 9. That's the second Tuesday in March. That's what

the standing orders say right now. So all of us, having recessed on December 19 last year just before Christmas, were anticipating coming back to Parliament to hear a throne speech and debate government business on March 9.

Well, guess what? The government cancelled that week. They said: "Don't come back. We're not ready yet. Don't come back." They cancelled the week, a whole week of sittings, when we could have been dealing with government business—cancelled. The week after that is normally taken off, and of course we had it off. The week after that, the government cancelled the sitting. It said: "No, you don't have to come back here. There's nothing to do. We're not ready yet." Another week eliminated from the calendar. What about the week after that, the week of March 30 to April 2? The government cancelled it again. A whole month where we could have been sitting and we weren't.

Who's creating the crisis? All of us were ready to come back and debate the government's legislation. But they said: "Don't bother. Stay at home. There's nothing to do down here. The sitting is cancelled." One whole month. We actually didn't realize at that time that the government was sort of orchestrating this dilemma of a whole bunch of legislation piling up at the end of June. If we were smarter, we would have smelled a rat and we would have realized that something was going on. I mean, a whole month of sittings. It's unusual for the high-class, socialist reform government to simply cancel a month of the Legislature, but I think we were a little bit naïve.

That takes care of the month of March. We didn't even sit then. There was no business. We couldn't do any business because the lights were out. The table officers were home. The Speaker was off God knows where, and we were in our constituencies or doing the other work that we do. Then we came back finally on I guess it was March 3 or 4—

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): April 6.

Mr Sorbara: I'm sorry, April. Thank you. I guess it was April 6, yes, and heard a throne speech. You know, God bless us, throne speeches. It was just like every other throne speech that's been read in this place, full of sound and fury and signifying nothing and not giving any direction for the province, but there was a throne speech. Then the government spent a million dollars advertising the fact that people could send in for their free copies of the throne speech, full of sound and fury and signifying nothing—

Interjection.

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Mr Sorbara: That's right. My good friend the member for Wilson Heights reminds me that the great—this is a clever government. In the first section of the *Toronto Star*, there was the entirety of the throne speech reprinted. A few pages closer to the front was this big ad coming from your friendly socialist government saying, "Please write us and we'll send you a free copy of our throne speech, which is full of sound and fury and signifies nothing."

That week the government introduced one bill, the Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency Act, Bill 1. Well, whoop-de-do. It allows David Crombie—am I allowed to

say "David Crombie," Madam Speaker?—to continue the good work that he's doing in helping us to rethink our waterfront and to plan for the future in the entire greater Toronto bioregion, as David Crombie refers to it.

So that week the government introduced one bill, on the waterfront regeneration trust. The next week we did sit and the government introduced two bills. Well, that's twice as many as it introduced in the first week. One of them was a corporations tax bill and the other was a mining tax bill. Hallelujah, the government is getting on with its new tax policies and whoop-de-do, there are two new bills on the order paper. Whoops, I smell a crisis. Legislation is being held up. These bills are now on the order paper and the opposition hasn't passed them yet.

You know, we don't feel very good about passing tax bills. If we talk a little bit longer about passing a tax bill, perhaps the citizens of Ontario could forgive us for that. There is zero tolerance in Ontario right now for new taxes. The Treasurer introduced \$1 billion worth of new taxes in his budget and that took us beyond the zero tolerance level. People are angry as I have never seen them out there about taxes, and the government says, "We want time allocation, please, to get our tax bills passed." Forgive us for objecting. Forgive us for wanting to debate them somewhat longer than the government would like. Forgive us for wanting to speak a little bit longer on these matters.

That's the week of April 13 to April 16. Remember, we only sit four days. We're going to sit less once these rules are changed. The week of April 20 to April 23 there was no legislation introduced at all in this House. The week of April 27 to April 30 there was one bill introduced: the Ontario Loan Act, Bill 16. We've now passed that. That gives the government the authority to borrow \$16 billion—no, I'm sorry, I think it's \$12 billion. I may be wrong on the figures.

Let's go to the next week, May 4 to May 7: no legislation introduced. Let's go to the next week, May 11 to May 14: no legislation introduced. Then we come to constituency week. The place is closed down, the lights go off, we go to our constituencies and obviously no legislation can be introduced. Parliament isn't sitting.

We come back to work on May 25 and on the four days that we're sitting, we have a rather unimportant education amendment bill introduced, a miscellaneous bill—I think we need it, I think it will pass, I don't think there's a problem—and another bill introduced by the Minister of Education: the Education Amendment Act (Education Authorities and Minister's Powers). That's Bill 21. Very important and progressive legislation, although no one in the province save for a few bureaucrats and parliamentarians knows what those bills are all about. Certainly those who are out of work are not relying on these bills to help them.

Then May 27 we've got a whole slew of bills introduced, actually five. We have the Colleges Collective Bargaining Statute Law Amendment Act, a piece of legislation that will allow part-time teachers at community colleges to organize themselves in a trade union for the purposes of collective bargaining. Okay. Actually, we were going to do it in the last year of our term. We never got around to it.

We had an election; we were defeated. This is not terribly controversial stuff.

Then Bill 25 was introduced, the Parking Infractions Statute Law Amendment Act, a way to collect parking tickets a little bit more quickly and eliminate some of the terrible mistakes that are made in parking tickets; that is, not being anywhere near Toronto on a certain day but getting a summons saying you were parked illegally in downtown Toronto. Remember, that was a problem for the member for Cambridge. He got into a little trouble, lost his cabinet job—pretty sad situation—wrote some letter to a justice of the peace.

The same day, the Gaming Services Act was introduced. Now this bill is a real surprise to me, because I was the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations from 1989 to September 30, 1990, and we had pretty much finished all the work necessary on this bill. I thought the socialist government had scrapped it. I really did. I thought: "Well, they didn't like the work we did on it so they've decided to do something else. That's their right. They're in government. They can do whatever they want. They have a majority." They don't need these new rules; they have a majority, I remind them. But here it is two years later and the bill is introduced and it's pretty much the same bill; a few little touches, maybe one or two minor amendments, inconsequential.

Finally on May 28, in this expanding legislative agenda, we have the Income Tax and Ontario Pensioners Property Tax Assistance Statute Law Amendment Act. This is the one we've all been waiting for. This is the one that is so controversial. I warrant that no member in this Legislature save for the Minister of Revenue, who I see seated in her seat, knows what's in this bill. And you know, it doesn't even matter, because when these bills are introduced they're made retroactive. The taxes had already been collected or the pension benefits have already been paid out.

Why do we need time allocation and an end to filibuster when the socialist government introduces so many pieces of legislation that are retroactive, that come into effect as soon as they are introduced, for example, the Sunday shopping bill? Who cares how long we debate Sunday shopping? It's retroactive. It's already law. The government did whatever it wanted. It doesn't need time allocation to pass that, except to quiet the member for Welland-Thorold. He's the only one in this party who will in an outspoken way condemn his government for doing what the government is doing.

I support what the government is doing. I don't like retroactive legislation—I believe it's an abuse of what Parliament's all about—but I understand that with tax bills, and occasionally with other bills, you make them retroactive. What does retroactive mean? It simply means that although the bill might not be passed for two years, the bill comes into effect on the day it's introduced. Do you need time allocation to ensure that it gets passed? Heavens, no. These bills never have to be debated, because their impact on people's lives is already there. Yet the government says it needs time allocation to pass its agenda.

Let's get on with it. The week of June 1 to June 4: First, we have a new retail sales tax—more taxes. The Minister of Revenue is going to make it more difficult to sell your old clunker, your used car. "Don't ever underestimate the price on that little slip," the Minister of Revenue says to the people of Ontario who are driving old clunkers and want to sell them. If you do that, my God, she's got a system now to nab you and collect every single penny of tax. Again, it's the poorest people, the people who have to drive and sell and buy used cars who are going to pay for that one, thanks to your friendly, local, socialist government. What a mistake this was.

On June 2 we got a special education statute. It just replaced another bill that died on the order paper. June 3 was a great day. This was the day the Premier of Ontario stood up in this Legislature and said: "You know what? I've changed my mind on Sunday shopping. I think that things have changed. We're living in a new world. Forget all those speeches against Sunday shopping and in favour of a common pause day. Ignore our filibusters when we were in opposition. Ignore everything we've said up until this moment. Next Sunday all the stores are going to be open." He introduced a bill on June 3 to do that and give it retroactive effect—wow! We don't need time allocation for this bill because it doesn't ever have to be called. We don't need time allocation for any bill. You ought not to enhance your power and reduce the power of the minority, of the voice of the opposition.

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Finally, on June 4, we found out what it was really all about. The Minister of Labour introduced his amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. That's what it was all about. Time allocation and the end of filibuster and the other repressive measures are to get the labour bill passed and the trade union bill passed. I have a lot of time for trade unions. I was a Minister of Labour. Gord Wilson, the president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, is a personal friend and someone I greatly admire and he doesn't need a time allocation bill to ram this legislation through. It's simply not necessary.

But on the day that the labour bill was introduced, in the afternoon, before 5 o'clock, quietly and without telling anyone the government House leader rose from his chair, walked over to this table in front of us, where the table officers sit and where the Clerk sits, and tabled the most draconian, most arbitrary, most repressive rule changes that have ever been tabled in the Ontario Legislature. He didn't tell anyone about it. He didn't tell the press, he didn't tell us, he didn't tell the Tories and he didn't tell his own members. He quietly tabled it. We found out about it Monday morning.

I want to point out to you, Madam Speaker, that the rules changes we're passing today, repressive as they are and oppressive as they are of the minority, are nothing in comparison to what the government House leader quietly slipped on the table before 5 o'clock—I hope, I say to the table officers—slipped on the table without telling anyone.

Interjection.

Mr Sorbara: They were far more repressive; they were brutal. I'll tell you something: I've never read anything like it. They really were the most oppressive rules I have ever seen. They gave the government House leader the authority, on Thursday afternoon, to order everyone to work overtime Monday and Tuesday night. Now I know a little bit about the law relating to hours of work and overtime. I know we nearly lost an automobile plant in Oshawa over the issue of voluntary hours or work and overtime. Bob White was able to go into that confrontation and actually solve it—maybe.

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): Another friend of yours?

Mr Sorbara: I say to the noisy member from Yorkview that he is a friend of mine.

Mr Mammoliti: They all love you, Greg.

Mr Sorbara: No, I say to the noisy member for Yorkview, they don't love me. But I think they respect me and I respect them and the role they play.

The Acting Speaker: I would remind the member for Yorkview that interjections are not in order, and the member for York Centre may proceed.

Mr Sorbara: Thank you, Madam Speaker. I was saying that those rule changes that were slipped on the table before 5 o'clock were incredibly repressive. Hours of work and overtime be damned; the government House leader gave himself the authority on Thursday afternoon to say that this place would sit Monday and Tuesday nights. Do you know what that means? Ask a GM worker what it means for arbitrary ordering of overtime. It means you can never make a plan for Monday or Tuesday night to talk to your constituents, go and have a drink with someone, see a movie, go to a rally or protest in some other way because you've got to be available for work, because Thursday afternoon the guys sitting in the throne over there can order you to work.

I realize now that was a tactic. Apparently he said to himself: "I am going to table a really repressive package of rules and then I'll back off as the crisis explodes and I'll seem like a fair guy. I'll seem like a generous House leader who's willing to negotiate." Well, he's won. Remember, this is a speech in defeat. We've lost. The minority has lost. The ability to oppose in Ontario by opposition parties has been significantly reduced. I'm just here to lament that fact and to say that the government will live to regret this. More important, the people will live to regret this because I am so terribly afraid that some time some government is going to come into this province with brutally oppressive plans and they'll use these rules to drive them through. No one will remember how it all got started. No one will remember that the member for Windsor-Riverside, the government House leader, started this whole thing in a crisis that didn't exist.

Madam Speaker, I could take you bill by bill through the things actually on the order paper and I defy you to find controversy other than in the labour bill which, although, in my view, not having studied it clause-by-clause, has some good aspects to it and some not-so-good aspects to it. I simply suggest to the government that it's worthy of

introduction and it's worthy of vigorous debate. Personally I don't think it's worthy of a filibuster. Other members might have a different view, but I think it's worthy of careful, clear analysis because it's going to change workplace relationships as between employers and the workers who are organized in a trade union.

The government was so worried, so terrified at what it was doing, that it decided it had better change the rules. Madam Speaker, do you have any idea how offensive it is to have the rules changed in the middle of the game? Do you know how affronted one can get over here when they say, "Hey, we just changed the rules"? It's like a pitcher who can't get in the strike zone, so he has the umpire make it bigger. He can't see his way to get the ball across the plate. That's their trouble over there in the government: They can't do it and so they've expanded the strike zone. They can strike anywhere now, and if it's a problem they bring in time allocation and it's all looked after. It's all antiseptic. This place is going to be so antiseptic from now on. Forget about Peter Kormos—oops, I'm sorry—the member for Welland-Thorold; no more filibusters. That's illegal in this place now.

I want to speak to the members of this House and the people watching this debate—some think probably it's a rerun. It's not a rerun; we're still here. Democracy has suffered a serious blow. The opposition's power has been reduced and those of you who think the socialist government in Ontario's doing well should be happy; the other 80% of the people in the province should wear a dark armband. They should light a candle for one small but, I think, important aspect of democracy. All the more so because, if you look at the history of reform in Ontario—and I'm going to go through it for you, Madam Speaker—you will see that each succeeding government brought forward measures that expanded the independence, authority and effectiveness of Parliament. The member for Windsor-Riverside, the socialist government House leader, is the first one in history to turn back in a major way in that regard.

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I'm working from a document prepared by David Pond, the research officer of the legislative research service of our very competent library. This is not a Liberal document. This is a document prepared by the library in response to my request for some information about the history of reform of our rules in this Legislature. Obviously I'm not going to read it all; I think probably you may even rule me out of order, but I am going to be quoting from it from time to time. It begins like this:

"An account of parliamentary reform in the Ontario Legislature must begin in the late 1960s. Up until the last quarter-century, the Ontario Legislature was dominated by the executive"—that means the cabinet; that means the circle around the Premier—"and the Legislature exercised little control over the operation of government"—right up until the 1960s.

Then something important happened. To quote Professor Graham White, who is the undisputed authority on this Legislature, he said: "The Ontario Legislative Assembly, as it existed prior to the mid-1960s, is more of a historical curiosity than a guide for the present-day institution."

What he's saying there, simply, is that we've gone a long way from the mid-1960s.

Who started it off? It was Premier John Robarts who started it off. I've got a lot of respect for the late John Robarts. I had the opportunity to practise law with him for a very short period after he retired as Premier and after I graduated from law school. That's neither here nor there. I have more respect for what he did as Premier in opening the windows of this place, in opening the windows of the nation. John Robarts was responsible for beginning the rewriting of who we are as Canadians. The Confederation of Tomorrow conference he convened was the first significant step towards rewriting the basic principles that bind us together as a people, and he was a great Premier. He was a Tory. He was a great Premier.

What John Robarts did was establish a commission. Talk about consultation. David Cooke—I'm sorry, the member for Windsor-Riverside—slips some new rules on the table at five to five on Thursday night and requires that they be debated Monday morning before we've seen them. Compare that to what John Robarts did. John Robarts said: "The place isn't working well. The entire place isn't working well." So he established a commission. He appointed Dalton Camp. We still hear Dalton Camp. Those who listen to Morningside during the fall and winter season hear Dalton Camp every Tuesday morning. He appointed Dalton Camp. He appointed Farquhar Oliver, a former leader of the Ontario Liberal Party, and he appointed Douglas Fisher, a former CCF/NDP MP. He appointed those three people to examine the Parliament and find out what's wrong and make suggestions for reform. I think that was a pretty clever way of consulting and investigating and examining and proposing.

That commission is responsible for the Parliament we have today under the Legislative Assembly Act, which was passed in 1974. It provided that members should have staff and assistants, that they should have research, that there should be some order to this place, and particularly that there should be rights vested in the minority, that the executive—that is, the cabinet and the Premier and the government House leader—shouldn't have all the power to run the place in any way they see fit. It started with the Camp commission, appointed in the mid-1960s, reporting I think in 1971, and the act was passed in 1974.

Just listen to this, if you will. The Camp commission argued that the independence of the Legislature from the executive would be incomplete as long as the government physically controlled the precincts of the Legislature. Dalton Camp went so far as to say that it's so important that the Legislature be independent and that the minorities have rights that the government, the cabinet, the state, the Premier, shouldn't have control over these buildings.

He recommended that in 1970 and it wasn't actually completed until we were in government when in 1988 Richard Patten, the then Minister of Government Services and the member for Ottawa Centre, the predecessor of the now Minister of Housing, actually signed the document, the memorandum of understanding, that transferred responsibility for this precinct from the government to the

Office of the Assembly under the jurisdiction of the Board of Internal Economy.

There were a number of other things the Camp commission recommended: more resources for members, including more personal staff and funding for caucus research; less haphazard scheduling of House business; a reduction in the party leaders' dominance of question period, and on and on.

The great thing was that these recommendations were actually acted upon. Even more important, I think, or perhaps as a way of explanation, in 1975 the Tories in Ontario had a rude awakening. They thought they were going to win another majority government and they fell into minority. Stephen Lewis for the NDP and Bob Nixon for the Liberals were able to wage such a successful fight that Bill Davis fell into minority.

Mr Will Ferguson (Kitchener): It wasn't 1985.

Mr Sorbara: I said 1975, I tell my friend the member for Kitchener, the former Minister of Energy.

What happened was that there was an election, and in that election the Tory government fell into minority. I'm not going to go over the whole history of that minority period; it actually lasted from 1975 to 1981. There was an intervening election in 1977. Again Bill Davis thought he could strike while the iron was hot and get a majority. Did he have a rude awakening: another minority government, so six years of minority government.

There was a whole host of reforms to the parliamentary system brought in, driven by Stephen Lewis and driven by Bob Nixon, who insisted that if the Parliament was going to be independent, somewhat more power was going to have to be given to the opposition.

These weren't big things; they were relatively small things. Let me give you an example, Madam Speaker. The government was required to provide responses to MPPs' petitions within two weeks. The government House leader was required to announce the following week's business before the adjournment of the House on Thursday. The opposition had to fight for that simply so that it could organize the next week and have its research ready to comment on bills. Those things were fought for by Liberals and NDPs in opposition.

Question period was extended from 45 minutes to one hour. Those of you who are listening heard my friend the member for Wilson Heights speak earlier on about how, when you're in government, you want question period to get over really quickly, and when you're in opposition you want five, 10 or 15 more minutes. In that time, question period was extended by 15 minutes. The opposition had 15 more minutes to hold the government to account. I wouldn't be surprised if some day David Cooke brought in a rule eliminating question period if it ever got too hot.

On the reforms went. Subsequent developments, under the Conservative government in 1977 through 1981, included allowing substitutions in committees, providing that all estimates, budget papers, tax legislation and other fiscal issues would be referred to a new finance and economic affairs committee.

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In 1981 the Tories got back a majority government. The socialists now have a majority government and the same darn thing is happening. In 1981, under Bill Davis, all reforms stopped. Yes, there were committees that played with the idea that they could discuss rule changes and bring them forward to the House. They were there; they met; they gave reports to the Parliament; the reports were never acted upon. The majority was back. "We now have the power back and we want more power," said the Tories in 1981.

I remind those sitting in government now of what happened to the Tories in 1985: 42 years of Tory rule came to an end. It's always been my view that the reason we were able to defeat the Tories in 1985 was because they lost their enthusiasm for reform.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: We're having a number of interjections from members on both sides of the House who are not in their seats. Although interjections are not in order at any time, I suggest, especially if a member wishes to raise a point of order, that you be in your seat.

Mr Kwinter: On a point of order, Madam Speaker: I was almost hoist on my own petard. The point of order I want to make is that the rules of the House say that if you are going to make a comment, you should at least be sitting in your seat, so I would ask the member for Markham to please take his seat if he's going to interject. I wasn't sitting in my seat, but I wasn't making any interjections.

The Acting Speaker: The member for York Centre, please proceed.

Mr Sorbara: Thank you, Madam Speaker. Do you recall back in 1981 when the Tories got their majority, that suddenly—

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): You were still in kindergarten.

Mr Sorbara: I cannot resist reading into Hansard the comment of my friend from Markham, my neighbour—who is, by the way, doing such a good job of fighting Bill 143—that in 1981 I was still in kindergarten. I wish that were the case. Actually, I was graduating from law school at the age of—oh my God, I think 32 or something like that. But that's not relevant to the debate and we'll leave that as it is.

In 1981, Bill Davis was elected with a new majority and the government lost its enthusiasm for reform and, according to the historical record, certainly lost its enthusiasm for legislative reforms to enhance the independence and effectiveness of the Parliament respecting the rights of the minority. Virtually nothing happened. I want to note parenthetically that the kind of thing that the member for Windsor-Riverside introduced never happened either. The turning back, the taking power away from the minority, from the opposition—that didn't happen under Bill Davis from 1981 to 1985, thank God, but regrettably, he didn't continue with reform either.

And 1985 brought a new Liberal government to power. The election of May 2, 1985, resulted in the swearing in of the Liberal cabinet on June 26, 1985, and David Peterson

became Premier. The record shows that in conjunction with the opposition parties and respecting the opposition parties, a whole new series of reforms was brought in, including the televising of these debates all across the province so that the people could see and examine for themselves what is going on here.

Now the members of the socialist government want to reduce the time we sit and I think they want to do that because they know people are watching. When I stand or any opposition member stands and criticizes the government, that is broadcast around the province, and they want to shut us up because they don't want that criticism to leak out of this building and touch the hearts and minds of the people of Ontario. I can find no other justification for the rules that are being rammed through this Legislature this evening. The debates were to be televised. That reform was put into place.

The legislative committees of this House were strengthened. There was an expansion of the mandate of the Provincial Auditor, another institution of this Parliament which is designed to hold the government to account. That office was expanded. The authority of the standing committee on public accounts to examine and hold the government to account was expanded as well. It's gone now. The new public accounts committee under the NDP government refuses to examine anything that's controversial. I've resigned from it. I will have nothing to do with it.

There were a number of other reforms that were the subject of debate but didn't quite get passed, including the election of the Speaker by secret ballot. We ultimately did that, but during that 1985-87 period that was not done. But we did abolish certain aspects, including the right to appeal a Speaker's ruling, giving you, Madam Speaker, while in the Chair, more authority to independently organize this House and make rulings that cannot be defeated by a government majority—a very progressive measure.

I want to re-emphasize this point, because it's so terribly important. Let's assume there were a Speaker in the Chair who always sided with the opposition and who tried to enforce the rules in order to give real life to the rights of the minority. Under the old rules, a government member could stand in his or her place and challenge the ruling, and then that ruling would have to be voted on, and if you've got a majority in the House, the government always wins. So it was that right to challenge the ruling of the Speaker which gave the government, until we abolished it, the right and the ability to control the Speaker. We abolished that because it was an abuse of the rights of the minority. Tonight, with these rules, we start abusing the minority again.

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): Very undemocratic party.

Mr Sorbara: The Non-Democratic Party, I say to my friend the member for Scarborough North. NDP now stands for the Non-Democratic Party.

There are examples that could take me from here to heaven of where this government is reducing the power of people in government who are opposed to it to speak out.

Bill 143 is just one example, and I'm going to be getting to that later on in the evening.

There were a number of other changes made between 1985 and 1987 and, according to this researcher, in each case it expanded the independence and the effectiveness of Parliament respecting the rights of the minority. Believe it or not, that 30-year theme, from 1962 to 1992, comes to an end tonight. From tonight onward, the government has a very effective ability, a very sharp knife to cut off opposition whenever opposition is making it tough on government.

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I'm not going to go into detail of the reforms from 1987 to 1990. They were less controversial, and in actual fact they eliminated a few abuses and brought, I think, a finer ability for this Legislature to get on with its business. But even then, the way in which we came about arriving at what rules would be appropriate to change was by consensus, was by consultation, was, when we were in government, respecting the rights of the opposition and talking to them about how the rules ought to be changed.

Never in the history of Ontario's Parliament have rule changes been slipped on the table five minutes to 5 o'clock and the opposition parties ordered to debate them the following Monday without even having a caucus meeting to discuss our position on them. That is unprecedented in the history of this Parliament in the 125 years it has been sitting.

I mentioned earlier that one of the things that truly distressed me about this whole process is that as a student of politics and as a student of democratic institutions I have to confess in this speech and in this Parliament that the New Democratic Party in opposition, whether here in Ontario or elsewhere, had always been the clear and unequivocal advocate of the rights of the minority, and in particular in the parliamentary context.

It's worth noting some of the comments of members who still sit in this House, now in government, when they were in opposition. I think perhaps I'd like to begin with the words of the now Minister of Labour, the member for Hamilton East. In 1989 this House was involved in some very controversial legislation, Bill 162, some very significant reforms to the Workers' Compensation Act. I was the minister in whose name that bill stood in this Parliament for over a year. I might just say parenthetically that Bill 162 was before this Parliament for over a year and that was not an unacceptable amount of time for Parliament to be considering that bill given its controversial nature and the impact it would have on citizens.

What do we have now? Why are these rule changes here? Because the government wants to ensure that its labour bill is passed in just a few months. That's the agenda. Don't try and snow us with, "We want to make the place work better." Don't try and snow us with, "The people think that opposition shouldn't use stalling tactics." The New Democratic Party, for God's sake, invented stalling tactics. They developed them. They have apprentices in this House who became journeymen stalling pieces of legislation they didn't like. And now that they are master craftsmen in Ontario, they have become repressive. If we

don't stop that here, they'll be repressive in the substantive law they bring forward.

The taste for power gives rise to a taste for more power. You give them the power to shut up the opposition and they say, "Hey, we can do what we want now." Those who feed their coffers and those who feed their minds whisper into their ears to say: "You can do what you want now in Parliament. You can have the golden apple. We want a bit of your soul, but you can do what you want now. The opposition at most can have four days. Second reading: four days, that's it. Don't worry, you can do what you want. Just give us a little bit of your soul. Sell your soul. Casinos: sell your soul. Sunday shopping: sell your soul. Auto insurance: sell your soul. You've got the power. You have power and that's what this place is all about."

They grab power tonight from us and I object to that, because the opposition needs some power too to say no and to say it loudly and to get the attention of the people and to make sure that power is not abused. That's the only role an opposition party has, to make sure that power is not abused, and our ability to do that has been reduced as of the moment this motion is passed, and I object.

Listen to what the now Minister of Labour said in 1989. He said: "Every time a government moves closure it gets easier, and democracy is just a little frailer as a result. This is a sad day for justice in Ontario, and I think another sad day for this particular government. The members of this government, argue as they might, know and know very well that there is no real justification for this closure motion at this time."

This was when Bill 162 had been debated for over a year in this Parliament. We weren't bringing in blanket time allocation motions; we were bringing in a time allocation motion to complete the debate after one year and one month's debate. The bill was introduced on June 20, 1988 and completed on July 26, 1989—a year and a month. The words were quite eloquent. I'm going to repeat them: "This is a sad day for justice in Ontario, and I think another sad day for this particular government." I'll tell you, talk about sadness.

For ever now, it's all over. Opposition parties' ability to oppose has been limited. The government members say, "Hey, we don't have to worry too much any more because they can't debate bills as long as they used to." I want to get on to that, if I might, to turn to what the traditions are in this Legislature in terms of length of debate, the shutting down of the opposition and the consideration of important legislation.

Shortly after we were elected in 1985 we introduced a bill to extend funding to the last couple of grades in the Catholic school system. It was a hugely controversial piece of legislation. Before Bill Davis retired as Premier of Ontario, he announced that it was going to be done. Frank Miller inherited his job, didn't like the policy very much, then called an election, couldn't make up his mind, really, where he stood on it and lost the election. We were called upon to govern and we had said, in campaigning in 1985, that if we were elected we were going to do it, and we did it.

Compare that, by the way, to the extent to which the socialist government has implemented the agenda it

promised in the election of 1990. Just compare it for a minute. Just look at it. Look at the agenda for reform and ask yourself, two years down the road, how much of it is implemented. Where's public auto insurance? Where's help for farmers? Where are the tax reforms that were going to come forward? They've all been abandoned.

Mr John Sola (Mississauga East): School funding.

Mr Sorbara: My friend the member for Mississauga East says school funding. Oh, yes indeed, school funding: You dropped that the first day. But I want to go back to 1985 and to Bill 30, which was the bill to extend full funding to the Catholic school system. That bill was introduced for first reading on July 4, had second reading debate for some three days and then went to committee. It was in committee in that form for 17 weeks. That was right and proper. The reason it was right and proper to have it in committee for 17 weeks in 1985 was because the people wanted to be heard on it.

The Minister of Labour says that maybe we can get his labour bill into committee for five weeks. It's going to be during the summertime when people are on holidays and when they won't be able to comment on it. That's just fine for him, because now the theologians of social justice are in power, and frankly, they don't need to hear from the people as much as parliaments used to. That's what's going on in these rule changes, and that's why I'm speaking here tonight.

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Those 17 weeks were the first part of the debate on Bill 30. Then the bill was reintroduced in the second session of that Parliament, again another first reading. There was no need for a second reading debate. As a technical matter, the reason it was reintroduced was because we had a prorogation—that means an ending of a session of Parliament—and you needed to reintroduce the bill again. But we relied on those 17 weeks of hearings, and then after that we continued to consider the bill for 13 more days in committee. That's clause-by-clause consideration. Then we had committee of the whole consideration and then third reading debate on the bill and then June 24, almost a year later, royal assent.

I ask my New Democratic friends, was that wrong? Was it wrong to debate separate school funding for a year before passing it? Would it have been better to have had time allocation to cut off debate, to limit the ability of the citizens of the province to comment on the legislation that was going to affect their lives so dramatically?

I have one opinion, and that is that it is clearly not wrong; it is clearly the essence of democracy. We are going to strike the name "Democratic" from the NDP, because they have put a fatal wound to democracy with the motion that's on the order paper tonight. I simply want to refer them back to Bill 30 once again, 17 weeks of hearings. The people of the province had an opportunity to be heard. It will never happen again in Ontario, because governments will use time allocation motions to make sure it doesn't happen.

During that accord period, as we called it, with the NDP, there was another very controversial bill that took up

much of the time of the Parliament. That was Bill 94. That was the bill, as you will recall—you were a member then, Madam Speaker—that put a ban on extra-billing by doctors. My God, was that controversial. Doctors would call you at your constituency office. Some would say, "Go for it, it's right," others would say, "You'll never get another vote from anyone in the Ontario Medical Association again."

There was a doctors' strike, demonstrations out on the lawn here, all of which are important and frankly essential elements of a vibrant democracy. The minority has a right to express itself, sometimes through its MPPs, sometimes through demonstrations, sometimes through strikes, sometimes through articles in newspapers and sometimes through the elected representatives standing up and making a fuss in Parliament.

Let me tell you about the fuss on Bill 94 as far as time was concerned. The first reading of that bill took place on December 19, 1985. Boy, were the doctors mad. They thought: "They won't really do it. You can't ban extra-billing in Ontario. We're too powerful," the doctors suggested. So first reading was December 19, 1985. That bill was debated on second reading in this Parliament for 14 days. When you think back or when you say it, it doesn't sound very long, but you know what? Under the time allocation rules, the new socialist government will be able to cut off debate after four days. That will end it. Second reading debate will be over and even then individual members will only be able to speak for 30 minutes. Some opposition members in 1985 spoke for hours and hours.

Was that wrong? Did that lessen our ability to govern? No, what it did was hold the government to account. It created some sort of balance between the power of the state and the power of the citizen, in this case doctors. It wasn't wrong. It didn't hamper the ability to continue to make widgets and provide a cup of coffee in a local restaurant or anything. It was democracy in action, even the demonstration and the doctors' strike.

But that's not the end of it. There were some 14 weeks of debate and then we went into that next session of Parliament that I talked about. We had one more day of second reading debate and then we sent it out for consideration in a committee. Even after the committee consideration, where members of the public come and make their points, we came back here and had 11 more days of debate in committee of the whole. Some people don't know what committee of the whole is, but it's all the members of the House sitting in committee, examining the bill clause by clause, clause by paragraph.

Was that wrong? I ask the government members. I ask the new age socialists. I ask those who will bring freedom and joy and justice and prosperity to recession-ridden Ontario whether it was wrong that we had 11 days of committee of the whole hearings on the bill to ban extra-billing. I don't think it was wrong. I thought it was democracy.

I was on the side that wanted to ban extra-billing. Some of the opposition—not the NDP, to give them credit, but the Tories—didn't want it, and in order to allow the doctors and those who were against the ban on extra-billing the formal expression of their opposition, they have an opposition party. That party spoke for them, and some

members, frankly, spoke for more than 30 minutes. Now that won't be allowed any more.

Was it wrong then? I want to know why that was so wrong. If I could be convinced of that, I would sit down. I wouldn't oppose this thing any more and the government could have its way. Was it wrong? I don't think so.

I remember Dick Treleaven. I think he was the member for Oxford, the Deputy Speaker of the House. He wanted to filibuster and he had promised his constituency that he was so angry about this that he would speak for two days in the House. He actually did complete that by beginning a speech at around 5 o'clock in the evening, if I recall, and speaking past midnight, until about 1 o'clock in the morning. It expressed on behalf of citizens the response of some of the citizens to the ban on extra-billing.

You look back and say, "Big deal, 11 days of debate in committee of the whole." It'll never happen again. Time allocation will be moved in this House even before the bill gets out to committee, even before you know how controversial it is. They'll allocate time and say, "One day for committee of the whole; clause-by-clause consideration in one day." They'll do that. Believe you me, Madam Speaker, you and I should get back here on every anniversary of this night of debate and just look at the time allocation motions as they come in, and you will see that they will do that. The more controversial the legislation, the more tempted and the more anxious they will be, these new age socialists, to do that.

I want to move out of the 1985-87 accord period and make some reference to the NDP members in opposition and their approach to this Legislature when they were in opposition and what they thought was appropriate and right in terms of length of debate. I want to go back for a moment and remind you that the government House leader said the business of the House was clogged and we couldn't get any business done.

In going back to the 1987-90 period, I'm going to be talking first of all about that dreaded, awful subject, Sunday shopping. I want to remind you of who took up hours and hours of legislative time debating Sunday shopping in this Parliament under Bob Rae and under the Solicitor General, the bill that was going to bring back a common pause day that the Liberals had destroyed. We spent days on that here—talk about wasting time—and then about four months after the bill was passed Bob Rae said: "I've changed my mind. Forget it. We're going to open all the stores." Just like that. And they say we're wasting time.

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Their Bill 115, which was going to bring back the common pause day the member for Welland-Thorold still wants, took up a good deal of this session and then they said: "Forget it. We're getting too many calls. We've got to open up the stores. The economy's tough etc. Sorry." Well, they didn't say sorry. That actually irked me a little bit. The Premier did not have the courtesy to say, "Forgive me, those of you who had to go through all that business of dealing with our bill," not even the courtesy to say, "Sorry about that." This government does not have courage, but at least it could have courtesy. It doesn't even have courtesy.

I just say that parenthetically, because I want to go back to the really heated debate on Sunday shopping, the debate that took place while we were in government and while we introduced a bill which was designed to allow municipalities one by one to make up their own minds about Sunday shopping. I think it was a reasonable approach for the time. I think I would have preferred a bill that allowed the stores to stay open except if the municipalities decided to close them, but that's just the other side of the same coin.

It was in December 1987 that the then Solicitor General, the member for London South, Joan Smith, stood in this Legislature and made an announcement that the government intended to bring in legislation.

Remember, Mr Speaker—I see now the elected Speaker is in the Chair looking fresh and refreshed. I wish I had had the occasion that you have had to refresh yourself. Oh, well. This is a wake for an independent Parliament, so if you've freshened up, all the better. I think even at a funeral you should look as well as you do, sir.

In December 1987 the then Solicitor General, Joan Smith, the member for London South, stood in the House and made an announcement that we were going to give municipalities the right to decide whether or not the stores would open. My God, did Bob Rae, then the Leader of the Opposition, flip out. He and his party flipped out in a way that I don't think any political party has ever flipped out before. This was going to be the end of civilization, family life, the end of freedom and justice for workers, retail or otherwise. This was, in the words of the Premier, the worst possible thing the government could have done in respect of Sunday shopping. They said some awful things about us. "Cowardice," they said, allowing municipalities one by one to make up their own minds on this."

Remember, I said the announcement was made in December. But as it turned out, because of the study that was going on, we didn't actually get to introduce the bill until April 25, 1988, fully four months later, Mr Speaker. And, as you know, because you understand how this House works, the winter recess intervened and the House didn't really begin to sit until I think the middle of March 1988. Right away the opposition NDP got on its tactics horse. They began to launch a powerful crusade to stop this bill. Talk about stalling. The bill hadn't even been introduced and the NDP opposition decided it needed to completely shut down the House to prevent the bill from being introduced. Do you know how they did it? They began to read petitions endlessly. This New Democratic Party that now thinks there should be no opportunity to delay in any way the legislative agenda began on April 14 to prohibit this House from doing business by the reading of petitions.

Let me read from the final status of business for that session under section 544 as to who was reading the petitions. For example, on April 14, Mr Breaugh, now a member of the federal House; Ms Bryden, no longer a member of this House; Mr Charlton, now the Minister of Energy, now in favour of these draconian new rules; Mr Cooke, Windsor-Riverside—he invented the tactic. I just want to point out to you, sir, that Mr Cooke, as it reads here, the

member for Windsor-Riverside, invented the tactic. They read petitions all day long and we weren't able to get to our legislation. Mr Farnan, for a short time the Solicitor General under the socialist government; Mrs Grier—hey, the classy Minister of the Environment who's trying to dump Metro's garbage in York region; she read a petition that day.

Mr Hampton, now the high-class Attorney General—doesn't do much, doesn't say much, but at least he's got the job. Mr Johnston—you remember Mr Johnston, the member for Scarborough West. Now, nice appointment; chairman of the Council of Regents; fixed for at least the next six years. He's okay. You know something? If Richard Johnston were in this House right now, I don't believe he would let the government House leader do this. He had a tremendous love and respect for this Parliament, he honestly did. I think you remember that. Do you not agree with me, sir? He was a New Democrat—we'll forgive him for that—but he loved Parliament and thought the rights of the minority were incredibly important. He used to stand at that desk right there and argue for the rights of the minority. Now David Cooke is cutting off the rights of the minority.

I'm going through a list. That was Mr Johnston, Scarborough West; Mr Laughren, now the Treasurer. The guy brings out big budgets, big deficits; doesn't come to Parliament—

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): Mr Speaker, wait till he gets to your name.

Mr Sorbara: I want to tell the Minister of Health that we will get to the former member for Scarborough-Ellesmere in a moment. Now the Speaker—it won't be all that embarrassing, but you were there. You, sir, as well, when you sat in opposition, used to argue for the rights of the minority. You were a New Democrat. You still are a New Democrat. Thank God you don't go to their conventions any more. You made that mistake in your first year. You're not doing that any more; you're improving as a Speaker.

Mr Laughren is now the Treasurer. Mr Mackenzie, now the Minister of Labour, read a petition that day. By the way, I just want to remind my friends over there who weren't in the Parliament at that time that petitions were read for so long during that day and subsequent days that no business was done in the House for days and days and days. No business was done in the House at all. It got to 6 o'clock; the Speaker was forced to stand up and say, "It now being 6 of the clock, this House is adjourned until 1:30 of the clock," I don't know why they always say that, but they say that.

Ms Martel—I don't have anything to say about her; Mr Morin-Strom, a former member for Sault Ste Marie; Mr Philip, Etobicoke-Rexdale, now the—

Mr Mammoliti: This doesn't have anything to do with anything. This is the fourth time he's done this.

The Speaker: The member for Yorkview, just relax. The member for York Centre has the floor.

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Mr Sorbara: The member for Yorkview really loves Parliament. The member for Yorkview loves Parliament so

much that he generally refrains from burdening us with his comments.

That day as well, the same day, Mr Pouliot, now the Minister of Transportation—he got his budget cut this year; not building many roads, not doing much repair work, not getting much of anything done. He got a big cut in the capital budget for the Ministry of Transportation. I have no more to say about him right now. Now, Mr Rae—

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): Not the Premier.

Mr Sorbara: The Premier, the member for York South, Mr Rae, read a petition that day, a little stalling tactic; no business of the House done that day.

Mr Reville, no longer a member of this House but working in the back rooms in the Premier's office, probably gave the political advice on how hot it would be to bring in these rules. He is probably the guy who did the polling that said, "The people of Ontario don't care much about the rules so you can get it through and hardly anyone will pay attention." And David Reville was right: The press doesn't care about this; the press doesn't care if the opposition is shut down. They could care less. There are only a few of us who care about the wound to democracy that's happening tonight.

But I was reading a list. Mr Mel Swart, the predecessor of the current member for Welland-Thorold. I just have to interject here and say Congratulations, Mel Swart, because you, having been one of the most effective parliamentarians in this Legislature, at least in the time I've been here—a New Democrat, but you forgive him for that—had the courage at the NDP convention in Hamilton to say it like it is. He had the courage of his convictions and principles. The sad thing about the New Democrats in government is that they couldn't give a damn about principles if their lives depended on it, and their political lives do depend on it.

Mr Wildman, now the Minister of Natural Resources, was there and read a petition. He was the second-to-last for that day. He probably was standing in his place and looked up at the clock and thought, "I'll read this one. There'll be one more and they can't introduce that draconian Sunday shopping bill that would give municipalities the freedom to make up their own minds." They wanted a common pause day.

Mrs Sullivan: What was that called?

Mr Sorbara: They wanted a common pause day. They wanted retail workers not to have to go to work, although many other workers have to work on Sunday: nurses, doctors, technicians, airplane pilots, airplane flight attendants, a whole bunch of people. Most of the people are subject to being called in for work on Sunday. But they wanted a common pause day, and they wanted it so bad that they were going to stall even the introduction of the bill.

Under the orders we had that day, we couldn't get to introduction of bills to get the bill on the order paper so that a reasonable debate could begin. We could not get there. David Cooke accuses us of stalling, when he's got one important bill to get through and the day he introduces

it is the day he takes away our right to oppose it effectively. In comparison to what they did then in opposition, you're telling me, David Cooke, that we're stalling? That was the first day. The same thing happened on April 18. The same thing happened with the same cast of characters on April 19. On April 20, the same thing happened.

I'm going to pause now and say a word about April 20. April 20, 1988, was the day in Ontario that the then Treasurer, the former member for Brant-Haldimand, Bob Nixon, was to read his budget. That was the day assigned for the reading of the budget. Just like any other budget day, hundreds of people had come to Queen's Park to hear the reading of the budget, to examine the budget carefully and to report on the budget. Outside this chamber the television crews were set up to do the post-budget interviews and Bob Nixon was preparing on that day at 4 o'clock to read the budget.

But the orders of the day said that the reading of petitions had to be completed before the budget was read, because you couldn't get to that point. Now I want to read to you from Hansard as to what happened—

Interjection.

The Speaker: The member is not seated in his proper seat.

Mr Sorbara: I want to read to the members of this House and the people who are listening to this debate what happened at 4 o'clock on that day, April 20, 1988, when Bob Nixon, one of the truly great parliamentarians this Legislature has ever seen—I want to read what happened at that time.

Mr Charlton, according to Hansard, wanted to read a petition. He read his petition and then in that seat right over there, the Treasurer of Ontario stood up and said:

"Hon. R. F. Nixon: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: As you know, 13 days ago I informed the House of my expectation to present the 1988 budget to the House on this day. The formal notice of motion is in your Orders and Notices, and I would ask unanimous consent that we end this order of business"—the reading of petitions—"as is customary"—he was a great lover of custom—"and give me an opportunity to present the 1988 budget.

"Mr. Speaker: The members of the House have heard the request of the Treasurer. Is there unanimous consent?"

Interjection: What did they say?

Mr Sorbara: Negatived. "No, he can't read his budget. We have to read petitions, because Sunday shopping is so important to us." I was never so humiliated in all my life. A Treasurer asks to read a budget and they say "negatived."

Mr Curling: I think you woke them up.

Mr Sorbara: I'm sorry for the outburst. There was no outburst from the Treasurer. He said:

"Hon R. F. Nixon: Since I have the responsibility for the confidentiality of the budget—"

Then Mr Cooke, now the government House leader, interjected:

"Mr D. S. Cooke: On a point of order? What's going on?"

"Hon R. F. Nixon: This is a point of order"—I can just hear his voice getting a little angry. "I am on a point of order. Since I have that responsibility—

"Some hon members: Sit down.

"Mr Speaker: A new point of order.

"Hon R. F. Nixon: Since I have that responsibility, I have no alternative but to use standing order 35(d) and hereby table the budget in the House. Copies are available to all members. Those members of the press, political observers and people from the business community who are examining the budget at the present time will be let out of their lockup, and we can proceed with the business of the House as you would otherwise order, Mr Speaker."

Mr Speaker had no alternative but to say, "We will continue with the previous order of business." So we went to Mr Charlton, who read yet another petition.

They say to me that we're stalling, that we're imposing on the socialist agenda in Ontario. Bob Nixon, one of the great champions of parliamentary democracy, is prohibited from reading his budget because they are reading petitions in connection with a bill that had not been introduced into the Legislature. They did it, and they did it, and they did it.

Now they are in government by a historical accident, September 6, 1990, and they want to reduce my powers as a member of the minority and the opposition to hold them to account for what they do as a government. Mr Nixon was not allowed to read his budget that day, and I say to you that this government should really be ashamed about what it's doing now, particularly given what it did then in terms of tactics.

I'm going to get back now to Bill 113 and Bill 114, the Sunday shopping bills.

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Mr Mammoliti: You're bringing this up for the fifth time.

Mr Sorbara: I simply say to my friend the member for Yorkview that there's no need for you to be here. You're not speaking on the bill.

I'm going to go back to the Sunday shopping bill. It was finally introduced on April 25, 1988. We spent eight days debating it in second reading at the request of the opposition. They originally wanted more, but eight days were negotiated. I simply remind the members of the government now that under the new rules that are going to be passed after tonight, four days will be the limit. After that, time allocation is in place.

Hon Mr Wildman: It won't be automatic.

Mr Sorbara: My friend the Minister of Natural Resources says it will not be automatic. I say to him that not this month, not next month, but your successors, because they will get into political trouble, will make it automatic. That's why you shouldn't be doing this. That's why this is not right. That's why it's wrong to remove any possibility ever of filibustering, because some government down the road even more capricious than the one that's in power now will use these rules to its full effect and that's wrong.

Sunday shopping, 1988: eight days on second reading—actually not really bad, when you think of it, for a bill that at least the opposition parties considered to be

controversial. I concede that at that point Sunday shopping was a highly controversial issue and deserved a good, long debate. It didn't deserve the kinds of tactics that were foisted upon the Treasurer, Bob Nixon, when he tried to read his budget, but it certainly deserved eight days of second reading debate.

Then we had eight weeks of public hearings. A committee of the Legislature was charged with the responsibility of hearing from citizens all over the province as to their views on whether or not they favoured the then government's approach to Sunday shopping, which was pretty simple: Let the municipalities decide. We then brought the bill back to the Legislature and we considered it for 22 days in clause-by-clause consideration.

That certainly will never happen again under the new rules. No minister, because ministers are very busy, you see, will want to have a bill debated clause by clause for 22 days. Somebody might find something wrong with it and then the government would be criticized, so we'll have time allocation motions that say you can have two, three or maybe four days for clause-by-clause consideration. But certainly if an opposition is concerned about it, you'll be able to shut them down.

Now remember, opposition parties speak on behalf of the citizens out there who have a concern about what's going on here. They may not be very concerned about the rules, but when you bring in controversial and repressive legislation, they're concerned and they want us to raise these issues in debate. But from now on you're going to get your way. You have time allocation and all the tactics are gone.

Sunday shopping: 22 days of clause-by-clause consideration and then a nice little tactic invented by the New Democratic Party—have a long two-day debate on the motion to report the bill back to the Parliament. Some people don't understand that. When a bill is out in committee, it gets considered and then the Chair of the committee reports to the Parliament, to us here in the assembly, what the committee did, and there has to be a motion to adopt that report.

The New Dippers, the socialists, then say: "Hey, we can delay this thing even further. We can have an unusual debate on the motion to adopt the report." That had been rarely done, but they used that to delay for two more days this terrible Sunday shopping bill which gave municipalities the right to make up their own minds whether or not the stores would be open.

Then we had two more days of debate in committee of the whole, and then we had one debate on third reading. The bill was finally passed in January 1989, fully one year and one month after the then Solicitor General, Joan Smith, stood up in her chair in this Legislature and announced that she was going to be bringing forward legislation.

Was that so wrong, I say to the government members, particularly members like the Minister of Natural Resources who has been in this place for so long? Was that so wrong that we spent a year considering that bill? Did that get in the way of the other stuff that goes on in government? Did that get in the way of normal commerce? Did that keep our kids out of school? Did that prevent families

from celebrating the holidays? Was it wrong that we spent a year debating that bill?

I was offended by some of the tactics. I personally don't like tactics. If you want to speak to a bill and focus public attention on the bill, don't keep the Treasurer from reading his budget with a phoney flank of petitions. Get up on your feet and speak until you've got some attention. That's why I'm here tonight. I want at least some people to know that tonight democracy has been wounded a little bit, that the minority is going to have less ability to oppose the state, that the state has grabbed power from the minority and that from now on in this Legislature the debates will be less significant because our ability to hold the government to account has been reduced. That's why I'm here.

I don't like the tactics. I think what those people there did, Mr Speaker—and I'm glad you weren't part of that caucus or you would have been tainted by that—to Mr Nixon when he tried to read his budget was among the most capricious and offensive things I've ever seen done here. It would have been all right; you could have continued to read the petitions the next day. But, for God's sake, grant Bob Nixon the right to stand up in the Parliament and read the budget.

The bill was passed, as I said, on February 7 and became law shortly thereafter. That's a year and about six weeks since the time when the government gave notice that it was going to introduce the bill. In other words, the issue was before the Parliament for a year and about six weeks. Was that wrong? It was a controversial issue.

One of the ways you allow the public to get involved in the issues and comment on them is the opposition keeps the matter before the Parliament and focuses attention on it. Now we're not going to be able to do that any more in the way it could once be done. I don't think, and I want to reiterate this point—perhaps I haven't made it quite as clearly I can or should have. You don't do that with every bill. The Clerk will testify and you, sir, as Speaker will verify that many bills, I would say the vast majority of bills, go through this Legislature with a minimum of debate and discussion because they are routine, are non-controversial, have the broad public support of the population and need not be debated here.

But some bills are controversial. Rarely, a bill is so controversial in the minds of the opposition that a rare filibuster is needed. There's only been one in the past seven years. Was it so bad that the member for Welland-Thorold filibustered this Parliament on a matter he felt deeply and passionately about?

Mr Curling: For 17 hours.

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Mr Sorbara: For 17 hours my friend the member for Scarborough North reminds me, in one throw, in one speech, but several days. Days and days and days, day after day, he was the only speaker. People think about the 17 hours Peter Kormos debated in one throw or one go, but let's remember, he did far more than that, and I'm going to be getting to that after a little while.

The next controversial matter that was before this Parliament during the Parliament from 1987 to 1990 was a bill

that I sponsored, Bill 162, An Act to amend the Workers' Compensation Act. That bill was given first reading on June 20, 1988. It had been a matter that had been under study. The dual award system, as it was called, had been under study for I think 10 or 12 years in Ontario. I won't get into the details of the dual award system nor the details of the bill, because that's not really the subject of this debate. The subject of this debate is whether we shall or shall not reduce the power of the opposition to hold the government to account.

Bill 162, as it was known and as it was numbered, was given first reading on June 20, 1988. Pretty soon the New Democrats realized that they had quite a bit to gain from vigorously opposing this bill, because frankly I admit as Minister of Labour it was a tough bill. It was the right bill but it was tough, because in some cases it provided that injured workers would get less under the new system than they would have under the old.

Parenthetically, I add that the workers' compensation system is now \$12 billion in debt and there were financial reasons why under certain circumstances some workers would have to get less. But the beauty of the bill was that where a worker was seriously injured and really couldn't work again, he would get far more than he did under the old system, and that really was the debate, but because the trade unions were very opposed to the bill—obviously the trade unions form constitutionally a part of the New Democratic Party; they sit in large numbers on the provincial council—the party itself had to vigorously oppose the bill.

My God, was it a fight. I'll tell you, from day one—well, actually not from day one. To do him justice, on day one the member for Hamilton East, then the Labour critic, my critic, stood up and said: "Well, we'll examine this. We'll have a look at what's in it and we look forward to debating it." But then it started, and it started with a vengeance. They organized protests in front of the building.

Interjection.

Mr Sorbara: My friend the Minister of Community and Social Services said, "Tsk, ts, ts." That's what I say. I think protests are great. I think the way in which the member for Sudbury East opposed my bill was one of the most brilliant displays of effective parliamentary democracy I've ever seen. It was really good. She did her work well. We disagreed on substance, but never once did I say in this Legislature that we should qualify her right to do it.

That's the only point I'm making tonight. We're not talking about any substantial piece of legislation. We haven't got on to what the government hasn't done to fix the economy. We haven't got on to the budget. We will get on to that perhaps a little bit later. But none of the substance of this first socialist experiment is the subject of this debate. It's just a simple matter: the right to oppose that is vested in opposition parties and the right to hold government to account.

So Shelley Martel decided that she was going to make this her crusade and hold me, as Minister of Labour, to account. I said it then, and I say it now, that Parliament and our traditions demand that she have a right to do that.

Why is it that David Cooke, when he was over here, said that right should exist in the opposition and now that he's over there he has a completely different story? It's the hypocrisy and the inconsistency that is driving me crazy on this, that is driving me to speak for hours and hours. It's the hypocrisy and the inconsistency, and if this continues to go on in our legislative chambers, if politicians continue to be hypocritical—when they're on one side say one thing and when they're on the other side they say another thing—then we are finished.

We will be held in disrepute if we allow that to happen, and I have to take this opportunity to remind the entire world that no party has ever been so hypocritical as the New Democratic Party, the government in Ontario now, because when it was in opposition, it championed the rights of the minority and the independence of Parliament, and tonight, with this motion, it is wounding democracy and trying to shut us down and we haven't even done anything. We didn't read a petition one day—I guess two or three days Mike Harris read lengthy bills. That's the Tory party, remember. He read these long, long bills that took up a good part of the day.

I think that's a dumb way to filibuster. If you want to filibuster, you stand up and you plead with the members of the House to see it your way, and that's what I'm doing tonight. I'm pleading with members of the government to see this thing, to remember how Shelley Martel opposed me through weeks of debate in this Legislature on Bill 162. Let's get into the details, shall we?

Interjection.

Mr Sorbara: That's my tactic, and you'll use it to effect in a few years. My friend the member for Wentworth East says, "Sit down." Well, soon I'm going to sit down, sir. I want to remind them that this will be the last time in our lifetime that someone will be able to do this, even on really important issues. You'll never be able to do this again, to stand up and speak your mind and plead that the government take a different view, and this is all the ability we have. We don't have any more tools. The government can move a bill and soon we'll have time allocation on every bill and do whatever it wants.

If that's what the people want, if the people want the government to have even more power to get things done even more quickly—the new socialist government wants new power to get its agenda without much criticism in the Legislature. If that's what people want, I plead with them to get on the phone right now and phone their MPPs and say, "Yeah, that's right, get that motion passed."

But if you don't want that, if you think that in a Parliament there should be a balance, that the opposition should have the right to oppose effectively—now we never win but to bring attention to measures that we think are arbitrary and capricious—then I say that people ought to get on the phone and tell their NDP members that they're not very impressed with the way in which this government is conducting the Parliament.

The thing that really just breaks my heart is that when they were in opposition, they were the champions of the rights of the minority, and now they are the first government

since the Second World War to turn the clock back, to bring in repressive measures.

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I was talking about Bill 162 and the length of time we debated that. I want to point out that we were seized of that bill; in other words, it was before the Parliament for over a year. Was that wrong? Have you heard one NDP government member get up and say in this Parliament that those tactics were wrong? They're such champions of democracy now that none of them, save and except the member for Welland-Thorold, will get up and speak on this bill. Do you know what they want? They want to get out of here.

We're changing our rules. Presumably our rules should be important to us, and no government member will speak on it. No government member will speak on the change of the rules. These are the rules that are going to govern you for the rest of this Parliament and for the next Parliament when you're in opposition, and you won't get up and speak on them. I can't believe that none of you will get up and speak to this motion. I can't believe that you allow David Cooke, the government House leader, to order that none of you speak so this seedy little matter will be cleaned up tonight.

He says publicly that we negotiated one day of debate on it. That's not true. There was no negotiation. We were told that if we did not agree to just one day of debate on the change of the rules that govern the way in which you will conduct yourselves in here, then the bigger gun would be put to our head and they would use closure on the even more draconian model of the rules.

Would you describe this, Mr Speaker, as negotiations? Three parties have agreed now on a package of rules. It's all very sanitary. It's all very antiseptic. It's okay. No one should pay any attention to this. "Don't worry about it. It's all been negotiated." Give me a break. The workers at the Toronto Star know what negotiation is. They're actually negotiating. Is there any negotiation here? No.

Mr Phillips: Take it or leave it.

Mr Sorbara: "Take it or leave it. We'll use closure. It's all over." And only one member, among 74 caucus members, has the courage to stand up and talk about it.

I can't understand, by the way, why you're not interested in speaking on this. We've now agreed that we're going to be sitting through the month of July. We welcome that. We think that if the government wants to get on with its agenda, it's perfectly reasonable that the government ask that the Parliament sit in July. Besides if you take the standing orders, you'll see that the government has the power, even though we were supposed to recess actually today, at midnight we were supposed to recess—read the standing order. It's very clear right there that the government can ask, through the Lieutenant Governor, that the Speaker reconvene Parliament whenever the government wants: another little tool in the hands of the Parliament.

Why don't any of you want to speak to this? These are the rules that govern your life in this Parliament. These are important to you. You're going to lose the next election. You're going to be over here in opposition and you're going to regret that you did this. You're going to really

regret that you eliminated the unqualified right of free speech by elected representatives in this Parliament. I say to the government members, many of whom, or some of whom, including the chief government whip, are chuckling over there—

Interjections.

Mr Sorbara: I simply say to the chief whip that last Thursday our chief whip could have got 20 members in the House at a quorum call. I will speak to that issue a little bit later, quorum calls, another tactic.

What I was speaking about was Bill 162 and how long it was considered by this Legislature, overall a year, one month and seven days. We had seven days of second reading, and although the bill was introduced on June 20, we did not demand, like the government is demanding, that we get on with second reading right away. We allowed the bill to be aired in public a little bit.

Look at their labour relations bill. Remember, I said much earlier in this debate that the whole justification that drives the government in this thing is that it is afraid of the controversy its labour bill is going to bring about and it wants time allocation permanently in the rules so as to limit the criticism.

We introduced a controversial workplace bill and this was worker compensation; we allowed it to be before the public for several months even before it went to second reading. It went to second reading in the fall and was debated for seven days, a reasonable limitation, I think. The new limitation, under this government, is going to be four days and that's it.

The bill was in committee hearing, in public hearings, for seven weeks. I think that was a reasonable time, although I would have been amenable to more. I hear through the grapevine that the Minister of Labour, under the socialist government, is thinking of maybe letting his labour bill be before a committee for five weeks, but they haven't told us yet because after this motion passes tonight they can set it at three weeks or two weeks or whatever and we'll have nothing to say about it. We won't even be allowed to criticize it.

We had seven weeks of public committee hearings on Bill 162. The bill was considered clause by clause in committee, that is, the committee examines the bill word by word, paragraph by paragraph and clause by clause for 15 days. Was that wrong? Is any member going to stand up in this House and say this was inappropriate, that it shouldn't have been done, that we made a mistake and kept the bill there for too long?

From now on, no bill will ever get 15 days of clause-by-clause consideration, because they can shut us down. They can say in their time allocation motion, "We don't want to hear from you any more." They'll do it particularly when it's controversial. If the public out there doesn't like what's going on and if we are building public support for our view of things, as we are on Bill 143—I see my friend the member for Markham is here again—Bill 143 is creating political brush fires like you have never seen in York region. No wonder they shut down debate on that one. But when controversial bills like that come up, as soon as the

controversy starts to arrive you'll see a little time allocation motion. "Shut them down."

Believe me, sir, some people think this doesn't matter, because the press will raise it anyway, and that is not true. The press will only raise it if we raise it in this Parliament. Can I give you an example of that, which took place just over the past few days in this Legislature, Mr Speaker? You'll recall that for the past couple of days there have been comments and questions concerning remarks by the member for St Andrew-St Patrick, which I believe and consider to be remarks that ought to be regretted. Do you recall that? Those remarks were made almost a week ago—

[Laughter]

Mr Sorbara: More and more of them are getting to the giddy hour. Fortunately, I say to my friends who are laughing over there, this is the one building in the whole province that can serve liquor without benefit of a liquor licence. Do you recall those comments? Are you standing up for something?

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): No.

2150

Mr Sorbara: No? Okay, I just thought you were on a point of order.

The member for St Andrew-St Patrick made some comments that offended at least a significant majority of the people of this province. Those comments were reported last Monday, so they were generally known around the province. One newspaper reported them and very few television stations covered them. The issue was not a big deal. The same press gallery that covers question period and the debates in this House heard those comments and they didn't make a big deal of them. Then in the Legislature we started to quiz the Premier about whether he thought those comments were appropriate. We quizzed him pretty hard and we put, I think, some pretty important questions.

Finally the press—the electronic media, the print media—started to report it and raised the issue. They didn't do it last Saturday and I understand that, because the way this Parliament and this democracy works is that if you don't raise it in the Legislature, and my colleagues know that, if you don't make it an issue here, then it tends not to get reported and you can't bring it to the attention of the people.

So one of the mechanisms we have in a democracy is to raise the issues here, to put some focus on them so that others will hear what's going on. That's the only way to keep a government in check. It's the only way to do it. If you take away our ability to do it, if we can't do it any more, then I say to my friend the member for Etobicoke West—I just echo his words—there's not much use in being here, is there? There's not much use in simply hanging around and when you want to start to say something the government says: "We have the power to cut you off. We have the power to ensure that what you say is time-limited." It's like being stale-dated. You know, the sour cream is stale-dated. I never know why they put a time-limited date stamp on sour cream; after all, it's already

sour. A best-before date—they're going to limit us in the time we can speak.

I simply go back to what I said earlier. John Robarts, a great Tory Premier, started the initiative towards reform of this Legislature. He started that process. It had a 30-year history. Some very important people, including Dalton Camp, were involved in that reform. It had a 30-year history and in every case the reforms—my Tory friends will know this—were progressive, vesting not so much more power, vesting more responsibility in opposition members to play a role in the discussion of public policy. For some reason now that's going to be taken away.

The terrible mistake the Tories are going to make—and I say this, Mr Speaker, through you directly to the Tories. I see that the Tory leader is coming in. You guys should not vote in favour of this. You guys, I say, Mr Speaker, through you to the leader of the Tory party, shouldn't vote for this. This is wrong. Not only is it wrong, but the way it is done, arbitrarily, described as negotiations, is wrong.

I hope and pray, just like Peter Kormos on the government side is against it, that there will be Tories who will not simply obey the whip of their leader but vote their conscience on this, vote against it. We'll lose. Of course we'll lose. They've got 74 members over there. We don't have a hope in hell of winning this thing. I could speak until the cows come home and we couldn't possibly win it, but when you're in opposition you don't expect to win. You lose battles. You lose, you lose, you lose, but at least you do what the people have asked you to do; that is, hold the government to account, sometimes with long speeches, except from now on that won't happen.

Before I got off on that tangent, I was talking about Bill 162 and how long we debated it. It was over a year.

Interjection.

Mr Sorbara: I'm sorry, sir. I think I heard the member for wherever he is from say I should talk about "how many lies." I wonder if you could do something about him, including removing him from the chamber.

Mr Mammoliti: I thought I said "lives."

The Speaker: The member for Yorkview, what I quite clearly heard was something which was unparliamentary, and I would ask the member to simply withdraw it.

Mr Mammoliti: If it pleases the House, I will withdraw the word "lives."

The Speaker: I appreciate that. The member for York Centre has the floor.

Mr Sorbara: Speaking about the topic of lying, often my colleague the member for Scarborough-Agincourt—we're seatmates—with whom I share this second-row aisle gets out a headline that he keeps. I think he just keeps it for the sake of nostalgia. The headline reads, "Rae Accuses Premier of Lying." This was the style of the then Leader of the Opposition, Bob Rae, now the Premier, as he went into the last election. He said, "David Peterson lied to you about automobile insurance." Who lied about automobile insurance? "David Peterson lied to you about Sunday shopping. David Peterson lied to you about dump sites, lied to you about this, lied to you about that."

I think the one thing that could be said now about David Peterson is that he was true to his word. He believed in the things that he did and he kept consistent with the policies and the political promises that he made. Did we make a mistake in calling the election? You're damned straight we did. We made a mistake. I often apologize to the people of Ontario for that mistake, not because we didn't have the right to but because they say to us, "We are so angry at the NDP government, but we're angrier at you because you allowed them to be in power," and that's true.

People don't want this socialist experiment in Ontario. They are sick to death of the duplicity of this party, and tonight is one more example of that duplicity, when a government House leader who once in opposition spoke in favour of the rights of a free and democratic party is now prepared to move a motion to cut off fair debate and do it arbitrarily. And they called us liars. They are so duplicitous, they are so two-faced, they have gone back, they have brought in nothing of their Agenda for Reform, and if I could ask my friend the member for Scarborough-Agincourt to bring me a copy of the Agenda for Reform when he has a minute or two, we'll take up that subject in a while. Oh, my God, it's right there.

Could I just spend a moment on the government and what it promised and what it's delivering and who's lying and who's not lying? They promised a minimum corporate tax. What we got is a study. They promised tax fairness to the working poor. Honest to God, I would like to defer to my friend the member for Scarborough-Agincourt who, on a point of order, could set out in about 20 minutes how the Treasurer's last budget was so in opposition to this tax fairness to the working poor.

The one thing that happened in the budget is that the working poor under Floyd Laughren, as of July 1 of this year, are going to pay more tax than they have in the history of this province. We're getting a tax increase, it's falling on the working poor and you can thank your friendly socialist government for that, this two-faced government that gives you its Agenda for Reform and simply abandons it about an hour and a half after the election. That was the second thing promised, tax—

2200

Interjections.

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: The member for Scarborough-Agincourt used unparliamentary language.

Interjection: What did he say?

Mr Sutherland: He said the word "liar."

The Speaker: Just relax.

Mr Phillips: Mr Speaker, if you can give me a hand, what I said was that what they said in the document was a lie. I would ask for a ruling on that. I'm not calling anyone a liar; I'm just saying what they said in the document, their manifesto, was a lie.

The Speaker: The member for Scarborough-Agincourt, and indeed other members, rather than try to find what may be the finest point of the needle, it might be more in keeping with what has generally been an extremely

good tone of debate this afternoon and this evening if, instead, we simply directed remarks towards the rule changes and attempted to not use language which one might consider as provocative on either side of the House. In that way we might be able to proceed with what, as I say, has been a very orderly and excellent debate.

Mr Sorbara: I am now on page 1 of the Agenda for People. I heard a wonderful comment that I heard about five or six months after the government was elected and it started running away from these promises at a very rapid pace. Someone said to me, "What's happened to the Agenda for People?" and the comment was, "Oh, they've moved that to the fiction section of the library." It just said it all. It was a nice little piece of fiction, but it's certainly not something the government is going to implement.

The first thing is "Minimum Corporate Tax": not doing it. "Tax Fairness for the Working Poor": What the working poor got was an additional tax burden in the last budget above and beyond what they were paying before. Even if you only earn \$10,000, the Treasurer's budget of a month and a half ago is going to increase your taxes. Even if you're earning \$10,000, well below the poverty line, that's what you're getting. He had \$1 billion in new taxes in his budget at a time when there was absolutely no more tolerance in any place in the economy for new taxes.

The government also promised "Succession Duties on Estates of the Rich and the Super-Rich." The good news on this, sir, is that if this government is in power long enough, there will be no rich and there will be no super-rich, so this policy won't have to be implemented.

"Speculation Tax": That, of course, is under study, as they say.

This is a great one: "Restoring Educational Funding/Property Tax Relief."

Mr Phillips: That was Tony Silipo.

Mr Sorbara: I think probably the now Minister of Education, in his former capacity as chair of the Toronto school board, actually believed, before he became a candidate, that this was going to happen.

Hon Tony Silipo (Minister of Education): Still do.

Mr Sorbara: That's good. The minister says he still does. Well, we'll just wait.

There was going to be "Interest Rate Relief" for a number of sectors of the economy, including farmers—nothing; for the building of homes—nothing; small business assistance—that was, I think, actually a rather reasonable promise. Was it ever acted upon? No, never acted upon.

Here's the one that ignited a lot of people during the campaign. It was a central issue in the campaign: "Driver-Owned Insurance." I think I have a responsibility to read this to you:

"New Democrats for many years have proposed that Ontario have a driver-owned system of car insurance. And, over the last three years, we have consistently criticized" those Liberals for stripping "innocent accident victims of their right to compensation for their injuries, while enriching an already profitable industry. We would scrap the

Liberal scheme and put in its place a driver-owned car insurance plan that's fair, affordable and accessible."

I'll tell you something. This was something that at least one New Democrat actually believed in. At least one of them believed in it. Everyone agreed to put it in their platform; only one of them actually believed in it. That member is the member for Welland-Thorold. He believed in it so strongly that he filibustered in this Legislature for days and days, the only one who's ever filibustered in this Legislature except for a rather feeble attempt by Dick Treleaven, the former member for Oxford. It was in a sense a filibuster; it went from one day to another, but only by about one hour or so. But Peter Kormos, the member for Welland-Thorold, believed in it.

He believed in it so strongly that he made the life of the current member for Bruce, my House leader, the then Minister of Financial Institutions, miserable. It was Murray Elston who brought forward the bill to create a new insurance system in Ontario. It was called Bill 68. I don't know how all the New Democrats felt about it, but Peter Kormos really believed the rhetoric of the socialists that there should be a publicly owned system and that it should have full rights for accident victims to sue and recover in a court of law.

I could sympathize a little bit with the member for Welland-Thorold because I lived for a number of years in British Columbia, and in fact I was there when Dave Barrett was elected in 1972. I saw the system brought in there.

I thank the deputy Clerk for the water he's bringing. I apologize for having that other glass on my desk. That was inappropriate. It only had water in it, but never mind.

I was there in 1972—

Hon Mr Laughren: How did you vote?

Mr Sorbara: I voted for the NDP. The Treasurer asks me how I voted and I've told him. I could not vote for the Social Credit Party; it was too right-wing for me. Frankly, the Liberals and the Tories were almost non-existent. I would have preferred that Justice Berger had become the leader rather than Dave Barrett. Just parenthetically, I'll tell you a wonderful story about Dave Barrett and his winning the convention that made him leader of the party. This is hearsay, but hearsay is permitted for the time being, before the government House leader outlaws it in this Parliament.

A friend of mine was a casual friend of the Barretts. This is back in 1971. Dave Barrett is at the convention. My friend's wife is sitting with Dave Barrett's wife and it's become clear that Dave Barrett is going to win. My friend's wife says to Dave Barrett's wife, "Well, what do you think about Dave becoming the Premier of British Columbia?" And she said, "It won't be the first time an idiot's the Premier of this province." I'm just quoting.

Anyway, Dave Barrett was and is an eminent Canadian now. He went through being a Premier to being a talk-show host. I don't know which he was worse at. He wasn't a very good talk-show host.

Hon Mr Laughren: Peterson was never even a host.

Mr Sorbara: Peterson never got to be a talk-show host. But I was there when Dave Barrett brought in public

automobile insurance in British Columbia, and it wasn't actually so bad for that province.

2210

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): It was pretty good.

Mr Sorbara: Somebody up there in the government party says that it was pretty good. Why didn't you bring it in? You believed in it, for God's sake. People voted for you on the basis that you were going to bring it in. We don't agree with it for Ontario, but they voted for you and you betray them and you say that we're responsible for things being stalled in Ontario. I'd say to the Treasurer, through the Speaker, that I know how sad he felt, having campaigned on it for 20 years, to have to back off a promise, because he's told me about it. The fact is that you can't do that in Ontario, you can't do that in a democracy and expect that people will still have respect.

What you should have done is that you should have either brought it in or said: "We got elected on this. We are not going to do it, and therefore we are going to submit our resignation and go back to the people and let the people decide." You might have got re-elected.

We were on the Agenda for People and we were talking about driver-owned insurance. Peter Kormos felt so strongly about it he decided to filibuster, the one filibuster I've experienced during my seven or so years here.

What have we got? We have a bill that was introduced by the Honourable Murray Elston, the record shows, on October 23, 1989. We debated it for about five days in November and December of 1989, and then once again it went out to committee. It went out to committee for several weeks.

When these new rules pass, the government, if it's controversial, will let it go out to committee for a day or two. You see, what will happen, I say to the Treasurer, perhaps not in the treasury but down—

Hon Mr Laughren: Be fair.

Mr Sorbara: No, no, no. He says to me, "Be fair." We are writing rules for the future—not just for your government but for all succeeding governments. I know what's going to happen here. What's going to happen here is that down the road—maybe not this year, maybe not under an NDP government, maybe not under any political party that exists, but some day, some minister is going to have a very controversial piece of legislation which is arbitrary and capricious and hurts the people and he's going to say or she's going to say to the deputy, because he or she is going to be new and just tasting power, "My God, this is going to be controversial," and it's going to be the deputy minister who's going to whisper into the ear of that minister—

Hon Mr Laughren: Gerry Phillips wouldn't do that.

Mr Sorbara: —"Minister, don't worry. We have a time allocation motion prepared for you in respect of this bill which will minimize debate and minimize opposition." Because as soon as you do this, it becomes part of the culture. Rules become part of the culture. The limitation of debate, a deputy—

Hon Mr Laughren: I agree with you. Gerry would make a great deputy.

Mr Sorbara: The Treasurer makes fun of it. The Treasurer is one of the people—

Interjections.

Mr Sorbara: Let's get back to Bill 68. Peter Kormos decided it was time to speak up. I and my party and our government at that time did not agree with the view the NDP had about having a publicly run auto insurance system with full right to sue from anyone injured in an auto accident. We had done the studies and we saw that this was probably a completely unworkable system, so we brought forward a bill that we thought could work.

Interestingly, this government, the NDP socialist government, having been elected, is not changing it in any material way, except making it a little bit worse, taking away the rights of more accident victims to sue. Although you campaigned by saying that we would have a public, driver-owned system protecting the rights of innocent accident victims, your bill does one thing: It simply confirms the bill we had except it prohibits virtually any accident victim from ever suing.

Peter Kormos decided to filibuster. Notwithstanding that this bill had been debated for upwards of 30 days in the Parliament, Peter Kormos decided that he was going to take this thing on, and for one, two, three, four, five, 10, 15 days, he opposed this thing in the only way that he had available to him. That is, by speaking to this Legislature.

A week and a half ago, because they have a much less controversial labour bill coming forward on the order paper, there has been a determination that the Peter Kormoses of the world will never, ever be allowed to do that again. I ask my friends in the government: Was it wrong what Peter Kormos did? If one of them would stand up and say that that was wrong, then I could understand why you are bringing in these new rules. If that was wrong, then it makes sense what you're doing. If you confess that it should never have happened, if you say, "We regret what we put Murray Elston through and the government through; no one should be allowed to filibuster like that," then I concede and I'll retire and I will step aside. But if it was right then—and I have not heard anything different—then how does it get wrong now? How come it's wrong just because you're in power?

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): He had style.

Mr Sorbara: Some idiot over there said, "He had style." I don't know who it was, but I think that was just an idiotic comment. It's not about style.

I want to say one other thing, Mr Speaker, about this part of my remarks and I want to say it through you, sir, directly to the Treasurer.

I remember when we were going through some rule changes. We were going through actually some discussion about rule changes, I think it was in mid-1989, and I happened to see—

Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview): You were in government then, huh?

Mr Sorbara: We were in government then. That's right. I happened to see Elie Martel in the hallway here,

and Elie Martel, when he was the member for Sudbury East, was for many years the NDP House leader and another man who really understood how this place works and its traditions. He said to me something that I will never forget. He said:

"Remember, Greg: When you go about changing the rules, do it as if you are now in opposition. Do it on the basis that you're the opposition party. Write into the rules the stuff that you want as an opposition party, because one day you'll be in opposition. It might not be next year or the year after. Make sure that you respect the rights of the minority, because one day you'll find yourself in a different position. One day you'll lose an election."

I'll never forget that comment because it really hit home. I had a lot of time for Elie Martel—not for the substance of his politics but for his understanding of this Legislature and the importance of an independent and effective Legislature. I'll never forget him saying, "Change the rules as if you're the opposition party, because some day you'll be there."

So I say to the government members now: I know the rules that you wanted when you were in opposition. Now that you're in government, you're changing the rules as if you're going to be in government for ever and the province doesn't deserve an effective opposition. That's wrong-headed. If we could bring Elie Martel into this chamber tonight, I believe he would testify that these things are wrongheaded. If we could bring Mel Swart in this chamber and if we could bring Jim Renwick in this chamber and if we could bring Tommy Douglas in this chamber and if we could bring David Lewis or Stephen Lewis or any prominent New Democrat, they would say this is wrong. What I speak here I speak for them as well, and I speak for all opposition parties who regret a grab for power by a government of any stripe.

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Mrs Sullivan: Even Floyd Laughren.

Mr Sorbara: Even Floyd Laughren, my colleague says, and I believe that to be true. I would love to hear what Floyd Laughren really has to say about what's going on here and this grab for power. The thing that worries me, sir—and I'll be quite blunt about this—having seen what's gone on under a socialist government for the past two years, is that I think they believe in a kind of ideological sense that all of that stuff was necessary: fair hearing, rights of the minority, fairness and justice and making sure that justice is seen to be done. I think they actually believe that that stuff was only important while other people were in power. They used to argue for things like the fullest environmental assessment you could possibly have, and they used to argue for intervenor funding—another way of ensuring fairness in a hearing process.

What happened in this Legislature under Ruth Grier and environmental issues? The first bill that she introduced of any substance took away citizens' rights in a way that citizens' rights have never been taken away before. On an environmental issue, Bill 143, she arbitrarily and without any consultation empowered herself to be the czarina of garbage in Ontario. She arbitrarily gave herself the power

to order that the Keele Valley landfill site, for example, could be expanded and extended on her order without any hearing. She arbitrarily vested in herself the power to say that the garbage that Metropolitan Toronto creates shall be dumped in some hole in York Region. She gave that power to herself without any hearing.

I use that just by way of example, because what troubles me is that I now think I understand the socialist mentality, and that is: "Fairness and the rights of the minority and the right to intervene are only important so long as we're in opposition, so long as we are the minority. But," they say now, as it seems, "if we're the majority, if we actually have power, we want all of it, not just some of it. We want all of it. We don't want to tolerate a jocular or powerful opposition. They cannot be jocular, they cannot make fun of us, they cannot ridicule us."

The Minister of Community and Social Services wants you, sir, to pay very careful attention to the language used in this House, and yet they do not apologize for the character assassinations that they involved themselves in when they were in opposition, whether it was the member for Oriole or the former member for Oakwood or the former member for Cochrane North. She wants to improve the language. She does not want us to refer to people's age or sexual preferences or indeed sex, but the character assassinations were okay. The opposition tactics that they used in opposition were okay, "But now that we've come to power," say the socialists—and I think frankly this is the problem with socialism all over the world. If you get right to the root of it, the socialists preach one thing and then, having tasted the power, do something completely different.

When the history of this regime, this socialist NDP regime, is written, what will be said is the betrayal on every single promise that is made, whether it's silly things like Sunday shopping or important things like automobile insurance or other things like child care and providing child care spaces, minimum wage, the whole thing. Poverty, my God. They were going to do something on poverty. We didn't know that they were going to be instrumental in extending a recession that had already hit when the election was called, and on and on and on.

One of the things that's in this Agenda for People—not Agenda for Power; we call it the Agenda for Power—is the right to a clean environment: "We will pass the environmental bill of rights." Yes, right.

The only person who has introduced the environmental bill of rights is my friend from Oakville—help me out, Barbara.

Mrs Sullivan: Halton Centre.

Mr Sorbara: Halton Centre, who introduced the Minister of the Environment's bill when she was simply Ruth Grier, opposition critic, and said: "You believed it then. Pass it now." But they won't even call it in Orders and Notices.

They said they were going to have less garbage as well. What they'll have is all of the garbage dumped in York region by fiat. You see, the socialists think that they are theologically invested with the right answers, and they can't stand criticism. That is what was wrong with the

totalitarian regimes that have fallen in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. They couldn't tolerate criticism, but privately they gave themselves great, great privilege. The people suffered.

Hon Mr Laughren: People will laugh at this speech.

Mr Phillips: Yes, they will call in the police.

Hon Mr Laughren: You're being silly.

Mr Phillips: Calling in the police? You did that.

Hon Mr Laughren: I didn't do that. You're being silly. Nobody believes that kind of excessive rhetoric.

Mr Sorbara: My friend the Treasurer says I'm being silly. Okay. Frankly, what is incomprehensibly silly to me is a government House leader who two years ago in this Legislature argued with some passion that the rights of the minority must not be trampled upon.

Hon Mr Laughren: Greg, accept the fact that it's a new government.

Mr Sorbara: The Treasurer said, "Accept the fact that there's a new government." I accepted that fact on election night. I regretted it.

If he gets a little squirmy at the eastern European example and totalitarian regimes, I simply say if you go back in history, the mark of every government that starts to feel pressure is that it starts to change the rules of the game in order to reduce that pressure. That's the mark of a government that is becoming authoritarian.

I'm not saying that these guys are equivalent to what we've had in East Germany and Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the former Soviet Union. No, I'm not saying that. In fact, they've taken down all the signs that they used to have in opposition for the socialist international. You don't see them anywhere any more around the building. They were there then. I understand why they're down now in opposition. But I just used the example of authoritarianism. The taking away of the rights of the people is done step by step, reducing the ability of the minority and the opposition to have its say.

I regret it and I think it's wrong.

Hon Mr Laughren: What a whiner.

Mr Sorbara: The Treasurer says I'm a whiner. I'm a whiner like Peter Kormos was a whiner about automobile insurance.

Mr Phillips: You're dealing with principles.

Mr Sorbara: I'm dealing with a principle. I don't think that very many people in Ontario or the world care very much about this principle, but I care about it. All of you in the government side care about it enough not to say a word about it. You cannot justify what you did then, as you cannot justify what you did now.

I think it's time now to hear some of the words used by those people who are now in government but once in opposition believed very strongly in the rights of the minority. Let's begin with the big guy himself, the Premier. I'm quoting of Hansard of June 19, 1989. Recall, if you go back, the issue of the day is Sunday shopping. Mr Rae is arguing that you can't qualify and you can't destroy the rights of the opposition to try to effectively oppose.

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He says: "I have a very simple and direct argument to make to you, which is this." He's talking to the Speaker, of course. "When the House considered the question of time allocation—I'm not going to reargue the old law, because we've been through all of that. My colleague"—Mr Renwick—"the late member for Riverdale made an eloquent description of how closure was introduced in the House of Commons during the Irish crisis in 1888. I did my bit in talking about the introduction of closure in the House of Commons in Ottawa during the great naval estimates debate between the Liberals and the Conservatives, and Sir Arthur Meighen and Wilfrid Laurier, in those days. I do not want to go back and argue all those points."

But he says, and he makes the point with that preface, that closure is used when the hard issues are there. Isn't it interesting that the government introduced these new rules on the day it introduces its time allocation motion?

Mr Rae goes on to say—the Treasurer might want to listen to this instead of muttering: "The longer I am here, the more I believe very strongly that the opposition is the only thing that stands between government and the sheer, naked use of power."

The member for Peterborough laughs. I'm quoting Bob Rae; that's what Bob Rae said. I tend to agree with him. I think the opposition tends to stand between the arbitrary use of power and a more responsive government, responsible to the people you're elected to govern.

Mr Phillips: I thought Rae thought that then, too.

Mr Sorbara: My friend from Scarborough-Agincourt says, "I thought Rae thought that then," and I think he actually did, but I'm not sure any more.

I quote again from Bob Rae, this time from January 30, 1989. Again, he hates Sunday shopping, he wants a common pause day, he's going to fight this till the end. We're talking about a one-time allocation motion to bring a one-year debate to a close. So Bob Rae, then the Leader of the Opposition, says:

"I want to speak very briefly in this debate. I have already indicated to you that I think this imposition of the guillotine is unjustified." And remember, sir, this matter had been before the House for a full year and we were bringing forward one allocation motion to bring it to a conclusion after a year's debate. So he says: "I think that this imposition of the guillotine is unjustified. It is unworthy of this democratic process that we would come to this, in terms of the government using its majority to simply force through legislation without any significant change and without listening to the vast numbers of people who are so strongly opposed to it."

You're so terrified about the opposition you're going to get that you give yourself time allocation rights even before the laws are introduced. He goes on to say:

"I also want to signal to you, sir, that we have fought this battle now for many, many months, indeed many years"—although he's wrong on that—"and it has become perfectly clear to us that this government is bound and determined to have its way. To put it bluntly, we can add that we know the government—if this is what it is

determined to do—can in fact force the House to vote and can, according to you and your ruling, sir, close off debate."

The Premier actually makes an extremely interesting point that I think supports my case. You don't need these draconian measures. You don't need to shut us up more, because there already exists provision in the rules to do it if necessary, so why do you need even more rules? Why do you have to say that no one should ever be allowed, no matter how important the issue is, to speak for more than 30 minutes? How many speeches of more than 30 minutes have been made in this Parliament over the course of the past almost two years that you've been in Parliament?

Well, my friend Mr Sutherland is counting. Maybe five, maybe six. I wish some of you would simply go back to the journals of the House of Commons in the days of Laurier, in the days of the chief Father of Confederation, John A. Macdonald. Go back to the days of Bennett; go back to the days even of Diefenbaker, recent history, and read the debates. No one was troubled by a speech that went on for perhaps four or five hours, no one was troubled by that. That didn't impede the building of the railroad; that didn't stop the opposition from bringing Macdonald down in the Pacific scandal and bringing about the election of a government. Those long speeches didn't stop the ships from coming across the ocean and bringing new immigrants here. Those speeches didn't get in the way of the development of this nation, this country.

What are you afraid of? That we will speak on behalf of people who oppose what you're doing? People oppose what you're doing. You know that. You're so afraid of it that you now want to shut us down. I was quoting from this now government, which in opposition used to argue for power in the hands of the minority and responsibility in the hands of minority.

I have a quote here from Mr D. S. Cooke, the member for Windsor-Riverside. I won't bother with that one. I am so offended by his tactics in this that I won't give him the dignity of quoting him when he was a person of principle. But I will quote Mr Rae again who said on July 19—this is in conjunction with the WCB debate, the Bill 162 debate:

"I think it's important for everyone to understand why opposition parties decide to oppose certain kinds of legislation and why and how they decide that certain kinds of legislation or certain bills are going to be opposed in a particular strong and vehement fashion. There will no doubt be some who look at opposition parties and say that they are simply obstructing or opposing. Throwing up road blocks is the only thing our opposition parties are good for or know how to do in addition to imposing embarrassing or difficult or effective questions in question period." So he acknowledges this is difficult for opposition parties, does Bob Rae acknowledge. "But I would say that in fact opposition parties have to choose very carefully and, from my experience, do choose very carefully those bills and pieces of legislation which they single out as bills which they will do everything in their power to stop or slow down." That's Bob Rae.

Do you know what? He's right. If you look and examine fairly the order paper and Votes and Proceedings in this Legislature, you will see that most pieces of legislation

pass through here routinely. They are not a problem. They are dealt with in the ordinary course of business. As Bob Rae says, it's only occasionally that we have to oppose in a strong and forceful way. For me, tonight is one of those occasions, because I feel so strongly that a government ought not arbitrarily to vest in itself additional power and particularly not at the expense of the opposition MPPs who, after all, simply express a point of view that resides among some people in the province.

Mr Phillips: I remember that first speech from the throne.

Mr Sorbara: My colleague the member for Scarborough-Agincourt reminds me of the first speech from the throne. These become the words of the Premier and his cabinet and his caucus. My friend has pointed out one sentence I think is just so incredibly clear: "We will set clear standards of behaviour for the conduct of ministers, members of the Legislature and senior government officials. These standards will be developed in consultation with the other parties in the Legislature." Can I just repeat that? The hour is getting late. Can I just say that again? Bob Rae said, "These standards will be developed in consultation with the other parties in the the Legislature."

What I have to know before I sit down is, how does that square with the government House leader on the afternoon of Thursday, June 4, at five minutes to 5 in the afternoon, without telling anyone, slipping on to this table, the table of the Legislature, a whole new set of arbitrary rules that no one knew about, that he told no one about, and that he demanded we debate on Monday morning without even caucusing them? I want to know how that's consistent with what Bob Rae said in his throne speech. If someone would get up on a point of order and explain that we'd be all done, we'd go home.

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Justify that and the deed is done; you've got whatever you want. But you can't justify it, because it's inconsistent. The reason people out there are so disturbed at what's going on here in the new-age socialist Ontario is because there is this gap, this enormous gap, this Grand Canyon gap between what they said when they were in opposition and what they are doing now that they're in government.

Frankly, I think that is one of the things that is problematic with socialist regimes wherever they're found. That doesn't mean that every socialist government will be victimized by this kind of arrogance.

Talking about arrogance, I simply have to go back to the Premier's words in the throne speech, the words that launched this government. Be very careful, by the way, about this speech: The first throne speech of any government sets the tone for the entire period you're in office. In your case, I believe that is only going to be for another two years. Nevertheless this is the thing upon which you will be judged. Under the heading of integrity, Bob Rae said, "Our task is to guard against institutional arrogance and the abuse of power wherever they exist." The abuse of power wherever it exists is right here. You don't have to look very far. The abuse of power, I say to you, Madam Speaker, is what you do when you table rules, sneak them

in, and then you say as government House leader that they have to be passed "Or else we'll keep you here all summer, or else we'll ram them through, or else we'll use closure."

Well, the threat to keep us here all summer didn't work. We want to stay here all summer.

Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent): You will be anyway.

Mr Sorbara: Yes, we do, I say to the member for Essex-Kent. Yes, we do. We want the government to bring forward its agenda and we want to debate it. We don't think particularly that having a summer off, getting out to do the things that we otherwise might have been doing, is all that important. If the government has business and if it hasn't had a chance to get it on the order paper before June 26, we want to stay all summer. There's nothing wrong with that. But you work on the basis: "You're going to pass these rules or you'll have to stay here all summer." Well, big deal. Who cares very much about staying all summer? That's what we're elected to do, to be here whenever there's government business. So you want to be here all summer? Bring forward the legislation.

You've got one controversial bill on the order paper so far, the trade union bill. And the day you tabled that bill you launched your power grab. It happened at 5 to 5 at night right here in this chamber, and since that time this place hasn't worked.

If any of you want to talk to anyone who has any experience with this place, you'll find that it never works unless there is a consensus to make it work, because what happens is that no matter how arbitrary and no matter how vicious you get with your rule changes, we will find a way. That's what opposition parties do. We will find a way somehow to express the importance of Parliament being independent and the importance of opposition parties to hold government accountable.

Again from the throne speech, Bob Rae says, "My government appreciates the contributions that its predecessors have made to the life of the province. It is a tradition we will respect." Balderdash. "We want the advice, assistance and ideas of the opposition parties." Give me a break. The rules that govern my conduct in this place are arbitrarily changed and Bob Rae says, "We want the advice, assistance and ideas of the opposition parties"? Come on. You change the strike zone, you lower the mound, you give the batter four strikes, you don't even ask me about it, you change the rules in one fell swoop and you want my ideas, my assistance and my contribution? Give me a break, Bob Rae. Who wrote that throne speech for you?

Don't do that to the people. Don't say you're going to do one thing and do another. If that's what it says in the throne speech, then surely to God, if you're going to change the rules, you get together a little committee and you work on it until you've got consensus. Nothing short of that meets that standard. Nothing short of that should be tolerated by any of us in this House, because the words the Premier said in that throne speech, as nice as they are, are not particularly new. What he is saying there is simply what has happened in this Parliament for a very good long time.

What's fascinating is that he said that and he's not doing it. He's not doing any of it. In those things which touch very close to the way in which Parliament works, we see the most arbitrary and the most capricious and the most intolerable approach of all.

I can understand the czarina of garbage doing what she did in Bill 143. She theologically believes that it's only her approach that can ever solve the garbage crisis. The truth is she actually created the garbage crisis, which was on its way to being solved before she was elected, but she gets advice, she talks to the interest groups and she takes a view, and at least we had a bill we could debate. The government ultimately brought in time allocation to end the debate. I guess that was reasonable, that was okay; it's a tactic that is used now and again. Every government has used it.

But the difference with the socialist government members is that they want it all and they want it for every bill, and they never want to run into a Peter Kormos situation again, even though they've already got all the power. Bob Rae declares the stores opened for Sunday, notwithstanding that he forced the Treasurer to read his budget outside this Legislature when he opposed Sunday shopping. He did it by decree. How did he do it by decree? He introduced a bill and said it's going to be retroactive. That means it never has to be debated here until the last day we sit before we dissolve the Parliament. It's retroactive, folks. The Premier has all the power.

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I want to quote once again from that famous first throne speech of Ontario's first experiment with an NDP government—unsuccessful experiment. I think history will prove me to be true when I make that statement. The Premier says, and these are almost the closing words: "Over the life of our government there are many things that we want to accomplish. My government looks forward to a productive and lively session, where it will do its best to listen before it acts." I just want to repeat that: "it will do its best to listen before it acts."

I think anyone with a normal understanding of the English language would interpret those words, "to listen before it acts," to mean that the government, including the government House leader, before it changes the rules, would listen. I didn't know that listening before it acts, according to this government, really means that before it acts on changes to our rules, changes that will shut us down, it will take out a six-shooting revolver and put it at the head of the opposition. That's what happened; no doubt about it.

Don't believe the nonsense and the radio reports and the television reports about negotiation. It didn't happen. We had a gun to our heads. David Cooke said, "Either you're going to get these really repressive rules or you're going to get the more moderate variety, and you've got to do it by the evening of June 26 at midnight or else you'll get the repressive package." That's what he said. You cut through all the stuff and that's what was there: "Do you want to die by hanging or do you want to take some sugar-coated poison?" It's death none the less; not eternal death—we'll be back—but it cuts us off.

If there were a justification for it, if, for example, there were a crucial piece of legislation which hadn't met the timetable of the government, maybe I could understand, but that never happened either. The government has never missed its legislative agenda. It doesn't have much of a legislative agenda; it hasn't passed very many bills. But there is nothing that has not been done for want of legislative approval in this province since the socialists were elected.

Let me give you one example of what I mean. Shortly after this government was elected, I say to my children, who are leaving the gallery and I hope will stick around until I'm done so I can give them a ride home, because I won't be going on all night—it's nice to see your children in the gallery. Someone's interested.

Shortly after the government was elected, it introduced a bill dealing with support and custody enforcement. It ultimately got the name "family support bill" or something like that. It had to do with giving the government more power to automatically deduct, from the pay of a supporting spouse, money that was owed to a supported spouse and the children. That's what the bill was about. It was pretty good legislation. In fact, it was developed by the previous Attorney General, the member for St George-St David, who I know is somewhere around the building.

Mr Phillips: There he is down there.

Mr Sorbara: There he is right over there. It was rather good legislation as it was formulated by the member for St George-St David. This new socialist government got it and we think made some serious errors in attempting to improve it. It was debated in the normal course in this House, it was sent to a committee and then we, the opposition parties, started to take some heat on this bill, the famous Bill 117. In fact the Premier, on a number of occasions during question period, accused me of keeping payments that would otherwise go to single mothers with children or separated mothers with children. He accused me of stalling that and, by implication, forcing those mothers to go hungry. What a load.

Do you want to know what eventually happened? After lengthy consideration and a lengthy attempt by the opposition parties to improve it somewhat, the proposals were rejected, as normally happens, and the bill got passed in June 1991. And do you know what the government did? The government put off proclamation of that bill until March 31, 1992, just a couple of months ago. But during all that time in the committee, the government members would say: "You'll be sorry for this. What you're doing by delaying this bill is denying mothers and children who would have support—you're denying them that support."

Come on. I already checked with the ministry. They couldn't possibly implement this thing until March, and we already knew that. You can go through the rhetoric, you can try and build up your political constituency, but it's nonsense. It's not true. Stop saying it to the public.

But when the Premier blamed me by implication for making single mothers and their dependent kids go hungry, I got a little bit upset. It's outrageous to say we were delaying the implementation of that bill. There was fully

nine months between final passage and proclamation and implementation. What a load they laid on us because we wanted to debate some substance and reflect a different point of view on a bill that in general we supported. What a load.

I say, Madam Speaker—Mr Speaker again. The real Speaker is back in the chair looking fresher than ever. I don't want to say what the standard is in that regard, but you are looking fresher than ever.

I brought up the example of Bill 17 simply to make the opposition and the proposition that nothing this government has wanted to do has been impeded by virtue of the fact that opposition members have stood in their place to express a view, whether for five minutes, half an hour or an hour. Nothing this socialist government has wanted to do has been impeded by a filibuster—which they are for ever eliminating—by the reading of petitions, by the introduction of bills or any other tactic. I submit to you that we have never, during the first two years of this Parliament, stalled legislation in a way that affected the interest and the livelihood of the people of Ontario.

Sometimes we wish we could. There are certain bills that we believe are wrong, but we can't prevent them from being passed. I remember a housing bill, that first interim rent control bill that the Minister of Housing brought forward. That was really arbitrary, wicked legislation. That was the socialists feeling their oats and their ability to just cut through everyone and serve their political masters. That was a vicious piece of work and we fought it, but it passed. Besides, it was retroactive anyway and we were just trying to make the argument.

I want to say to you, Mr Speaker, that it is beyond doubt in my mind that what is happening here is that Ontario's first NDP government is getting jittery about not having an agenda so it is looking for new enemies. It has looked across the floor and seen the opposition parties and taken some gratuitous and I think vicious shots.

But the opposition parties are not the only ones the NDP is shooting at; they're shooting at just about everyone. Isn't it ironic? In that same period when we got the trade union bill and the new rules, the NDP party was sending out to people all around the province about the most mean-spirited piece of literature I have ever seen come from any political party, with the possible exception of the Marxist-Leninist group of the Communist Party. This little bit of work is really vicious. I am sorry if I have to burden you, sir, and the members of this Legislature with the contents of this letter, but this is a fund-raising letter which sets out the New Democratic Party's real assessment of what it thinks about what's going on in Ontario. This is from the famous Jill Marzetti. You've really got to listen to this because this is a piece of work, this is a honey.

"Dear friend"—remember, it's at the same time when the trade union bill comes out and the new rules come out and everyone is getting this in their mailbox. They do plan well; I have to admit it. You and your New Democratic friends know politics really well. You know how to sharpen the knife and you know how to insert it and in the

end you know how to give it that little twist that really makes you jump.

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"Dear Friend," the letter says. "Ontario is your province and mine." I don't know why Jill Marzetti thinks this province is hers, but anyway, that's what she says. "It belongs to people like us, people who work here, raise our families here, pay taxes here and vote here. But some big business lobbies are trying to take our province away from us. You and I and many other Ontarians elected an NDP government on September 6, 1990. We gave Bob Rae and his team a mandate to bring commitment back to politics and fairness back to government. We wanted a new Ontario, a better Ontario," says Jill Marzetti.

You got some of it. You got a new government. You got a better deficit. You got better rules if you're in government. You got a way to suppress the opposition. But she says, "The old élites, those big business leaders who keep the Liberals and Tories in their back pockets"—boy, oh boy—"don't want the same thing as you and me," says Jill Marzetti. No, no. "They prefer Ontario the way it was, when they called the shots and had everything their own way, no matter who else got hurt." Now, this is Jill Marzetti saying everyone else got hurt when the others were in power and it was big business that was shooting the bullets.

"They haven't accepted the verdict of the people." This is a refrain. Every time we criticize the government, they say, "Oh, well, you just haven't accepted that we won." What a load. Of course we've accepted that they won. We're politicians. We understand the democratic process. There was an election. They got 74 seats; they have a right to govern. What we criticize is what they do in governing, including tacky little fund-raising letters that characterize everyone who disagrees with them as being an enemy of the people. I'm not going to go on with all of this letter, because it really is too tedious. The theme of the campaign is that everyone should back off.

The latter part of it is a real hit at anyone involved in a business coalition. Get this: "Working arm in arm with the NCC are several big business lobbies who also want to stop all our positive changes dead." I want to repeat that. "Working arm in arm with the NCC are several big business lobbies who also want to stop all our positive changes dead." Then they list them: "The All Business Coalition, representing 42 major business associations. Its members include firms like Eaton's"—according to the New Democratic Party, Eaton's is a no-no: Don't shop at Eaton's, they're bad guys, they want to stop everything dead. "Its members include firms like Eaton's, notorious for its hostility to working people." That is slanderous if it's said anywhere outside the House except in socialist Ontario.

The second group is the More Jobs Coalition. "Lobbyists for 85 corporate giants doing over \$40 million in business a year, its well-paid consultant, F. A. Murray, is a former top aide to Conservative Premier Bill Davis." I say to the socialists that Bill Davis would never have brought in rule changes like that and your allegation that a

consultant is somehow wrong because he has worked for Bill Davis is simply offensive.

There is a third group. Remember, these are the people who want to stop positive change dead in its tracks. It's called Project Economic Growth. "The biggest lobby of them all," says Jill Marzetti. "It works closely with master manipulator Hill and Knowlton Inc, the world's largest public relations firm"—

Mr Phillips: Isn't that where John Piper, the Premier's deputy, is from?

Mr Sorbara: I think John Piper, the Premier's deputy, is from Hill and Knowlton, the world's largest public relations firm, whose Canadian branch is headed by a former member of Liberal David Peterson's election team.

Now you've got the point, Mr Speaker. Everyone's supposed to send in this thing saying: "Back off. Back off and send me, Jill Marzetti, lots of money. Back off. Send me money."

Mr Phillips: Isn't Jill Marzetti on the central coordinating committee?

Mr Sorbara: She is indeed. I thought, are these companies really all that bad? Who are these companies that the government believes wants to stop it dead in its tracks? They include Coca-Cola Beverages; Coca-Cola Beverages is identified by this government as an enemy of the people. It includes companies like Avdel Inc. It includes companies like Marsh and McLennan Ltd, a very well respected insurance broker. It includes companies like Dare Foods Ltd. According to this socialist government, Dare Foods Ltd is an enemy of the people. It includes Canada Metal Co Ltd. It includes Chrysler Canada and Ford.

This is one thing I can't quite understand, because on the one hand the Premier often uses the example of Ford in his speeches saying that some companies like him, some companies like Bob Rae, some companies like the socialist government, yet Ford and Chrysler are both on this list of prohibited companies, companies that want to stop the government in its tracks. By the way, if you work for one of these companies, are you also on the wrong side of justice and on the wrong side of righteousness as viewed by the socialist government?

Canada Trust is another company that is an enemy of the people according to the NDP government. Cadillac Fairview, Goodyear tire, Schindler Elevator, Amdahl: all enemies of the people. Prior Data Sciences, a high-tech company: enemy of the people. Datatech Systems Ltd is an enemy of the people. Jill Marzetti says these companies want to stop the government dead in its tracks—as, by the way, does the opposition, according to the government House leader, and that's why these new rule changes. We are somehow an enemy of the people and we have to be dealt with by new rule changes.

Let's go on. ITT Cannon Canada: an identified enemy of the people according to Bob Rae and Jill Marzetti as determined by their little fund-raising letter, which says, "Send me money and we'll fight these enemies of the people." Reebok Canada: I guess I'll have to change the shoes I buy. Commonwealth Resource Group Ltd: another enemy of the people. Oh, my God, Tim Horton Donuts.

This is a great one. This is one I think the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations ought to pay attention to.

This is the list of people associated with those business coalitions that are trying to stop the government dead in its tracks. These are the enemies of the people. On this list on page 10 is Brewers Retail. The beer stores are the enemy of the people according to Bob Rae and Jill Marzetti. The Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations is the chairman of the beer marketing board in Ontario. Her decisions have the effect of regulating the sale of beer, but the people who are actually selling it, according to Bob Rae, are trying to stop the government dead in its tracks. They're on the list of suspected companies.

"The Fax Doctor, Computerland, Creative Planning Insurance Agencies, Capsco Software, Eastern Auto Repair Centre, SHL Systemhouse"—my God, that's a pretty good company; I didn't know the government was out to get it—"Tower and Associates, Mobile Chemical, Ford Motor Co of Canada"—there it is, an enemy of the people to be watched; it belongs to the wrong associations. Jill Marzetti has said that; Bob Rae has approved it.

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Just talking about the way in which these conspiracies are organized, remember on June 4 we had the trade union bill introduced, we had the rule changes introduced, this enemy list went out and then the next week Bob Rae had his little convention where he stood up and said in front of all the NDP delegates: "We're going to fight. We're not going to let this province be taken over." He got a little publicity and he thinks the whole thing worked. You know what? It did for a while, but you're going to lose, because in a democracy, no matter how many lists you make of the enemies of the people, the people will prevail and they'll reject it. I think there's very little doubt about that.

Control Data Canada is an enemy of the people identified on the Jill Marzetti list. Royal Trustco, Drake International, Kelsey's Restaurant, Warden Automotive, Marlin Travel—I think the government contracts with Marlin Travel. Maybe you should change that, because if they're an enemy of the people, they might put you on a plane that's headed for you know where. That's the political plane you're on. You might get on a real one like that, but I hope not. Ticketmaster is also on the list of the people's enemies, as are Zenith Data Systems, Faxtel, Shoppers Drug Mart. I don't know about Shoppers Drug Mart. Under your Sunday shopping legislation you would have let them stay open, notwithstanding that the other stores had to close. But there you go; they're on the list of suspects.

Bulloch Systems, the Communications Group, Manulife Financial, Xerox Canada—oh my God, there's a high-tech company now suspected; moving right along, as they say—Minto Developments. That's certainly an enemy of the people. They develop land and it used to be that that was verboten under NDP theology. The socialist theology wanted to rid Ontario of developers.

Might I just interject parenthetically while I'm on that topic that the socialist theologians, when they were in opposition, really wanted to rid Ontario of the development

industry and developers. They considered the development industry as a quasi-suspicious activity, always under suspicion, and they considered developers the business people from hell. You just look at their speeches and it's throughout all their speeches. Then they got elected and some marvellous transformation occurred.

For me, the time of greatest irony was about a month and a half ago at a luncheon put on by the Urban Development Institute—it was actually a seminar—and Dale Martin, who has been given a full-time job by this new government, actually stood up at that lunch and said to the development industry that it was now the policy of this government that development would lead the urban economy out of the recession. These words actually came out of his mouth. I repeat: Dale Martin, the guy who has done more to hamper and destroy the development industry, stood up on behalf of Bob Rae, because he said as a preface: "This is a new policy for the government. We now believe that development will lead the urban economy out of the recession." Heaven help us. There were some people in that room who were faint and needed glasses of water to revive themselves.

This is the party that thought the business of developing—bringing on land, building new buildings on it and providing new houses on land—was somehow an intrinsically evil activity. Now they say that development is going to lead the urban economy out of the recession. My goodness. I guess, on reflection, these duplicitous rules are not so surprising, given what else has happened.

Mr Speaker, I've just been advised that my colleague from Wilson Heights has a point of order, and in the spirit of consultation, if he rises, you'll note his point of order and I will sit down for a moment.

Mr Kwinter: Mr Speaker, I rise on a point of order at this time. I've been waiting for the member for Guelph to re-enter the House and take his seat.

I've been in this House for seven years. I've always felt it is an honour that a member would get elected and be sent to Queen's Park to serve his constituents. I know that you, as the Speaker, have always kept a sense of decorum and order, a sense of proper presentation, in the House.

When this government was elected, there were—

Mr Mammoliti: Oh, put a sock to it.

Mr Kwinter: That's a very appropriate comment, because what is happening is that when this government was elected, there were snide remarks made about the Beverly Hillbillies. "The Clampetts have come to Queen's Park." Some thought that was an unkind remark, but I have to say to you, Mr Speaker, and I wish you would take this under advisement, that I sat in the House this evening and I noticed the hillbilly from Guelph wandering around this House without his shoes and without his socks.

I don't mind if that is the case, but I really think it's an insult to the members, it's an insult to the institution and it's an insult to what this Legislature stands for. I would ask that you make some sort of ruling to make sure that there's a certain minimal decorum in this House. This is a

serious place, and the members who are here should treat it in that kind of a light.

The Speaker: To the member for Wilson Heights, indeed, first of all he's absolutely right with respect to your Speaker's concern about attire. The member should know that we do not have a dress code. I've had a number of members approach the Speaker on occasions with respect to a dress code. I have suggested that the members may wish to discuss that at the standing committee on the Legislative Assembly and make the appropriate change in the rules.

If the member's description is at all accurate, it certainly would be something that I think is not acceptable, but I caution that the Speaker has no particular authority in this matter as there is no dress code. I appreciate the concern he has raised.

Mr Cousens: On the same point of order, Mr Speaker: I think the point has been well presented by the member for Wilson Heights, who has a standard and who also looks at the bottom of things. He's good at getting to the bottom of anything, and when he looks and sees that, there's no doubt he's got a point that should be taken further by the Speaker. Therefore, I would request very seriously that you take this further rather than just let it drop right now. It's too important a thing to just allow this stinky feet thing to continue.

The Speaker: To the member for Markham, I really don't believe there's any more I can add to what I've already stated. We do not have a dress code. I have indicated my feeling that this is a chamber which should be respected, and one way in which we respect the chamber is to have appropriate, decorous attire at all times. But you're asking something too difficult when there is no rule to which the Speaker can point. I would be quite delighted to be able to point to an order in the standing orders which set out a dress code, and such is not the case.

Mr Arnott: On a point of order, Mr Speaker:

The Speaker: I trust this is on a new point.

Mr Arnott: No, the same point of order, Mr Speaker: I too witnessed the member for Guelph walking around.

The Speaker: I'm sorry. The member for Wellington, I have already dealt with this twice now and there is nothing more which can be added to the point. I would ask the member for York Centre to regain the floor.

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Mr Sorbara: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I have no comment to make on the points of order that were being made. When the point was raised, I was pointing out to you some of the enemy-of-the-state list that has been sent out by Bob Rae and Jill Marzetti in their fund-raising letter, a condemnation of a number of businesses that are alleged to be trying to stop the government in its tracks, such as the Ontario Food Processors Association. Boy, oh, boy. But I'm going to set this aside now, sir, and I'm going to wind up my remarks.

The deed is over. The deed is done. The knife has been sharpened. The government is going to have its way. The

power of the opposition to hold the government to account is going to be reduced. But I don't think this defeat of the opposition, this elimination of the ability we have periodically and rarely to raise our voices loudly and longly, this control of speech, this control of members, this control of opposition, this control of criticism that the government seems to want, I don't think it's going to prevail for ever.

My note, my final remarks, my conclusion, is that if we continue to believe in a strong, vibrant democracy, and bring to what we do, wherever we do it in politics, the very highest of standards, then I believe we can recover from this. I want to tell you, sir, in conclusion, that this last couple of weeks have been extremely difficult for me.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): Oh.

Mr Phillips: You wouldn't understand that.

Hon Ms Gigantes: No, I must say I find it—

Mr Sorbara: Because as I have explained—yes, I think we'll just ignore the Minister of Housing—through the course of these overly long remarks, the importance of this place and this Legislature for me transcends any particular issue. I have felt from morning till night since those new rules were put on the order paper that somehow I was being attacked somewhere.

Someone was trying to get me. Someone was trying to tie me up. Someone was trying to reduce my ability to do what I was elected to do. And I thought, "What is this business of politics all about? What in the world is going on? Why would a government that was the champion of a more open, more independent, more effective Parliament suddenly try to shut it down?"

I want to tell you the truth; I became despondent. You will know that yesterday I resigned from parliamentary committees, from legislative committees. I don't want to have anything to do with them any more.

A friend called me, and I described to him my problem, and he said, "You need to go out now to a bookstore and get a copy of Vaclav Havel's new book called *Summer Meditations*." You know who Vaclav Havel is, sir. He's the president of the new state of Czechoslovakia: a playwright, an author, a humanitarian, a brilliant man, someone who has fought for the people through his pen and through his advocacy most of his life, had never been a politician—

Interjection.

Mr Sorbara: —had been in prison, again my friend from Mississauga reminds me, for years for his idealism. My friend said to me, "Go and read this book, particularly given what you're going through now and what the government is putting you through now."

I simply want to conclude my remarks by quoting from Vaclav Havel, who I think says it all, as the criticism will come to me for taking up too much time in this House tonight, for keeping the government House members, who refuse to speak on this motion, here. They all want to go home. I don't care about them wanting to go home, but I do care about the Clerks and the cleaners and all those other people, so it's over.

This is politics, but I think politics is worthy and I think it's worthy to stand in this place and deliver this speech. Vaclav Havel said:

"Genuine politics, politics worthy of the name, and the only politics that I am willing to devote myself to, is simply a matter of serving those around us, serving the community and serving those who will come after us. Its deepest roots are moral because it is a responsibility expressed through action to and for the whole. The responsibility, that is what it is, a higher responsibility."

Thank you, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for York Centre for his contribution to the debate this evening and invite further debate.

Mr Sorbara: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I'm given to understand that there's unanimous consent for this vote to be deferred until Monday afternoon.

The Speaker: That may well be. We have a little procedure to go through first. I called for the debate. Normally it would come back to the mover of the motion, who is the government House leader. Is the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour will please say "aye."

All opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the ayes have it.

Pursuant to standing order 27(g), a request has been made that the vote on government notice of motion 11 be deferred to immediately following the routine proceedings on Monday, June 29, 1992.

Vote deferred.

ROYAL ASSENT SANCTION ROYALE

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I beg to inform the House that in the name of Her Majesty the Queen, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor has been pleased to assent to certain bills in his office.

Acting Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees (Ms Deborah Deller): The following titles are the titles of the bills to which His Honour has assented:

Bill 1, An Act to establish the Waterfront Regeneration Trust Agency / Loi créant l'Agence fiduciaire de régénération du secteur riverain.

Bill 11, An Act to amend the Corporations Tax Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'imposition des corporations.

Bill 12, An Act to amend the Mining Tax Act / Loi modifiant la Loi de l'impôt sur l'exploitation minière.

Bill 16, An Act to authorize borrowing on the credit of the Consolidated Revenue Fund / Loi autorisant des emprunts garantis par le Trésor.

Bill 28, An Act respecting Class Proceedings / Loi concernant les recours collectifs.

Bill 29, An Act to amend the Law Society Act to provide for Funding to Parties to Class Proceedings / Loi modifiant la Loi sur le Barreau aux fins de l'allocation d'une aide financière aux parties à un recours collectif.

Bill 77, An Act to amend The District of Parry Sound Local Government Act, 1979 / Loi modifiant la loi

intitulée The District of Parry Sound Local Government Act, 1979.

Bill 86, An Act to amend the Gasoline Tax Act / Loi portant modification de la Loi de la taxe sur l'essence.

Bill 118, An Act to amend the Power Corporation Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la Société de l'électricité.

Bill 121, An Act to revise the Law related to Residential Rent Regulation / Loi révisant les lois relatives à la réglementation des loyers d'habitation.

Bill 123, An Act to amend the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton Act / Loi portant modification de la Loi sur la municipalité régionale d'Ottawa-Carleton.

Bill 130, An Act to amend the Retail Sales Tax Act / Loi modifiant la Loi sur la taxe de vente au détail.

Bill 136, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy / Loi modifiant certaines lois concernant l'accès à l'information et la protection de la vie privée.

Bill 165, An Act to amend certain Acts related to Municipalities / Loi modifiant certaines lois relatives aux municipalités.

Bill Pr1, An Act respecting FaithWay Baptist College of Canada.

Bill Pr4, An Act respecting the School Sisters of Notre Dame of Ontario.

Bill Pr9, An Act to revive Cambridge District Association for Christian Education.

Bill Pr10, An Act respecting the City of London.

Bill Pr11, An Act to revive 372595 Ontario Limited.

Bill Pr17, An Act respecting the City of North Bay.

Bill Pr18, An Act respecting the City of Ottawa.

Bill Pr22, An Act respecting the Ontario Association of Property Standards Officers.

Bill Pr24, An Act respecting the Pembroke and Area Airport Commission.

Bill Pr25, An Act respecting the City of Vaughan.

Bill Pr26, An Act to revive The Peterborough Club.

Bill Pr27, An Act respecting the City of Ottawa.

Bill Pr29, An Act respecting the City of Cornwall.

Bill Pr30, An Act to revive The Sher-Bassin Group Inc.

Bill Pr31, An Act respecting the Town of Caledon.

Bill Pr32, An Act respecting the City of North Bay and the Township of East Ferris.

Bill Pr33, An Act to revive Cinquemani Holdings Limited.

Bill Pr34, An Act respecting the City of Ottawa.

Bill Pr39, An Act to revive The Dutch Canadian Alliance of Ontario, Inc.

Bill Pr41, An Act to revive Port Elgin Sportsmen's Club.

Bill Pr42, An Act to revive Tri-Delta of Toronto.

Bill Pr43, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

Bill Pr47, An Act respecting Arnprior-Nepean Railway Company Inc.

Bill Pr50, An Act respecting the Town of Mattawa and the Township of Mattawan.

Bill Pr86, An Act respecting the City of Toronto.

Bill Pr94, An Act to revive Rideau Trail Association.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Hon Tony Silipo (Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet and Minister of Education): Pursuant to standing order 53, I would like to indicate the business of the House for the coming week on behalf of the House leader.

On Monday, June 29, 1992, the first order of business will be the deferred vote on the rules motion.

On Monday, June 29, and Tuesday, June 30, 1992, we will then deal with the motion on interim supply; second reading of Bill 40, An Act to amend Certain Acts concerning Collective Bargaining and Employment; second reading of Bill 23, the Colleges Collective Bargaining Act and the Ministry of Colleges and Universities; second reading of Bill 27, An Act to amend the Education Act and certain other Acts in respect of School Board Finance; second reading of Bill 21, An Act to amend the Education Act in respect of Education Authorities and Minister's Powers; second reading of Bill 26, An Act to provide for the Regulation of Gaming Services; second reading of Bill 162, An Act to amend the Game and Fish Act;

third reading of Bill 150, An Act to provide for the Creation and Registration of Labour Sponsored Venture Capital Corporations to Invest in Eligible Ontario Businesses and to make certain other amendments; second reading of Bill 168, An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act; second reading of Bill 169, An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act; second reading of Bill 164, An Act to amend the Insurance Act and certain other Acts in respect of Automobile Insurance and other Insurance Matters; second reading of Bill 75, An Act respecting Annexations to the City of London and to certain municipalities in the County of Middlesex;

second reading of Bill 61, An Act respecting Algonquin and Ward's Islands and respecting the Stewardship of the Residential Community on the Toronto Islands; second reading of Bill 38, An Act to amend the Retail Business Holidays Act in respect of Sunday Shopping, and, last but not least, third reading of Bill 166, An Act to amend the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act with respect to Co-operatives.

On that note, Mr Speaker, I would move adjournment of the House.

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: This really isn't a point of order. I want to take the opportunity to thank the 20, 30, 50, perhaps 100, people who keep this building operating during my rather lengthy remarks. Some of the members have indulged me, but that's their duty as elected members. The others could have had an opportunity, had I not wanted to speak at length on this motion, to go home and spend the time with their families. They serve us extremely well and, to them, I simply ask their indulgence and apologize for the way in which I have disrupted their evening.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): While it's not a point of order, I think all members appreciate the dedicated service that's provided to the members, the chamber, the assembly, by the excellent staff of our assembly, and

especially during the long, tedious hours. We very much appreciate it.

Mr Silipo has moved the adjournment of the House. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry? This

House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock Monday next.

The House adjourned at 2334.

ERRATUM

No.	Page	Column	Line	Should read
42B	1625	2	52	Mr Mahoney: It's absolutely true, but I am delighted that we got over, perhaps really through acquiescence on the part of the opposition. We had offered 15 bills to be put in Orders and Notices, to be introduced into this place of debate, 15 pieces of government legislation, not our bills, your bills

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Legislative Assembly of Ontario

Second Session, 35th Parliament

Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 29 June 1992

Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Lundi 29 juin 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Renseignements sur l'Index

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Monday 29 June 1992

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

CARABRAM

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): It gives me great pleasure to rise today and invite the honourable members of this House to come out to Brampton to experience the finest multicultural festival in all of Canada.

On July 3, Carabram '92 will open its doors in Brampton with 19 pavilions participating—the biggest and best festival ever—and will continue through July 4 and 5, a fun-filled, exotic weekend for everyone. Experience the sights, tastes and sounds of 19 diverse and exciting cultures without travelling outside our fair city of Brampton.

Carabram started in 1983 with just four pavilions, and this number has grown steadily every year. This year we are proud to have the Chinese pavilion back with us. I would also like to welcome the Israeli pavilion, which has just joined.

Posters for Carabram have been placed on bulletin boards around the building. Passports cost \$7 in advance or \$9 at the door. Free shuttle bus service among the pavilions is included. Tickets are available through my office. Please call if you would like to obtain passports. Last year over 80,000 visitors from around the province proved what Bramptonians have already known: that they have the excitement of the world in their own backyard.

Congratulations to the 2,500 volunteers who make it happen. This could well be an image and a plan of action for learning about our neighbours of the various cultures that have come to this country that could be used throughout this country, throughout this province and perhaps throughout the world.

ST GREGORY SEPARATE SCHOOL

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): On April 22 of last year I rose in this House and presented a petition on behalf of over 900 concerned residents of the city of Etobicoke who have children or relatives attending St Gregory separate school. St Greg's has been petitioning the Metropolitan Separate School Board since 1982 for much-needed renovation and expansion to meet the demands of increasing enrolment.

Finally, after eight years of waiting, St Greg's was informed that it was second on the funding priority list, and hopes were high in my community that something would be done. Unfortunately, as this story plays out, when the current government took over St Greg's was bumped to sixth place under guidelines which combined lists for new schools to be built and schools to be renovated.

I personally visited the school last spring and agree that renovations are in fact necessary. The results of my petition presented 14 months ago are what? None. The situation at St Greg's, still bad, is getting worse. The school is

seriously overcrowded. Washroom facilities could not possibly meet current building code standards. The playground is full of portables. Storage rooms are being used for staff offices.

On April 30 of this year I wrote the Minister of Education to formally request a meeting with him and his staff person in charge of setting the school funding priorities. It is now eight weeks since that letter was sent, and the results? None. I urge the minister to please respond to my letter now. The children and the parents at St Greg's are waiting.

NIAGARA RESIDENTS FOR SAFE TOXIC WASTE DISPOSAL

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): I rise today to pay tribute to a group of dedicated environmentalists in my riding of Lincoln.

Since 1987, the Niagara Residents for Safe Toxic Waste Disposal have been actively fighting a proposal by the Ontario Waste Management Corp to build a giant toxic waste treatment facility in the township of West Lincoln. This group of over 50 people is known locally in Niagara as the little people who have been erecting large signs opposing the Ontario Waste Management Corp facility. To date, six large billboard signs have been put up in strategic areas in the Niagara Peninsula. Another 60 smaller lawn signs and hundreds of bumper stickers have been distributed to make people aware of the Ontario Waste Management Corp's plan to use West Lincoln farm land to dispose of the province's hazardous waste. It was this group which organized the 720-foot-long petition that I presented to the Legislature two weeks ago. They are dedicated and have made many personal sacrifices to spread the word about the dangers of the Ontario Waste Management Corp's proposal.

I am proud that I was a founding member of this group, and I continue to support its efforts. I am proud to carry their message to Queen's Park. The "little people" are just one of three local environmental groups in my riding that were formed to oppose the OWMC. These are regular citizens who have the courage to take on the mighty OWMC, a crown corporation that has spent over \$110 million in the past 11 years on its proposals. It is groups like the Niagara residents that prove the voice of the people is being heard.

1340

MICHAEL BLOOMFIELD

Mrs Yvonne O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau): It gives me great pleasure to bring to the attention of the House the accomplishments of a distinguished citizen of Ottawa-Carleton, Mr Michael Bloomfield. Michael is one of this year's 75 recipients of the prestigious Global 500 Environmental Award. This award is achieved by only 500 people worldwide in recognition of exemplary work on behalf of the environment. Mr Bloomfield is the only resident of Ontario to receive this award in 1992.

Michael Bloomfield quietly builds bridges between educators and individuals, between governments and corporations concerned about environmental issues. Michael Bloomfield is the founder of the Harmony Foundation, a charitable organization dedicated to achieving environmental progress through cooperation and education. The Harmony Foundation's summer institute has gained an international reputation for excellence, and this year's program will attract delegates from 15 countries beyond Canada's borders, people who come together with one goal, to hone their skills in motivating people to improve their environmental practices. Michael Bloomfield is a man who has proved that dreams can be realized, that individuals can make a difference.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETIES

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): Children are society's most valuable asset. Our future relies on their growing up in a healthy, loving and supportive environment. Why, then, are vulnerable children the last priority of this NDP government?

I speak of the totally inadequate funding increase of just over 0.5% to the children's aid societies, which give vital assistance to neglected and abused children. I speak of the same meagre increase to the community living associations, which provide essential services to children with developmental disabilities.

Earlier this month I told the House how this funding shortfall is hurting disabled children who rely on Community Living Mississauga. Today I want to talk about those children who count on the Peel Children's Aid Society.

In the past two years, the Peel Children's Aid Society has seen an increase of more than 25% in child abuse cases and 20% in cases which are so serious they go to court. Although exceptional circumstances review may provide extra funding after the fact, it doesn't help the CAS cope with its intake case load. This means that many troubled children will have to go without proper care.

These children cannot afford to wait while the Ministry of Community and Social Services figures out how to fix its bungled funding of children's services. Abused and neglected children are innocent victims. They cannot look after themselves. Often they cannot even speak for themselves. If we don't care for our children, who do we care for?

J. M. SCHNEIDER ENVIRONMENT DAY

Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot): On Wednesday, June 24, I had the pleasure of attending the third annual Environment Day hosted by J. M. Schneider. The purpose of Environment Day is to increase employees' awareness of the environment and what efforts they can contribute to protect the environment.

Schneider's believes one of the biggest challenges facing responsible corporate citizens throughout the 1990s will be how to address consumer need in an environmentally sensitive manner. As one of the leading food processing companies in Canada, they have taken up the challenge and are meeting it head on. Schneider's takes great pride in being an industry leader by proactively addressing serious and difficult environmental issues.

In the short term, their objective is to implement water efficiency/sewage abatement teams; plant and office programs for solid waste using the 3Rs; plant liquid waste 3R programs; hydro efficiency and conservation; hazardous waste control and reduction, and air and noise pollution control and reduction. Long-term objectives are concerned with packaging and industry issues as Schneider's deals with its suppliers to remain proactive in addressing environmental concerns. The company's commitment extends to working with customers on a one-to-one basis when necessary to identifying and resolving environmental issues regardless of their size.

The waste and environmental control department's motto is "An environmentally concerned company is a company with a future." This statement best describes Schneider's corporate philosophy as it pertains to our environment. All employees are to be congratulated for all their efforts.

FORT ERIE RACE TRACK

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): The future of the Fort Erie Race Track remains up in the air as the government of Ontario dithers and delays while the clock continues to tick towards the possible October closing date.

At a time when many racetracks are struggling to remain viable, the provincial government is considering establishing Las Vegas-style gambling casinos that will be sure to compete with established horse racing facilities and almost certainly spell an end to this sport in this border city.

To Fort Erie and the Niagara region, the Fort Erie Race Track means millions of needed dollars flowing into a part of the province that has suffered economic hardship over the past several months, and to the 4,000—indeed over 4,000—people employed either directly or indirectly at the track, this racing facility means a livelihood, bread on the table and personal dignity.

Fort Erie Race Track provides an opportunity for many individuals who might not otherwise be able to find a job to be productive, contributing members of society. It draws thousands of tourists from New York state, tourists who spend money in Ontario, help boost the local economy and mitigate to some extent the effect of cross-border shopping.

The Ontario government has moved swiftly when those affected by a business closing are influential, well-paid and high-profile people. Let Bob Rae and his government proceed with haste to save the jobs of the folks who work in Fort Erie, and at the same time save a sport which has brought pleasure to thousands over the years and put this community on the athletic and tourist map.

ONTARIO VACATION FARM ASSOCIATION

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): For many weeks now tourists have been encouraged to take breather vacations in Ontario. Breathers are short, relaxing getaways within driving distance of home. I would like to encourage the public and members of this House to enjoy a breather on an Ontario farm this summer.

The Ontario Vacation Farm Association offers a directory of participating farms throughout Ontario. Many are located in Wellington county, as well as many within a

short distance from Toronto. Through the Ontario Vacation Farm Association, many farmers have opened their doors to visitors from Ontario and around the world.

Eighty thousand men, women and children live by cultivating the land and raising livestock. The farms vary from dairy and livestock to mixed farms to part-time operations. There is an activity and an interest for everyone. You can enjoy horseback riding, swimming, fishing, hiking, meeting and learning more about the many animals that live on a farm. Children will delight in watching cows being milked, chickens fed and horses groomed and exercised. You may choose to watch these farm tasks being performed, or become a participant. A farm vacation offers the public a unique opportunity to learn at first hand how the food that appears on their tables is cultivated.

There is a range of accommodations offered, from separate accommodation on the farm to bed and breakfast. Day tours for schools and groups can also be arranged.

I encourage anyone who wants a unique vacation experience to consider heading to the farm this summer.

MARGARET MACKINNON-THROWER

Mr Bob Huget (Sarnia): On June 11, 1992, the Honourable Shirley Copen rose in this House on a point of privilege to extend our congratulations to Margaret MacKinnon, the daughter of the member for Lambton, on the occasion of her marriage. That wedding took place in the special care unit at Sarnia's St Joseph's health centre. Today it is with sadness that I rise to advise this House of Margaret's death on Sunday, June 28, 1992, at the St Joseph's health centre.

Margaret was a former social worker and shift supervisor at Blenheim Community Village. She was also known as the story lady by the young people at the Blenheim Public Library. Margaret will also be sadly missed by the Blenheim Girl Guides and members of the Sarnia Little Theatre.

Margaret was a compassionate, courageous woman who gave unselfishly of herself to others in thought, word and deed. I knew Margaret personally and I must say that I have never known anyone who demonstrated the courage and love of life she had, even in her battle with cancer.

In spite of whatever misfortunes came her way, Margaret's first thought was for others and what she could do for them, not herself. Margaret fought bravely to the end and her dignity, grace and honour throughout her battle and indeed her life will sustain us all.

I extend my sincere condolences to her husband, Doug Thrower, and to Margaret's mother and my colleague Ellen MacKinnon. My deepest sympathies to the entire MacKinnon family. I share in their sadness today on the loss of their loved one, Margaret.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Last Thursday the member for York Centre, Mr Sorbara, and the member for Eglinton, Ms Poole, raised a point of order concerning a notice filed with the table the previous day. The member for York Centre informed the House that government notice of motion 11, appearing in Thursday's Orders and

Notices and business paper, may not have been filed before 5 pm the previous day as required by standing order 51.

I have reviewed the circumstances surrounding the tabling of the notice, the Orders and Notices paper, and Hansard for Thursday and the practices and procedures followed in this and other jurisdictions concerning notices.

Let me say at the outset that our practice concerning notices is similar to that in other parliamentary jurisdictions where the Speaker determines whether notice provisions have been complied with. Thus, the 21st edition of Erskine May states at pages 329 and 330 that the practice at Westminster is that, "If an objection is raised to a notice of motion upon the notice paper, it is for the Speaker to decide upon its regularity...." In Ottawa, the 1989 edition of the annotated standing orders of the House of Commons indicates the following at page 190, "Once tabled or filed, each notice is examined for any irregularities by the Clerk, under the Speaker's authority, who in consultation with the sponsoring member may amend it in form and content."

Therefore, as I indicated on Thursday, the notice in question did comply with standing order 51.

1350

The member for York Centre also indicated that the table would not provide him with a copy of the notice in question when he requested one after 5 pm. The general practice, both here and in Ottawa, is that such notices are kept in confidence until they can be made available to all members simultaneously through the next day's Orders and Notices paper.

In closing, then, I have found nothing untoward in what transpired, but I do appreciate the concerns expressed both by the member for York Centre and his colleague the member for Eglinton.

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: First of all, I want to thank you for your ruling. I would point out that I did raise another question in my point of order the other day, and that was as to how an individual member of this Parliament might individually and independently verify that such notice had been filed. I'll leave that perhaps to a further comment from you in due course after you've been able to further examine the rules.

The point of order I raise today is simply this: I submit to you that this Parliament can get along without most of its members; indeed the standing orders provide that only 20 are needed to hold a quorum. The Parliament can probably get along just fine without the security guards most days because on most days there are no incidents whatever requiring security guards. The Parliament could probably get along without our friends at Hansard because most of what the government says is either irrelevant or immaterial to the issues of the day; they make most of their announcements outside the House in any event.

The Parliament could get along without the Sergeant at Arms, I say to the Sergeant at Arms as he shakes his head, because most days there is no need to sword anyone or throw anyone out. I would submit to you that the Parliament could almost get along without table officers on most occasions. The Parliament can get along without the

Speaker because as soon as you leave the chair, one other of us replaces you in the chair.

I simply submit to you that Parliament, this Legislature, cannot get along without pages, and I'm wondering why, if the government has determined we are going to sit through the months of July and August, it couldn't have simply advised you so you could organize your affairs to provide pages, particularly in this summer of unemployment when literally thousands and thousands of young people would have been perfectly willing to assist us in making sure this Parliament functions during July and August.

The Speaker: While I appreciate some of what the member has raised, I must take exception with him when he refers to the table officers and the Sergeant at Arms and all of the other people who assist the chamber. With respect to the pages, the member may know that under the standing orders we were to rise Thursday last. There were only two ways in which this place would be recalled, one of which was to include further sittings as part of a motion, which was indeed passed by the House. Not until that became evident was it possible for the Speaker to try and make arrangements for pages. It was not possible, in practical terms, to arrange to have pages here for today or tomorrow, but should this House determine that it will sit the following week, indeed there will be pages here for the weeks of July 6 and, if needed, the 13th. Your Speaker has attended to that.

If I could address the member's first point with respect to notification of notices, the verification is, as I stated, through the Clerk and the Speaker, and that's surely all that is required.

Finally I might make quick mention before continuing that I wish to express my appreciation to the member for Mississauga South, who most ably assisted the Speaker by assuming the duties of the Chair for a considerable length of time on Thursday and did a first-rate job. I appreciate her assistance.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

JOBS ONTARIO CAPITAL BOULOT ONTARIO CONSTRUCTION

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Colleges and Universities): Mr Speaker, last week five of my cabinet colleagues made the first of a series of announcements under Jobs Ontario Capital, a five-year, \$2.3-billion capital program to support jobs and economic restructuring and to promote community and social progress.

Today I want to tell the House how Jobs Ontario Capital will be used to invest in the strengths of our post-secondary institutions.

Aujourd'hui, je désire expliquer à l'Assemblée comment le programme boulot Ontario Construction va servir à investir dans nos établissements d'enseignement postsecondaire.

As everyone knows, Mr Speaker, these institutions, our colleges and universities, are at the forefront of research and development and skills training. They are at the heart of what defines the economic character and economic prosperity of the entire province. All of us in this chamber

also recognize the important contribution our post-secondary institutions make to the local economies of the communities where we live.

By strategically investing in the renewal and the new development of college and university facilities through Jobs Ontario Capital, we are laying the foundations that will support the province's transition to a more productive, knowledge-based economy in the future.

Nous donnons, d'une part, un coup de main immédiat à l'Ontario et, d'autre part, nous posons les fondations sur lesquelles s'appuiera la transition de la province vers une économie plus productive et davantage fondée sur les connaissances.

That is why I take great pleasure in announcing that through Jobs Ontario Capital, the province will make strategic investments in our college and university infrastructure, for a total of \$62.9 million over the next three years. We shall be investing \$24.8 million this year, \$35.5 million next year and \$2.6 million in 1994-95 as the program winds down.

Nine projects, all proposed by colleges and universities, will receive funding from Jobs Ontario Capital. These projects will begin immediately. Not only do these projects represent a significant investment for many communities served by our colleges and universities, but they will create 446 person-years of employment.

Ces projets représentent des investissements importants pour les nombreuses collectivités desservies par nos collèges et nos universités. En outre, ils permettront d'y créer 446 années-personnes d'emploi.

This morning in London, at the University of Western Ontario, I announced the first project receiving funding through Jobs Ontario Capital. Western will receive \$5.5 million to renew and improve, among other things, facilities housing its fibre optic network in the natural sciences centre. It will also develop a new medical resource centre to help undergraduate medical students cope with a rapidly changing curriculum through the use of computer technology.

During the next two weeks, my colleagues and I will be announcing the eight remaining projects in the post-secondary sector that are receiving funding through the Jobs Ontario Capital initiative.

I want to point out that the investment in the strategic infrastructure of our colleges and universities through Jobs Ontario Capital is in addition—I repeat, in addition—to the \$100 million of regular capital allocated to post-secondary institutions and announced by the Treasurer in the 1992-93 budget. It is in addition to the regular capital allocation because this is strategic capital.

Il s'agit d'une subvention de mobilisation stratégique.

This is capital we are investing in our colleges and universities because this government is keenly aware of the role that education and training play in Ontario's present and future, capital that will create facilities to help our colleges and universities anticipate and respond to the rapidly changing needs in education and training.

This is an investment that will create jobs immediately and contribute to the strengthening of the provincial economy in the years to come.

1400

UTILITIES MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

Hon Brian A. Charlton (acting Minister of Energy):

I'm pleased to tell the House that this morning at the University of Toronto, I launched a part of the government's \$2.3-billion Jobs Ontario Capital program that is being sponsored by the Ministry of Energy. The new utilities management program will create jobs by working with Ontario Hydro to accelerate the pace of energy and water conservation retrofits by public institutions. Ontario's public institutions spend about \$1 billion a year for energy. About 20%, or \$200 million a year, could be saved by upgrading facilities and practising sound energy management. That kind of savings benefits all of us.

The utilities management program will provide \$17 million over three years to help municipalities, universities, hospitals and similar public institutions realize those savings. In the first year the program is expected to create the equivalent of 150 direct, full-time jobs. It will also encourage worker training and acquisition of new skills and energy efficiency.

I am pleased to note that the program will affect the wide range of jobs beyond those direct jobs directly employing engineers, designers, technicians, project managers, plumbers, pipefitters and sheetmetal workers. Indirectly it will employ those involved in making lighting equipment, motors, pipes, heat exchangers, ventilation ducts, insulation and many other kinds of equipment. More jobs will be created to transport and handle those products.

As my colleague Treasurer Floyd Laughren said a week ago when announcing the Jobs Ontario Capital spending plans, the massive restructuring taking place in Ontario's economy gives Ontario the opportunity to lead the way in investing in projects that will, in effect, support a new emerging economy.

The Ministry of Energy, in partnership with Ontario Hydro, intends to ensure the energy sector meets that challenge. To qualify for the utilities management program, clients must have an annual energy bill of at least \$100,000. Eligible activities will include project management, including program development, utility bill analysis and reporting, facility energy efficiency improvement and water consumption reduction studies, energy efficiency and water consumption reduction retrofit projects that will pay back their cost within eight years, and fuel substitution, including the use of renewable energy.

As well the program funding could support such things as preparing facility operating and maintenance manuals, staff training and effective facility operations maintenance, and resource conservation practices.

Finally, program funds could lower heating and cooling bills through insulating, window and door improvements, caulking, weather-stripping and upgrading of basic equipment.

Under the utilities management program, participant firms can receive a grant of up to \$500,000 based on eligible project costs. An additional benefit will be to help institutions that have had to postpone maintenance. The economic climate makes it difficult, for example, to do

routine maintenance. Energy management activities will help to tackle this backlog. It will make it possible to replace older equipment like boilers with new high-efficiency ones.

The utilities management program will be a partner with Ontario Hydro in funding energy and water conservation feasibility studies. Ontario Hydro funding will continue to be available for electrical efficiency measures.

Together with the other stimulus that Jobs Ontario Capital funding will provide, it will help us surmount the serious economic challenges we are facing today.

RESPONSES

UTILITIES MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

Mr Dalton McGuinty (Ottawa South): In relation to the Minister of Energy's announcement, let me begin by thanking him for reannouncing this in the House. I was unable to attend at the University of Toronto this morning when the announcement was originally made, and I can assure you, Mr Speaker, that some of us here in the House have a passing interest in matters related to energy in Ontario.

Let me also say that any initiative which intends to create jobs and conserve energy in this province is laudable, but we have some concerns. First, we are told that this initiative is going to involve the expenditure of some \$17 million over three years. Our concern is that this expenditure incorporates the practices so far taken by Ontario Hydro to spend money in such a way that it has led to the Ontario Energy Board criticizing it for introducing demand management programs which are simply not cost-effective and are on the whole ill-advised. What we're talking about here is expenditures for—I guess we could call it short-term pain for long-term pain.

Recently we were advised by the evidence introduced at an Ontario Energy Board hearing that the energy conservation programs being undertaken by Ontario Hydro will have a net cost of \$2 billion over four years. An example of that kind of expenditure is highlighted in the lightbulb program.

The other concern we have related to this is that we're talking about the creation here of some 150 full-time jobs. The creation of any number of jobs is never anything to sneeze at, but we have to keep a perspective on this matter. In March in this province we lost 45,000 jobs. That's more than 1,000 a day. Viewed in that context, 150 is really but a drop in the bucket.

The other concern we have is that there is a cutoff point for getting involved in or taking advantage of this program. You've got to have an energy bill of at least \$100,000. What about all the home owners in this province? What about the small businesses that are staring in the face of an 11.9% increase in their hydro rates this year? They're looking at at least 9% next year, and inflation is less than 2%.

The other concern we have with respect to this announcement relates to its reference to a fuel-substitution program. As a result of the hearings we had on Bill 118 many people are concerned about a consultation process which this minister is presumably going to undertake to ensure that consumers, Hydro, utilities, alternative fuel

suppliers and environmental groups have some input into what we're going to be doing in terms of fuel substitution.

JOBS ONTARIO CAPITAL

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I rise to speak to the announcement made by the Minister of Colleges and Universities. I would like to say to the minister that, at first blush, we welcome this announcement. Indeed, any money that goes into capital is welcome, but in reading through this I'm taken back to George Orwell and the way in which words are brought together to distinguish exactly what is going on here. In the budget, as I go back, some \$199 million was spent last year on university and college capital. This year only \$100 million has been put forward. Even if we add in the \$24.8 million that has been referred to here, we're looking at \$75 million less than was expended last year.

I think there is a need on the part of the government to be straightforward and upfront and simply note that we are spending far less money on capital, colleges and universities, than we spent last year. That is not clear from reading this statement, which would seem to suggest that something wonderful and marvellous is going on, and that is simply not the case.

I would also note that one of the ongoing problems with capital dollars is what operating expenses are then caused by the infusion of those capital dollars. Given this government's transfer payments, how are we going to be sure that whatever new structures are built, the demands and needs for new employees or for changing what it is people are doing in the university sector, will find operating dollars as well to go with those capital dollars?

We know for example that York University just this week announced it will be taking many fewer students this year. So we also have to question: If there are dollars available, should they be spent more in the area of ensuring that students can attend university and college?

Finally, I want to stress again what my colleague did: that we're looking at 33,000 fewer people working in the construction industry in May 1992 over May 1991. These dollars are not going to see a tremendous growth in construction. There is real unemployment of 25% in construction. This announcement simply doesn't go far enough.

1410

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): I'm responding to the statement by the Minister of Colleges and Universities and I'd like to begin in this regard.

Certainly we're appreciative of any money that's spent on the universities with regard to targeted funding, job creation and skills development, but one thing you should know, Mr Speaker, is that we feel very strongly in this party that long-term job creation is there because of private investment by the private sector. That is what we need to do.

The announcement today is part of the normal capital funding, with the targeting sector advisedly added, but in real dollars, the Liberals in their last four years in office spent about \$110 million. To give this government credit, it is passing that particular record of the Liberal government. In fact, over the next three years it will be averaging something like \$120 million or perhaps even a bit more

than that. They're keeping the same track record the Liberals had.

I should remind the minister that this party built the colleges and universities in Ontario. We expected that they would be supported. What the universities really need is a long-term plan for reinvestment, rejuvenation and ongoing support for the most important institutions when it comes to training our young people so that Ontario and, more important, Canada, can be competitive.

I think it's very important for the government to note the two major disincentives to investment in Ontario right now. First of all, later today we're going to be looking at the tabling of Bill 40, the labour laws, which, no matter what the government says, have sent out the wrong message to investors in Ontario, as we watch our companies slowly dismantle and leave. The second one is the same track record the Liberal government left us with: increased taxes, probably the jurisdiction of highest taxation in North America.

If you look at the announcement today, we have to keep in mind the two major problems in Ontario: that the taxes are too high and that we're now looking at unnecessary labour laws.

The nine projects: Of course I'm thrilled to stand here and say thank you on behalf of the University of Western Ontario. I would remind the minister that we probably should remember that we have 39 post-secondary institutions. There are some that will be somewhat disappointed, but the fact that we've targeted training and skills development and high tech is extremely important in this announcement.

Finally, I agree with the minister when he talks about, as did the Alliance for Ontario Universities, the universities in Ontario pumping some \$6.2 billion into our economy. The province of Ontario pumps in some \$1.9 billion. If we take a look at that with regard to real commitment and job creation, we should be crediting the universities. For every \$1 that the province spends, in fact \$3 are generated by the universities.

Not to be too upset by the outburst of the member for St Catharines, I think one has to give credit where credit is due. We do appreciate the fact that we're beginning to support the institutions that are so important, but I'll underline that what we really need is a long-term plan for the universities in Ontario.

UTILITIES MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I wish to respond briefly to the statement by the Minister of Energy, who announced today, I believe, about \$6 million a year that his ministry will be spending for our institutions in Ontario. Just to put it into perspective, it is old money, as is stated by the Liberals, who started a lot of these spending programs that led to the biggest tax hikes in the history of Ontario. That old money and that spending by the some 10,000 civil servants the Liberals added is what has kept our tax rates the highest.

I just want to point out that \$500,000 a project means that of the thousands of Ontario institutions this program has the potential to help 11 or 12 of them. I also want to

say that if this government and Mr Eliesen and the Minister of Energy would recognize that the high rates at Ontario Hydro and the high taxes designed for the programs are killing far more jobs than you could possibly create with your public sector spending programs, then indeed lowering taxes, taking a look at Hydro's expenses, is what you should be doing instead of figuring out how much more money you can spend.

ORAL QUESTIONS

ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My question is for the Minister of Culture and Communications. We were all shocked, although perhaps not overly surprised, to learn that the Art Gallery of Ontario would be closing for seven months. Surely we are all aware of the economic and cultural importance of the Art Gallery of Ontario.

We also know, despite the seeming lack of information of the Minister of Tourism on this subject last week, that the art gallery has over 500,000 visitors a year and generates over \$30-million in spinoff tourism for the city of Toronto. What we don't know is why the Minister of Culture and Communications has allowed the firing of 250 gallery staff and the closing of this gallery for at least seven months, including the period of what would normally be the lucrative summer season.

Last week the minister implied that it was the fiscal irresponsibility of the gallery's board which has led to this crisis. Can the minister confirm that she feels the Art Gallery of Ontario has been fiscally irresponsible, and if so, what inefficiencies in the art gallery's operation has she been able to identify?

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): I have never indicated that they are fiscally irresponsible. I have indicated that the government will not be there with bailouts. Last year there was a one-time bailout of \$4 million. I have simply asked the art gallery to stay within its budget, that there will be no bailouts. This is a business decision made by the board. It is a first step in them coming to terms with living within their budget.

Mrs McLeod: I find the minister's position on this situation rather interesting, because on the one hand, as she's just said, she is not suggesting that the board has been fiscally irresponsible, yet she has expected it to live within a budget which clearly it has not been able to live within. On the other hand, she is personally now in the process of choosing members for a task force which will cost at least \$200,000 of taxpayers' money, for the purpose apparently of examining the operations of the gallery and the makeup of its board.

Can the minister tell this House, if she believes that the Art Gallery of Ontario has indeed acted in a fiscally responsible manner, why she is personally setting up this task force at a budgeted cost of over \$200,000 in taxpayers' money. Is this government now about to restructure the Art Gallery of Ontario in a way that fits its view of what the art gallery should be, and if so, can the

minister tell us what this Art Gallery of Ontario should look like or will look like when she's finished?

Hon Mrs Haslam: The task force will be reporting to the board and to myself and it will examine the structure, the size, the representation and the exercise of authority by the AGO board. This offers them an opportunity to look at restructuring so that they can live within their budget.

Mrs McLeod: Perhaps there is no one who understands the financial crisis of the Art Gallery of Ontario better than the staff and the management. These are the same people who in May 1992 voluntarily took a 20% wage cutback to help keep the gallery afloat. Clearly the management and the staff of the Art Gallery of Ontario have been doing everything they feel they can to manage the challenges, with virtually no assistance from this ministry.

The minister has said in the past that she cannot assist because the Art Gallery of Ontario is an arm's-length institution, yet at the moment at which this art gallery closes for seven months, the minister has no hesitation in stepping in with a handpicked \$200,000 task force to look at the operations of the Art Gallery of Ontario.

I was somewhat dismayed to read the minister's comments in a radio program on the CBC last Thursday night in which she said she was pleased the art gallery staff would be willing to work with the government "so that we can restructure them"—and that is a direct quote—"and so that they can look to the future to living within their budgets and being accountable."

I would ask this minister if it is not true that because of her government's ideological need to restructure the Art Gallery of Ontario she has not only welcomed its closure, she has waited for it and perhaps even forced it to happen.

Hon Mrs Haslam: That is the most ridiculous statement I've ever heard her say. I would never welcome the closure of the Ontario art gallery. This government gives over \$9.5 million to be sure the Ontario art gallery is there. This is a decision by the board, something it had to do to take a look at how it can live within its budget.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Mrs Haslam: I am very supportive of the Ontario art gallery. I am well aware of what they do for the community around the art gallery and for those galleries all over Ontario. I am pleased to be working with them. I am not going to tell the task force what to do. The task force is going to look at the structure of the Ontario art gallery. They will be reporting to the board; they will be reporting to me; this is a first step in their process to restructure to live within their budgets.

Mrs McLeod: After seven months of being closed, it will be interesting to see how they continue to operate as an arm's-length institution.

1420

ONTARIO HYDRO SALARIES

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My second question is to the Minister of Energy. This minister is certainly well aware, as I would think all members of his

government are, that publicly funded institutions throughout the province have been coping with severe financial restraints and that staff in many publicly funded institutions have in fact been accepting minimal wage increases and, in many cases, even wage cutbacks. That's certainly the case for the Art Gallery of Ontario staff as they struggle to cope with their particular financial challenges.

In light of the extreme financial constraints being faced by public sector institutions across the province—restraints that we know are being made necessary by the very severe economic difficulty this province is experiencing—would the Minister of Energy confirm that the chairman of Ontario Hydro is considering additional merit pay bonuses for Hydro staff? Does he not consider this somewhat incomprehensible, given the economic situation of this province and the restraint facing other institutions? Can he comment about his own concern as to how such additional pay increases might affect already spiralling hydro costs?

Hon Brian A. Charlton (acting Minister of Energy): Can I confirm what the chairman of Hydro is thinking? No, I don't profess to be a mindreader.

Having said that, I remind the leader of the official opposition that for the first time in Ontario's history we've taken an action which, when she was Minister of Energy, she didn't see fit to take. We've referred the entire remuneration structure of Ontario Hydro's board and senior officials to the Ontario Energy Board for some objective review and comment. I don't intend to allow anything untoward to happen until such time as we've seen that report and can hear some objective comment.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Supplementary.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): What we have for the first time is an NDP friend appointed not just as chairman but as chief executive officer at the salary, for his political service in the past, of \$260,000 a year at the very time when people are struggling all across the province. Bob Rae saw to it that his good friend, the well-known New Democrat, was appointed to a salary of \$260,000 a year, and what we had on Friday afternoon last week was the spectacle of the Premier's quarter-of-a-million-dollar-a-year friend, Mr Eliesen, telling the energy board that he was actively considering bonusing himself and other senior members of the Hydro management staff.

Will the Minister of Energy stand in his place and indicate that as Minister of Energy, now empowered with Bill 118, the principles of which are more openness and more accountability; will the Minister of Energy give this House his assurance that he and his government will issue a directive to Ontario Hydro that Mr Marc Eliesen will get not a cent more than the \$260,000 he's already earning and that he will not be eligible for any kind of executive bonus?

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Charlton: The question that comes from the member for Renfrew North is a slight bit cheeky. The member knows full well that this government has already taken significant action in terms of the salary of the chairman, as

compared to what the predecessor administration allowed to occur in this province. But having said that, as I've already said, for the first time in this province's history we're taking a look at that whole package of executive salaries over there. What the chairman of Ontario Hydro may want is not necessarily what the chairman of Ontario Hydro is going to get. We've set up a process that will allow us to make some useful decisions that the previous government just totally ducked.

The Speaker: Final supplementary.

Mr Conway: There are millions of Hydro ratepayers across the province who are outraged at the idea that they're going to be stung again next year with something in the range of a 9% to 10% increase on their hydro rates. The taxpayers of Ontario are outraged that Bob Rae took Ed Broadbent's former director of research and gave him a job of \$400,000 a year, and when he was found out he offered a rollback to give this good NDP friend a salary now of only \$260,000 a year. Last Friday afternoon Mr Rae's good friend Marc Eliesen went to the Ontario Energy Board and suggested that in fact he might also be entitled to some kind of a bonus beyond his obscene salary of \$260,000 given his past executive experience.

I repeat, as the new government has a new energy policy, the hallmarks of which are openness and accountability, and as the cabinet now has the power to issue directives, I again ask the Minister of Energy, will he stand in his place in light of this kind of testimony offered last Friday afternoon by Mr Eliesen, and will the Minister of Energy promise the House and the Hydro ratepayers that in the very next little while he will issue a directive to the board of Ontario Hydro that Mr Eliesen will be ineligible for any kind of bonus so that his salary will not be a cent more than the obscene \$260,000 it already is?

Hon Mr Charlton: The member for Renfrew North is good at spinning the rhetoric but not very good at remembering some historical facts. First of all, let me say that this minister does not concur or agree in any way, shape or form with the comments that the chairman of Ontario Hydro made at the OEB hearing on Friday. Second, in the context of the comments just made by the member for Renfrew North, he should remember that the chairman of Ontario Hydro is making less than half his predecessor's salary as set up by the former administration, and that Mr Eliesen was not stolen from Ed Broadbent's staff by Bob Rae. It was in fact by David Peterson, presumably with the concurrence of the then Minister of Energy, that Mr Eliesen was brought from Ottawa to Toronto.

Mr Conway: On a point of order, Mr Speaker.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Would the member take his seat, please.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Would the member please take his seat.

Interjections.

The Speaker: I am asking the member for Renfrew North to take his seat.

Interjections.

The Speaker: The leader of the third party, new question.

1430

Mr Harris: Instead of arguing about whether the Liberals or the NDP paid more for what type of competent people, I wonder if we could bring this question back to the debate that is relevant today.

Today, Mr Minister of Energy, there are thousands and thousands and thousands of people out of work. Hydro rates are going up three, four, five, six times the rate of inflation. These hydro increases are scaring away investment and pushing other companies into bankruptcy. Aside from the fact that Marc Eliesen, a friend of the Premier, happens to be in the top position, will you dismiss out of hand today any suggestion that there should be a bonus paid to Mr Eliesen and state categorically as the Minister of Energy that no bonus will be paid in the future to Mr Eliesen?

Hon Mr Charlton: I think perhaps the leader of the third party should from time to time pay attention to the questions and answers from the Leader of the Opposition.

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): Why don't you just say yes and sit down then?

Hon Mr Charlton: I just did.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): You didn't even know the answer, you buffoon.

The Speaker: Would the leader take his seat.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Language which is insulting is not parliamentary. I would ask the member for Etobicoke West to withdraw.

Mr Stockwell: I withdraw.

The Speaker: Supplementary.

Mr Harris: At a time when Ontario consumers are facing some 20% increase in rates over the next two years, Marc Eliesen has the nerve to try to further pad his own pocket. Minister, we all know that he makes \$260,000 a year, that he negotiated a cushy pension package, that he has a driver and two cars, that he has a home security system and financial counselling, and now he wants a bonus.

Minister, when you read this, surely you were just as appalled as all of us were in this House, as your colleagues were, as every Ontarian was, particularly power consumers. In spite of the fact that Mr Eliesen just signed a five-year, no-cut contract extended by the Premier, could you not tell us that you were as appalled as we were and that you as Minister of Energy called your friend Marc Eliesen, told him you were appalled and that in spite of that contract, any further discussion in public at this time and in this recession will be cause for dismissal for the head of Ontario Hydro here in this province?

Hon Mr Charlton: I'm not personally aware of anybody who has ever been dismissed for being honest and straightforward. Having said that, I will repeat what I've said here in this House this afternoon.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Will the minister take his seat, please.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Minister.

Hon Mr Charlton: This government will not accept, this minister does not accept, any form of bonusing. I've already said that and said it clearly.

Mr Stockwell: You didn't say that when you answered the first question.

Mr Harris: You didn't.

Hon Mr Charlton: Mr Speaker, there are some members on the other side of the House who perhaps need to check their ears a little. I've said that and said it clearly. But at the same time, the leader of the third party has a responsibility to this House and to the people of this province to stop his continuing use of myth around a number of issues he's raised in the preamble to his last question, like the pension one, that has been fully and firmly resolved in this House. That myth should not continue to be used.

Mr Harris: To clarify the first five questions that have been asked on this, I gather the minister is saying it's counter to his government's policy for bonusing to be discussed by deputy ministers, by civil servants and presumably by the chairman of Ontario Hydro. On that basis, I would assume he will be reprimanded and that it would be cause for dismissal if he carried on. If that is the case, I don't know why the minister doesn't just say that. Mr Eliesen says he believes in the profit motive and sees it in the private sector. Let me give you a suggestion that you can take to Mr Eliesen.

Mr Gary Malkowski (York East): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I don't find the term "check their ears" acceptable. I'd ask the minister to withdraw the comment, please.

The Speaker: While not unparliamentary language, in the past we have always indicated that if something is said which offends any member of the House, there is a request that the member withdraw, and I would ask the member if he would consider.

Hon Mr Charlton: I withdraw, Mr Speaker.

Mr Harris: I have a suggestion for you, as Marc Eliesen wants a private sector-type incentive. We all know that in the private sector there are sometimes bonus incentives for a better bottom line and that there are disincentives from time to time as well. I would ask the minister if he'd take this to Mr Eliesen: For every percentage point that hydro rates come in below inflation Mr Eliesen will get a 10% bonus on top of his \$260,000-a-year salary—I think all hydro consumers would be happy to pay it—and for every percentage point that hydro rates come in above inflation Mr Eliesen loses 10% of his \$260,000-a-year salary.

Mr Minister, since he wants an incentive, a performance bonus, will you then agree to offer Mr Eliesen this package of incentives in the spirit of cooperation, to give you a positive suggestion that might benefit the hydro consumers of this province?

Hon Mr Charlton: Perhaps the kind of incentive program the leader of the third party is talking about might be better framed in this fashion: that for every percentage point Mr Eliesen and Ontario Hydro can come in below inflation, the leader of the third party and the leader of the official opposition will avoid penalty, but for every percentage point above inflation that the hydro rate comes in we should penalize those who made the decisions that caused the problem, because the problem in terms of the rate increases is Darlington, a decision made by the former Conservative administration and a decision that was thoroughly reviewed in 1986 and sustained by the Liberal opposition, the then government.

WASTE DISPOSAL

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): This question is for the minister responsible for the greater Toronto area and the Minister of the Environment. I preface this question with the fact that York region has found a flaw in Bill 143 so large that it could commence a legal challenge against the bill that will greatly change the intention the minister has had up until now. I am most grateful for the fact that York region has done its homework and is ready to do something of this nature.

It's a very serious bill, and they have found such a loophole that you could drive a garbage truck through it. Indeed, I would like to ask the minister if she's had a chance, in light of the fact that it's no secret that York region is going to be doing this—in section 15 of the bill, there is a section which is very permissive in nature which says the environmental assessment for a landfill site is “not required to contain” other options. If in fact this bill were to have the strength and teeth that maybe you wanted it to have, it would have said they “will not be permitted to contain” other options.

But inasmuch as the bill itself is in such an open way that it says “not required to contain” other options, such as rail haul options, such as incineration, it means that York region in approaching the Interim Waste Authority will now be in a position to ask the Interim Waste Authority to consider other options than just the 57 sites—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member place his question, please.

1440

Mr Cousens: —that have been selected for Markham for York region, Durham and Peel.

Inasmuch as the Interim Waste Authority can now look at other options than just the ones that have been before it, will you encourage the Interim Waste Authority to look at all the options to dispose of Metro's and the region's waste?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): The member says that York region can now look at options other than waste reduction and landfills. His premise for making that statement is that lawyers for York region have found some flaw in Bill 143. I'm not aware of that. I'm not aware of any court cases being launched, and if there were, I would not comment on it.

Let me say to the member that the policy of this government is very clear: The options for waste management within the greater Toronto area and indeed within the province of Ontario are to do as much as we possibly can to both reduce the amount of waste that is generated, to increase the amount that is reused and recycled, and to find safe landfill sites for the remainder.

The Speaker: Supplementary.

Mr Cousens: No, there's no court case yet. In fact, what I'd like to see this government do is become capable of working out a problem before we spend taxpayers' money from York and from the province in a costly legal entanglement. I don't want that, but what I'm seeing here and what anyone can see is that section 15 of this bill is very permissive. It means that the Interim Waste Authority is not “required” to look at other options; the Interim Waste Authority could then look at other options such as rail haul or incineration or other places.

All I'm really asking this minister is whether she would like to begin the process with the region so we don't have that expensive legal court battle, a war between my region and the government. You've already got one, but let's try to handle things in a way that you don't have to have such a legal battle going.

Based on the fact that this bill does have a flaw—you will see the flaw; you're going to hear about the flaw—rather than spend the summer in court, would you be in a position now to begin to look very seriously at this flaw and begin friendly negotiations between the region of York and the province of Ontario?

Hon Mrs Grier: Let me assure the member that I certainly have no desire to involve the government or the region of York in legal challenges or court cases. That is certainly not my intent. My intent is to try to resolve a problem that has been outstanding for the last decade, ie, how to establish a comprehensive waste management system for the four million people who live within the greater Toronto area.

The member persists in saying that there is a flaw in Bill 143. I would remind the member that there were four or five weeks of hearings into Bill 143, innumerable legal opinions on Bill 143, and if there was in fact a flaw in that legislation, I'm quite sure that many of the people who reviewed it during those hearings, during the debate, would have revealed it.

The Speaker: Final supplementary.

Mr Cousens: It just goes to show, if you think you've got a perfect law, the fact of the matter is that you may well not. The evidence before us now by virtue of section 15 and the permissive nature of that really opens up the whole question, and the question could be handled very easily by this government if it were willing to listen and willing to act.

There has not been a landfill site placed in the shadow of a large urban municipality in North America within the last 10 years, and we are about to have at least three of them; you name it, if you can name any large urban municipalities that have had a large landfill site placed as

close to them as you're now talking about in York, Durham and Peel.

There's no logic to what you're doing to Metro Toronto. There is no logic in using environmentally sensitive lands. There is no logic in having 500 trucks trucking their garbage—our garbage—through these communities if you don't look at all the options.

All I'm asking the minister to do is to carefully and sincerely, without having a court battle, without going to court, to try to work something out with York region so we can have the Interim Waste Authority look at all options, which could then be the incineration of waste or rail-hauling it. Will you look at the options with York region and save the costs of a legal battle for the province of Ontario and the people of York?

Hon Mrs Grier: The member is, as sometimes happens, I think not quite right in his facts. There is in fact a waste management site opening up in Halton in the shadow of an urban area within the GTA. The previous government found two sites, just miraculously found a site in Brampton and a site in Whitevale, and said they were suitable for garbage. The problem was that those sites were not found on an environmentally sound basis—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Order, the member for Etobicoke West.

Hon Mrs Grier: —and were not, in the case of the Whitevale and Brampton ones, submitted to an Environmental Assessment Board.

Interjection.

The Speaker: The member for Etobicoke West, come to order.

Hon Mrs Grier: The tenor of the member's arguments is designed to ship the GTA waste to northern Ontario. That's what he wants, that's what his party wants and that is not the policy of this government.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR POLICY

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My question is for the Minister of Labour. The Minister of Labour introduced amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act over a month ago, but delayed the release of the task force that examined the agricultural implications of those proposals until last Friday. That report states that for farmers the single most critical issue is the threat of work stoppage, and the report goes on to recommend that separate agricultural labour legislation be developed by the continuation of the task force.

The minister, to the best of my knowledge, has refused to commit to any policy on agriculture labour reforms until the report was released. I would ask the Minister of Labour whether he will now indicate whether his government will implement the task force recommendations to abandon the new agriculture inclusions in his recent amendments and instead develop separate agricultural labour legislation.

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): I can tell the leader of the official opposition that we will continue consulting. The committee is to continue consulting in terms of the agricultural community. We have indicated

very clearly that we support most of the recommendations they've made. We want to do some further consultation on one of them and that's exactly the position of this party.

Mrs McLeod: I'm still seeking the commitment from the minister, who it seems has been very supportive of the report's recommendations in his meeting with farm groups behind closed doors but still refuses to take a clear public position. The minister is refusing to announce the government's policy on separate agriculture labour legislation, but at the same time the government is moving to second reading of the Ontario Labour Relations Act amendments.

The minister is well aware that the proposals that will come before this House for debate include a very significant provision that will affect the agriculture industry and agricultural workers. I want to read it; it's very brief, "The act applies to a person employed in such class of agricultural or horticultural operations as may be prescribed by regulation."

I would ask this minister why the government is still proceeding with these agricultural provisions in the current bill when the provisions are clearly opposed to the task force recommendations, which he says he is still consulting on, and I would ask the minister to make a commitment today, before the debate on the Labour Relations Act amendments begins, to removing the section of those amendments which allow him to include agricultural workers at some subsequent date by regulation. Will he ensure that all those involved in the agricultural industry in this province will have a full and open opportunity to participate in the development of any legislation which affects them?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: That's exactly the point I've been trying to make. We've had meetings with the agricultural community. They know we are in support of most of the recommendations they've made, indeed almost all of them, but one we have some questions on, and they're going to be consulted with on it before we make any final move. Until we've done that consultation, I'm not prepared to say anything else.

ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): My question is for the Minister of Culture and Communications. I'm wondering, if I went very slowly, if this minister could follow my question.

Mr Speaker, in asking this question, through you to the minister, I want her to understand what the Art Gallery of Ontario is all about. I want her to understand why it's there, why it's been managing its own affairs very well for over 100 years at this point, why it has \$500 billion worth of work within its walls. It is because the people of Ontario, through their bequests and gifts, have provided that institution with what it now has to share with the rest of Ontario.

I would like this minister, when she answers my question, to understand that the former minister made it very clear in a letter to this board the minister refers to that they would be looking to their long-term financing. He didn't

lead them down a garden path and say, "We're not going to bail you out." He cared about the AGO.

If this minister can understand this scenario, can she not understand that it isn't good enough for her to stand in this House today and blame the board for the problems the AGO faces financially, which have a lot to do with her own government's policies and mandated programs?

1450

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): The member has indicated they were looking for long-term solutions, and so am I, and that's why we set up the task force, so that we can find long-term solutions so that short-term solutions of coming for bailouts every year will not continue.

For the member's edification, I would like to remind her that since 1985-86, the art gallery has had over \$6.5 million of one-time support. They received additional moneys for capital of over \$11 million. This government has been, and will continue to be, very supportive of the Ontario art gallery. I am pleased to see that they're going to be working with us, that we're going to be examining this first step so that they can look at long-term solutions.

Mrs Marland: I guess the problem is that this minister lost in the cabinet sweepstakes at the cabinet table. The problem is that they are faced with this tremendous crisis where they have had no choice but to close down for six months because of programs they could not have any choice about budgeting for: pay equity and the other mandated programs by your government and the previous government; maybe we could even talk about the employer health tax.

Madam Minister, if you're going to stand in this House and simply go over and over these figures, as you have tried to do in answering this question, we feel it's obvious you don't understand that if you'd left the AGO alone, it would have managed its own affairs.

When you read—and I hope you have read the weekend newspaper—there's a whole other perspective to this that I'd like you to tell this House about. I'd like you to tell us about the millions and millions of dollars that are going to be lost in tourist dollars because the AGO is closed. Most importantly, I'd like you to answer this statement: "People are finding that spirit less and less as this NDP government seeks to remould all our institutions, from the police to the private sector to the arts, in its own politically correct image." That's the real tragedy. Are you proud of that?

Hon Mrs Haslam: The member is saying that expanding cultural funding to include communities throughout this province, whether they are rural areas or culturally diverse communities, means a descent into mediocrity? I do not agree. As a government we find that offensive and demeaning to the people of Ontario. The excellence of first nations culture, francophone culture, the culture that springs from the communities of colour and from rural Ontario deserves our support and commitment as well as the AGO does.

I have reiterated time and time again that the AGO is an important cultural facility here, that we have supported it with a 12.5% increase to its funding, and I will continue to address other concerns that the AGO has through the task force.

INVESTMENT FUND

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): My question is for the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. Recently I, like, I know, many of the other members in the peninsula, have received correspondence relating to the proposed Ontario investment fund. My constituents, many of whom contribute to the Ontario municipal employees retirement system plan, as I have done for many years myself, worry that if this investment fund goes ahead, the government will be taking control of their pension money and their life savings could be lost in some risky ventures.

Is the government planning to access this public sector pension money, and if so, what safeguards will there be for my constituents to ensure that their retirement money won't be put into jeopardy?

Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology): Public sector pension funds are only one of a number of large institutional investors being considered as possible participants. The objective of the fund is to achieve a competitive rate of return while producing investment and protecting the principal. The fund will be operational and successful on its own merits and I must stress that participation in the fund will be voluntary.

Ms Haeck: Definitely that goes some way to assuaging the concerns of my constituents.

Interjection.

Ms Haeck: It's true, and I hope you'll actually listen too.

Mr Minister, I know my constituents would be reassured about this whole proposal if there was an opportunity for them to become more involved in the discussions surrounding the organization of this fund. In particular, they're concerned that some trustees might be making some decisions on their behalf. I understand the Ontario investment fund discussion paper is now the subject of consultations, but could you tell me—and obviously my constituents—what the process is for determining how this fund will be run, and more important, if and how the public can be more involved and included in this process.

Hon Mr Philip: An advisory committee, with members representing business, labour and the financial communities, is now working with me and the OIF team to develop structures and models and to look at those that have been developed in other jurisdictions. The project team is also doing extensive research on the difficulties the companies are facing, and had been facing under previous governments, in obtaining the kind of investment they need. Consultations are being held with the key stakeholders, the industry sectors and the financial community, and if anyone wishes to make a submission to us, we'll be more than happy to receive it.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): New question, the member for York Centre.

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): Mr Speaker, did you not get the distinct impression that the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology actually prepared that question for the member for St Catharines-Brock?

The Speaker: To whom is your question directed?

Mr Sorbara: I'm just asking you. That was my question.

The Speaker: I recognized the member to place a question. I invite him now to do so.

Ms Haeck: On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: The question in fact comes out of a series of meetings I held personally with my constituents, and I really feel that the previous speaker, the member for York Centre I believe is the correct title, is maligning me and my staff.

The Speaker: Just relax. The member for York Centre with his question.

Mr Sorbara: All I can say is, my impressions remain.
1500

LANDFILL SITE

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): I have a question for the Minister of the Environment. About a week and a half ago a variety of environmental groups rated the minister's performance at a D. Over the weekend the Toronto Sun was much less kind in rating her performance at an F.

Up in York region the rating is an entirely different matter. There is palpable anger in York region that is bringing people together in groups of five, 10, 500 and 1,000, almost on a nightly basis, to try to undo the damage that the Minister of the Environment has done with Bill 143. Just last week 500 people gathered in Stouffville to begin the organization process to undo this damage.

The questions that remain unanswered and that they continually ask at these meetings are these—and I want to put these questions once again to the minister: What studies did she do? What assessment did she make? With whom did she consult? On what basis did she make the determination prior to introducing Bill 143 that York region was to be the situs for the garbage of 2.5 million people in Metropolitan Toronto? I ask her not to simply rely on the historical fact—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member conclude his question, please.

Mr Sorbara: —that there had been a contract. What studies did she do? With whom did she consult? What kind of environmental assessment did she undertake, and why is it that she decided, after doing whatever she did—

The Speaker: Would the member conclude his question, please.

Mr Sorbara: —that Metro garbage is going to go to York region under Bill 143?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): Shortly after I became the minister I was faced with the issue of what to do with waste in the greater Toronto area. As the member will know, this issue has

plagued previous governments for quite some time and has had a variety of solutions, none of which has led to any permanent solution. So the decision I was faced with was how best to try to resolve this problem once and for all, knowing full well that nobody is popular who goes seeking a landfill site and certainly that nobody wants a landfill site in their community.

In response to the member's question, let me tell him that I met, either after I was appointed minister or before I became minister, with groups around this province who didn't want landfill sites for GTA waste in their community, groups he is well aware of. I met with many people in both municipal government and non-governmental organizations to discuss the crisis facing the greater Toronto area and I relied on the historic pattern of municipalities and regional municipalities being responsible for waste disposal and historically coming together and making agreements to look after each other's waste.

The Speaker: Supplementary?

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I'd like to ask a supplementary of the Minister of the Environment. I'd like to inquire whether you ever spoke to the farming community, most specifically the Doane family in my riding. They've been farming at Wanless Drive and Heritage Road since 1935. I can remember, from being here in 1985, listening to the marvellous speeches—not just by the now Minister of the Environment but by everybody; the Premier—how farm land was so sacred. Minister, how can you possibly have gone through the 1990 campaign and said farm land is sacred and then desecrate it by having one of the locations be a farm that's been in operation since 1935?

Do you not think that's a bit hypocritical? Do you not think that's a total disavowal of all the things you people said you stood for when you were in opposition? The people of Ontario believed you and we now find you're about to just abandon all your principles and do whatever you damn well please. What do I tell the Doane family who have been farming since 1935? Do they just sit there and wait—

The Speaker: Would the member conclude his supplementary, please.

Mr Callahan: —and wait and determine whether they're going to be put into a landfill? This is a direct contravention, I suggest, of your past promises. Can you tell the Doanes why their land has been identified as a spot for throwing your garbage and everybody else's garbage?

Hon Mrs Grier: The family the member discusses is one of a number of families who have found that their properties are identified as potential landfill sites within the GTA. There are 57 of them and I know that not one of them wishes to be a landfill site, but I hope the member will tell them that, contrary to the position of other of his constituents in Brampton who were identified by his government as the site for a new landfill without the benefit of an environmental assessment hearing, in fact there will be an environmental assessment. They have an opportunity to discuss the criteria of the Interim Waste Authority—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. The member for Halton Centre.

Hon Mrs Grier: —and that the decision on whether or not their land will become a landfill will be made by the Environmental Assessment Board.

Mr Sorbara: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Just to register our dissatisfaction with the answer of the Minister of the Environment pursuant to standing order 33(a).

The Speaker: New question?

LAKELANDS TOURISM GROUP

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): My question is for the Minister of Tourism and Recreation. Twenty days ago I asked the minister why he was refusing to acknowledge the existence of the Lakelands Tourism Group by excluding it from several of the ministry's tourism promotion publications.

What specific actions has the minister taken to ensure that the regions of Bruce, Grey, Muskoka, Simcoe and Dufferin, regions of the province so greatly dependent on tourism for their income, are included in all the government's tourism promotion programs?

Hon Peter North (Minister of Tourism and Recreation): I answered the question 20 days ago, but I'll continue to try to make clarification for the member across the floor.

We've included the area that he speaks of in a number of different advertisements that have gone out across the province. As a matter of fact, I saw some correspondence from a person who was not from this particular country but from another country and said they had seen an advertisement concerning the Wasaga Beach area as far away as Spain.

I can assure the member that if he's had an opportunity to speak to the person we consider to be the mayor of Wasaga Beach, I recently had a phone call from that particular gentleman. He said he was very pleased with the efforts of the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation in that particular area and thought we were doing what he would call "a bang-up job."

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): I find that answer very interesting, since I live at Wasaga Beach.

My constituents find it disturbing that after my colleague the member for Wellington and I raised this issue in the Legislature some three weeks ago, you and your ministry are continuing to ignore the Lakelands Tourism Group. Just to prove the point, Minister, here's a quote from the June 21 edition of the Huronia Sunday newspaper:

"According to a counsellor at the 1-800-ONTARIO number, the Lakelands Tourism Group, which represents tourism associations in Huronia, the Georgian triangle, Grey-Bruce and Muskoka, doesn't exist. 'We don't have a listing for the Lakelands Tourism Group,' a counsellor told this reporter Friday afternoon."

Minister, if you're going to receive more than a D on your ministerial report card, I would suggest that you put your petty differences aside and provide the public with accurate information about the Lakelands Tourism Group and the tourism associations it represents. Given your track

record to date, I have to ask why you persist in treating the Lakelands Tourism Group so unfairly.

Hon Mr North: I appreciate the tag-team efforts of our members across the floor. Once again, another 20 days have passed and they're asking virtually the same questions they've asked in the past. I tried to explain the answer to the members very clearly the last time, and again the member across the floor explains to me that he is from Wasaga Beach.

We have some strong advertisements that the member has probably seen from the Wasaga Beach area that speak of Wasaga Beach in a very integral way. Naturally, anyone would advocate for their particular part of the province, which they want to be flourishing in the tourism sector. As I've said in the past, we have no beef with the Lakelands Tourism Group. They've chosen, for whatever reasons, to not be a part of the Ontario travel association program. We've continued to work with this particular area to try to develop a relationship that has been there in the past and we hope will be there in the future.

The member across the floor speaks of a certain grade in a certain newspaper, and that's his business to do so. I don't think you work as a minister of the crown based on a grading system in any way. If he feels that way, then perhaps at some time he may have an opportunity to be graded himself.

1510

CASINOS

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): I have a question of the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, and it's about casinos. The whole province is abuzz since the budget speech with this whole prospect of casinos. At the same time people are incredibly concerned because there are pros and there are cons. People want to know, for instance, what's been happening since the announcement was made. What contact has been made with the federal government to talk about Criminal Code changes? Who are the target groups in terms of whom we expect to draw to these casinos if they're created? And, really, what are we building? Are we building government-run bingo parlours or are we inviting the private sector to participate in a joint effort?

The people of this province, the ones who have been talking to me, would dearly like to know exactly what's been happening in terms of planning, presumably through this ministry, since the announcement. How many people are working on this project? How many people from the private sector are being brought in to share in the decision-making? How many people are being brought in from groups like the Ontario Restaurant Association to help engage in planning and development? Perhaps an updating at this point would be very welcome.

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): As people here know, cabinet has approved the establishment of a special project team to deal with these kinds of questions and many others. I think the member today raised a lot of the issues that we need to look into. The project team indeed will be looking at those very issues and others. We're in the process of setting up

this project team now, and hopefully it will be up and running by mid- to late July. I'll be able to give you more answers at that time about where we're going with this.

Mr Kormos: The minister was at the NDP convention in Hamilton and is well aware that the Welland-Thorold resolution on accountability received strong support. Among those speaking on behalf of it was the Premier himself, the leader of the party, who agreed with the proposition that the party should be consulted when there are major policy initiatives undertaken.

The minister has announced a turnaround time of some eight to 12 months; she's indicated already that this thing will be up and running in the course of eight to 12 months. Recognizing what she just told us about the time frames and recognizing there's not going to be another convention for a couple of more years, my question is: Where does the consultation with the party fit into this time frame? Exactly what process is being developed to consult with the New Democratic Party about the creation of a major new policy initiative?

Hon Ms Churley: The project team, when it's up and running, will be consulting with a vast variety of people from the broader community. I think one of the most important things this project team has to look into and hear from people from the broader community about is what style of casino we're looking at. For instance, we know we don't want the Las Vegas style here. We have to look at things like—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. The member for St George-St David.

Hon Ms Churley: We have to look at issues like illegal gambling in Ontario, which right now is in the hundreds of millions of dollars of money being spent. We have to look at the kind of casino gambling that people want to see. We have to find out which municipalities are interested. We have an awful lot of questions that we need answers to. We will in fact—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Would the minister conclude her remarks, please.

Hon Ms Churley: I will conclude my remarks. On the other hand, I was quite rudely interrupted in the middle of my remarks. I had a serious question asked by the—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Has the minister concluded her response?

Hon Ms Churley: In short, I think the questions that the member has asked today are the same kinds of questions that are on a lot of members' minds in this chamber. I look forward to coming back in July and giving people more information about the project team and what it's doing, and then later on being able to come back and give more details about the consultation process and the kinds of issues that are of concern to everybody, which we'll be looking at over the summer.

The Speaker: The time for oral questions has expired. There's a point of order to deal with.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order, the member for St Catharines.

Interjections.

The Speaker: I'd like the House to come to order and I can deal with a point of order concerning the member for Brampton South.

It is not possible to file dissatisfaction with the response to a supplementary. However, the member, with the cooperation of his colleague the member for York Centre, will be allowed to share the five-minute time which is allotted for his dissatisfaction. It will be necessary for the member for York Centre to file the necessary document with the table. Finally, our normal procedure is that dissatisfaction is raised after the time for oral questions has expired so that we don't utilize the time allotted for oral questions.

PETITIONS

NATURAL RESOURCES LEGISLATION

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I want to present a petition which has been signed by over 800 of my constituents.

"We, the undersigned, do hereby oppose the introduction of the MNR-proposed new Trees Act to cover northern Ontario and any restrictions under the private woodlands strategy that would infringe on personal property rights."

I submit this petition and add my signature.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I have a petition that contains 137 names from communities such as Hillsburgh, Erin, Bellwood, Orton, Fergus, Elora, Alma, Georgetown, Acton and Mount Forest, and it reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the abovementioned implementations;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a quick-fix solution to its fiscal problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I have affixed my name as well to this petition.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): I have a petition circulated and sponsored by the municipal councils of the county of Middlesex and signed by residents of Kerwood, Delaware, Parkhill and Ailsa Craig, 140 citizens of Middlesex in all, who oppose the implementation of the Brant report, request a reduced annexation and also request the preservation of agricultural land and the rural way of life. I have signed my name to this petition.

STUDENT SAFETY

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I have a petition with some 225 names on it. It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Matthew Morten died tragically at his residence at York University as a result of a severed bronchial artery caused by a shard of glass;

"Whereas the glass which caused Matthew's death broke free from the door of his residence and was not safety glass;

"Whereas the regional coroner from Metropolitan Toronto has refused the family's request for an inquest and has indicated that it was economically unsound to make universities replace non-safety glass, although a recommendation has been sent to universities by the coroner asking only that they consider replacing such glass;

"Whereas there are other issues which should also be addressed, including the late response of the ambulance because it became lost on campus and the inability of the attendants to carry Matthew out on a stretcher due to the narrowness of the stairs;

"Whereas ignoring the abovementioned circumstances may lead to another death or serious injury;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That an inquest into the death of Matthew Morten be ordered immediately to ensure that the safety of other Ontario students is safeguarded."

I have affixed my signature to this petition.

EASTERN HABITAT JOINT VENTURE

Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville): I have a petition signed by 128 constituents and it reads as follows:

"To the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of the province of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, oppose the request of the Eastern Habitat Joint Venture to cross the township road known as Aultsville Road with a culvert from the Riley marsh on the east to the cedar grove on the west to create the Aultsville marsh.

"We deplore and reject any further tampering with the land and water surfaces in Osnabruck township. We have grave concerns in accepting US funds which will inevitably lead to US controls."

I have affixed my signature to this petition.

1520

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie): I present a petition today on behalf of 250 of my constituents, 19 names from Algoma and 17 names from the rest of Ontario concerning the present constitutional discussions that are ongoing. These folks are asking the Premier to call for a referendum on any final offer of a constitutional package to the government of Quebec. I have not affixed my name to the petition.

LANDFILL SITE

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I have a petition signed by some 50 people which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, oppose the provincial government's proposal to take prime agricultural land in King township and turn it into Metro and York region's megadump."

I have signed my signature in support of that petition, Mr Speaker.

ROYAL BOTANICAL GARDENS

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I wish to table a petition signed by members of the Oakville Horticultural Society in my riding of Oakville South, which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas we are very conscious of the difficult financial situation in which the government finds itself; and

"Whereas the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation is currently promoting, as one of its biggest and best attractions, the Royal Botanical Gardens, the biggest lilac collection in the world, to bring Canadian and American tourism dollars to this province; and

"Whereas the Royal Botanical Gardens is the major tourism attraction in the bay area, whose image and that of the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation will be badly tarnished if the Royal Botanical Gardens cannot afford to maintain the quality for which it is famed; and

"Whereas the Royal Botanical Gardens has struggled for a years on a budget less than half of that of the other most prestigious botanical gardens, such as Chicago, Missouri and Montreal, all of which are far smaller, and yet it has attained international status and is a leader in environmental concerns,

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to give your utmost support to ensuring a level of funding that will enable the Royal Botanical Gardens to continue its role as a world-class, major cultural and tourism attraction."

REAL ESTATE GAINS

Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot): I'd like to present a petition on behalf of one of my colleagues, opposing the introduction of a new tax on real estate gains. It's to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to urge the Honourable Floyd Laughren, Treasurer of Ontario, not to proceed with an additional tax on real estate gains."

It's signed by 28 constituents in Toronto.

COURT RULING

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): I have a petition from citizens of the communities of Brampton, Flamborough, Hamilton, Welland and Grimsby addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, reading as follows:

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, in support of the mother of Debra Pauline Williams Ellul, draw to the attention of the House the following:

"That the right to appeal the decision made in Debra Williams Ellul murder acquitting Guy Ellul of all charges

be granted based on the fact that the decision not to allow the appeal does not accurately reflect the public's abhorrence and unacceptability of the outcome of this trial."

I've signed my name to this petition.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, and it reads as follows:

"Whereas independent and non-partisan economic studies have concluded that the proposed changes to Ontario labour legislation will increase job losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery and the maintenance of a sound economic environment in the province,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the Ontario government declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to the labour legislation in the best interests of the people of Ontario."

Mr Speaker, I have affixed my name to this petition.

LAND-LEASED COMMUNITIES

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I have a petition signed by a number of constituents in my riding, and speaking with my colleague from Durham East, he's got similar concerns around Wilmot Creek.

"Whereas the residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake felt the previous government set up a committee to report on land-leased communities but took no specific action to protect these communities; and

"Whereas the residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake feel it should be a priority of this government to release the report and take action to bring forward legislation on the following issues that surround land-leased communities; and

"Whereas the residents feel the government of Ontario should examine the problem of no protection against conversion to other uses which would result in the loss of home owners' equity; and

"Whereas the residents of these communities do not receive concise and clear information about their property tax bills; and

"Whereas there are often arbitrary rules set out by landlords and owners of land-leased communities which place unfair restrictions or collect commissions on resale of residents' homes; and

"Whereas there has been confusion resulting in the status of residents in long-term leases where they fall under the rent review legislation,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to follow through and to release the committee report on land-leased communities and propose legislation to give adequate protection to individuals living in land-leased communities."

I affix my name to this.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Bernard Grandmaître (Ottawa East): I have a petition concerning the John Brant report in the London area which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario:

"That the Legislature of Ontario reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

I have signed the petition.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Whereas the proposed changes to the labour legislation will increase potential job losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery of a sound economic environment; and

"Whereas a recent public opinion poll showed that 83% of Ontario citizens support the withdrawal of these proposed changes;

"That the government declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to existing the labour legislation."

FIREFIGHTING

Mr Paul Wessinger (Simcoe Centre): I have a petition.

"Whereas the volunteer firefighters of the town of Innisfil have worked tirelessly over the years to protect our lives, our homes and our communities from the ravages of fire; and

"Whereas the volunteer firefighters are usually local business people who selflessly devote their time to saving lives and properties around the clock, even disrupting their own regular working hours; and

"Whereas the town of Innisfil has opted to reduce the quality of fire services to the community by deciding to reduce the pay of firefighters by reducing the funds reserved for volunteer firefighting, and by reducing the funding, gives cause to deterioration of existing fire protection,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to help reinstate full funding at previous years' levels to the volunteer firefighters of the town of Innisfil."

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): I have two petitions I would like to present. One is addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas we, as citizens of the province of Ontario, believe the Constitution of any genuinely democratic society truly belongs to its people and that our views and any changes to Canada's Constitution must be heard, and final approval of such changes must be given by the citizens of Ontario; and

"Whereas up to this time there has been very limited opportunity for input from grass-roots Ontarians;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We request you who administer the affairs of this province to make available every opportunity for the people to see and understand fully what the new Constitution and/or any amendments thereto will mean to each of us, and then make provision for a final 'say' by the people of Ontario by way of a binding referendum."

It's signed by many constituents from my area and I have affixed my signature to it.

FRENCH-LANGUAGE SERVICES

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): I have a second petition. This is from another group within my area and it deals with asking the House to repeal the French Language Services Act, Bill 8, at the earliest possible moment. As I've stated in previous petitions I've presented in this particular case, I am presenting it on behalf of these constituents who have signed it but I do not agree with the views they have expressed.

REAL ESTATE GAINS

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I have a petition here by some constituents in my riding opposing the introduction of any new tax on real estate gains.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to urge the Honourable Floyd Laughren, Treasurer of Ontario, not to proceed with any additional tax on real estate gains."

I've put my name on this.

CHILD CARE

Mr Bernard Grandmaitre (Ottawa East): I have a petition signed by 278 people from Prescott-Russell objecting to the child care reforms of Ontario.

"We, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"(1) Enhance the current child care system by concentrating the available resources for low-income families;

"(2) Abandon initiatives towards a universal child care system;

"(3) Guarantee that future child care initiatives will give equal recognition to traditional child care options."

I have affixed my signature.

1530

LANDFILL SITE

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): Another petition from the good people of Georgina: They are called Georgina Against Garbage, GAG:

"We absolutely reject the notion of the establishment of a garbage dump for Metropolitan Toronto's waste in Georgina.

"We, the residents of Georgina, request that our elected representatives and our provincial Ministry of the Environment repeal Bill 143 in its entirety, consider all alternatives to site selection in York region, directly consult with all the residents of Georgina in York region with regard to their wishes, possibly by referendum"—good idea—"and

immediately cease the process of site selection in York region."

Signed by me and submitted in good faith.

EDUCATION FINANCING

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): I too would like to present a petition, signed by the ratepayers and parents, staff and students of the Metropolitan Separate School Board, concerned about the way in which Catholic education is funded in Metropolitan Toronto. The petition requests that this Legislature "act now to restructure the way in which municipal and provincial tax dollars are appropriated so that Ontario's two principal education systems are funded not only fully but with equity and equality."

I've affixed my signature to this petition.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Deferred vote on government notice of motion number 11 on amendments to the standing orders.

1537

The House divided on Mr Cooke's motion, which was agreed to on the following vote:

Ayes—70

Akande, Allen, Arnott, Bisson, Boyd, Buchanan, Carr, Charlton, Christopherson, Churley, Cooke, Cooper, Coppen, Cousens, Cunningham, Duignan, Ferguson, Fletcher, Frankford, Grier, Haeck, Hampton, Hansen, Harnick, Harrington, Harris, Haslam, Hayes, Hope, Huget, Jamison, Johnson, Klopp, Lankin, Laughren, Lessard, Mackenzie, Malkowski, Mammoliti, Marchese, Marland, Martel, Martin, Mathysen, McLean, Mills, Morrow, North, O'Connor, Owens, Perruzza, Philip (Etobicoke-Rexdale), Pilkey, Pouliot, Rizzo, Silipo, Sutherland, Swarbrick, Villeneuve, Ward (Brantford), Wark-Martyn, Waters, Wessinger, White, Wildman, Wilson (Kingston and The Islands), Winninger, Wiseman, Wood, Ziemba.

Nays—22

Beer, Bradley, Callahan, Conway, Curling, Fawcett, Grandmaitre, Kwinter, Mahoney, McClelland, McGuinty, McLeod, Micalash, Morin, Offer, O'Neil (Quinte), O'Neill (Ottawa-Rideau), Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt), Scott, Sola, Sorbara, Sullivan.

INTERIM SUPPLY

Mr Laughren moved government notice of motion number 9:

That the Treasurer of Ontario be authorized to pay the salaries of the civil servants and other necessary payments pending the voting of supply for the period commencing July 1, 1992, and ending October 31, 1992, such payments to be charged to the proper appropriation following the voting of supply.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer): I will be very brief in my opening remarks because I know there are members opposite who want to engage in a fairly fulsome debate on this motion.

I believe most members understand that a motion of supply is what allows the government of the day, regardless of the government, to pay salaries and other ongoing expenses of government. As a matter of fact, since the previous authority ends on July 1, it is important that this motion of supply be dealt with expeditiously.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. The Treasurer.

Hon Mr Laughren: Most members of the assembly, I believe, understand that payments to hospitals, doctors and municipalities, family benefits recipients, school boards, suppliers' accounts, and civil servants' salaries cannot be paid without such a motion of supply.

There are at the same time some statutory payments that can be made. Those include interest on the public debt, loans to the Ontario Development Corp and all payments from special purpose accounts. Those can be paid without a motion of supply, but the previous category cannot be made without a motion of supply being passed by this assembly.

Most members, I think, will understand that the special warrants that have been issued will be exhausted by July 1 of this year. Traditionally there is an attempt to have the motion of supply in place at least five days before the previous authorization—in this case, special warrants—runs out in order to ensure that payments can be issued in time to meet obligations. It's going to be very tight as it is, and I would urge all members of the assembly to consider that as we engage in the debate to follow.

The Speaker: Comments and/or questions.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I have a speech, not a comment or question.

The Speaker: The first item of business is comments and questions. Any members? Further debate?

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): I appreciate the opportunity to comment on the Treasurer's remarks. Historically he knows that the supply motion is a very important one for this Parliament. It gives all members an opportunity to comment on spending habits of the government and the various programs that government has brought forward, not only over the course of the past six months but on into the period for which supply is provided.

I would have expected more from the Treasurer than simply a recitation of what some speechwriter in the Treasury had provided for him. I would have expected him to stand up at least for a few minutes and defend his spending habits. He recently had a budget which proclaimed that the recession would be over in the springtime. The recession hasn't ended for the vast majority of people in this province. The unemployment figures are higher than ever. The spending in the budget is higher than ever, the deficit is as high as it's ever been, yet the Treasurer in a supply motion stands up and reads some drivel prepared by some lowly official in the treasury.

There is going to be a time, whether in a budget debate which we have not had yet or in the debating of bills which have not yet come before this Parliament or on some other occasion, when the Treasurer is going to stand

up and defend what his government has done and is doing on the fiscal side. But just for now, in the few seconds available to me, let me say that the Treasurer has broken faith with the people of Ontario. He said unequivocally in his budget that the recession would be coming to an end in the springtime. He said, "We're going to see new economic growth." Every single indicator has shown to us, to everyone in the province and everyone in the world, that Ontario is deeply mired in a recession, and one of the reasons is that we are deeply mired in unfortunate socialist policies from the NDP government.

The Speaker: Questions or comments?

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): I don't think I'm going to be quite as harsh, but equally to the point. Considering the performance of the economy during the past few months since the Treasurer announced his budget, I would have thought there would be some comment, at least some concern this government has, with respect to the economic indicators. Clearly there was some sense of promise or intrigue, at least on this side of the House, speaking for my party, that the Treasurer was talking about some sort of pickup in the spring. Clearly the Treasurer also suggested that job creation would be happening some time in the spring as well.

There are very few, I think, out there in the private sector and the taxpaying public who would argue that there has been an improvement or an increase this spring, that unemployment rates have decreased or anything along those lines. So it seems to me that, similar to the last budget this Treasurer brought down, his guesstimates, if I could use them as that, have been less than accurate. I have a very sneaking suspicion and unsettling thought that potentially this budget is going to be as successful at estimating or guesstimating the potential growth and turnaround in the private sector.

I would think the members opposite in the back benches would also suggest the same. I would have thought they would have gone back to their taxpaying public and maybe mentioned a few of the comments the Treasurer made during that announcement of the budget. Those comments were about turnaround, job creation, levelling off etc. That clearly has not happened. I looked to the Treasurer today to possibly outline the rationale for why it didn't turn around or when he thinks it will turn around. There's a great feeling of discomfort out there. From what the Treasurer spoke about in his last budget, he felt optimistic in a small sense. I don't see the optimism today and I felt it was incumbent on the Treasurer to outline exactly why he still feels so optimistic.

1550

The Speaker: Questions or comments?

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I want to say that I intend to support the Treasurer in this motion. One of the reasons I want to support the Treasurer—because I come back after the weekend and I look at the minister of highways and I want to say to both of them: I was home this weekend and I was told by a couple of parents of young teenagers that they went to motor vehicle registration offices in my constituency and they were told, particularly in the

town of Deep River—a 16-year-old was told she would have to wait at least three months just to get a test for a government licence. I want to say to the Treasurer and the minister of highways that that's totally unacceptable.

I'm going to support this motion because I expect that the minister of finance is going to get together with his colleague the minister of highways and look at some of these government monopolies. If the government of Ontario can't run it any better than that, for whatever reason—and there are undoubtedly budgetary pressures—I say to both ministers: When I've now got, as I've had in the last few days, not one but several people—people who are good, active members in their own constituencies—coming to me and saying, “Are you aware, local member, that you cannot get a driver's test at the government of Ontario office in the county of Renfrew without waiting at least three months?” that is totally unacceptable. I don't know what's causing it, but I'm telling you I hope that some of the moneys in this supply motion go to communities like Pembroke and Deep River and Barry's Bay and Picton.

My friend the member from Quinte has been making this point in here as well. Young people and not-so-young people are not prepared to stand in line at some kind of a government monopoly and be told they're going to have to wait up to three months to get something as vital as a driver's licence and a test for same. So I'll support the motion in the hope that something can be done, and done soon, about what is clearly a totally unacceptable situation.

The Speaker: The member for Markham.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): There are two issues I'd like to table for the benefit of the honourable Treasurer and the Minister—

The Speaker: Would the member for Markham take his seat for a minute. It's the error of the Speaker. I do try to go around. We've had three opposition members, and so I should have looked to the government bench to see if there was at least one person who wished to participate. Indeed the member for Chatham-Kent will be recognized.

Mr Stockwell: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: You recognized the member for Markham, and it was his turn to speak after the Liberals.

The Speaker: I would ask the indulgence of the member for Etobicoke West. It is our practice to try to provide a balance during these opportunities for questions and comments. I had recognized three opposition members, and I'm now recognizing the member for Chatham-Kent for two minutes.

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): I wanted to mention my own community, and I will be supporting the Treasurer's bill as we've seen the improvements in Navistar, in making sure that they are looking at more jobs that are provided in Navistar. As a matter of fact, in our community I was just working on the jobs training program with a number of employers that are looking forward to receiving the money.

I look at a number of the initiatives that a number of ministries have done in my own community to help those citizens out where previous governments have neglected to help them and make sure the achievements were there. I

know, just in working with some small business people who are looking at investing, in opening up programs in our community, which are very important, especially when we are one of the hardest hit in this recession as we've seen what the policies of the federal and Liberal government have done to my own riding; just in the past weekend five more retail sectors have opened up their doors in our community to make sure this thing happened. I know they look to the government to make sure we become accountable in our spending.

One of the important things we've been trying to do, and I know the Treasurer has been trying to do and he would say it, is to be fiscally responsible for our taxpayers and our citizens around here. It's very important that we as citizens understand. I know my own community has gathered around to try to help the Treasurer come up with more creative ideas on how we can make the dollar last a little longer and how we can make it go a little further. I know they've been working very positively along with me in making sure the initiatives of this government keep taxes under control, because they are the taxpayers of the province.

But I listened to the opposition, and they wonder when the government members are going to stand up. We're looking at positive results, and a lot of us do work with the Treasurer for positive results in our communities and to make sure those initiatives are there and that the taxpayers receive the best quality for the same and less buck.

The Speaker: The Treasurer has up to two minutes for a response.

Hon Mr Laughren: I do understand the angst of the members opposite today, but that's the way our parliamentary democracy works. I wanted to assure the member from York North that the reason I didn't make a long speech in the opening was to give members opposite more time to engage in the debate themselves. I can recall being in opposition and watching ministers take up a lot of time, and I've always felt that it's more appropriate to allow members of the opposition to have their full say on debates such as this. A reasonable amount of time is embodied in those rules, as the member for York North full well knows.

Mr Sorbara: You can't even get the riding right. It's York Centre, and you've spoken for an hour here in opposition.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Laughren: The member for Etobicoke West was wondering about economic forecasts and exactly how the economy is doing. I think most of us have been waiting for some time now to see the economy turn around. I don't have any sense of guilt about the treasury's forecast being out of whack. You tell me what economic forecaster predicted that the Ontario economy was in as much difficulty as it was two years ago—no one. Absolutely no one was forecasting that, and now everyone is forecasting that we are turning around and an economic recovery is about to begin. All we can hope is that we are indeed coming out of the recession and that Ontario is looking forward to better days ahead.

The Speaker: Further debate? The member for St Catharines.

Mr Bradley: I welcome the last opportunity to be able to speak in this House in the circumstances we face today, those circumstances being that the government of Ontario, through the Premier of Ontario, has made a significant change in the rules that govern the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. In over 15 years in this Legislature I cannot recall an issue which was more fundamentally important to the democratic system than the issue which was voted upon this afternoon.

I resent, first of all, the fact that I did not have an opportunity to speak in that debate, that in fact there was some kind of agreement that there would be a vote that would take place this afternoon in the Legislative Assembly. I did have a chance to hear some of the other addresses, including those of the member for York Centre and the member for Welland-Thorold, two of the people whom I recall spoke in this debate. Many others spoke in the previous resolution that came forward, and I was impressed with the depth of feeling of some of the people who spoke on this issue and the knowledge of the importance of this issue to those of us who are in this House.

You make a judgement on people and on governments based not on what they do when they are under public scrutiny, when they can be caught, but what governments and what individuals do when no one is looking. Clearly no one is looking as this government has passed a resolution this afternoon to significantly diminish the role of the opposition and significantly diminish the role of individual members of the Legislative Assembly.

The New Democratic Party and particularly the Premier of this province should be ashamed of the rule changes that were brought before this House. In my years in politics and my years in this House I've had an admiration for many people in the New Democratic Party, particularly when they were in the opposition but even as they have extended themselves into government, governing at a difficult time in Ontario. But I used to watch with admiration people such as Jim Renwick, who would give eloquent speeches in this House on fundamental rights and freedoms and who always recognized the importance of this assembly as an assembly of individuals elected by the people of the province and the role that they should play. I listened to Patrick Lawlor, the former member for Lakeshore, make the same kind of speeches. Indeed, I enjoyed lengthy orations by both the member for Riverdale at that time, Jim Renwick, and the member for Lakeshore at that time, Patrick Lawlor.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Order. There's only one person who has the floor, and it's the member for St Catharines.

1600

Mr Bradley: This House was graced with a number of speeches which I think made an important contribution to the debate before this House. They were not speeches which were limited by Bob Rae to 30 minutes in this House. The man who stood for democracy for so long, the

man who stood for the rights of the opposition for so long in this House on this side, has the audacity to come into this House and bring forward a resolution to limit the time I or anybody else can speak in this House. He should be ashamed of that, and so should the people who are supporting him in this House. He would be the last person in opposition to accept this, yet now he is bringing into his own hands, into the corner office, the real power of government, the executive power of government. We see diminished now the power of each individual who is elected democratically by people in Ontario.

Needless to say, I am angered by what Bob Rae has done. I feel betrayed by what Bob Rae has done to this House and to the people of Ontario because I always believed that even if I didn't agree with the policies of the New Democratic Party on some occasions, and even if I didn't agree with the pronouncements it would make from time to time in this House, it was always a party that stood for integrity, it was always a party that stood for the little person in our society, for the underdog in our society.

What I see ramrodded through this House by majority vote—and the government is entitled by its majority to do so and I would never deny that; I'm not one of these people who advances the 37.5%. Those are the rules which govern elections in Ontario, so this government is as entitled as any other government to put through whatever legislation it sees fit. Why I am angry this afternoon is that Bob Rae was the person who stood for democratic rights, Bob Rae was the person who stood for the role of the opposition in this Legislature, yet he is the person responsible. You can say it's the government House leader, but everybody knows it's the Premier of this province who calls the shot finally, and it's the Premier of this province who is personally responsible for the Legislature and for the bills that go through this Legislature—he and those who are unelected and advise him.

I don't know how members of the government caucus who believe so much in democracy, who believe in the role of the individual member, who believe in the role of the opposition, could possibly support this even behind the closed doors of the government caucus, where I understand there can be some debate; that it would come into this House and they would vote for this resolution.

I really have to ask myself, why should I stay in the Legislative Assembly when you have rules such as this which really make me a glorified social worker? Yes, I can do my constituency work back in the constituency. I can get the birth certificates and everybody will say: "Isn't it nice? I got my birth certificate early," or I've assisted with this problem or that problem. But what has happened is that the role of this place has been significantly diminished by Bob Rae and his government, and I think the people of this province should be furious about that.

As I indicated earlier, it's when no one is looking that you make your best judgements on governments, and no one is looking. What the government has going for it in this resolution that was before the House and voted upon is the fact that nobody cares except members of this House. Members of the news media are naturally not going to be interested in this.

Yes, there were a few stories about it. Most of the stories were, "Oh, aren't they a bunch of little children fighting back and forth" and "Shouldn't they all be held in the Legislature all summer" or words to that effect; not a careful analysis of the changes and the ramifications of those changes for our society in Ontario, not an analysis of the fact that we are placing in the hands of the advisers to the Premier—unelected people—vast new powers because we're diminishing the powers of those of us in this House. None of that. All we got was, "Oh, they're being like children. They didn't show up for work. They're reading the bills at great length. They're ringing the bells. Aren't they silly people?" never recognizing that the only tool the opposition had to fight this dastardly resolution that was pushed through the House this afternoon was the tactics that were used by the opposition.

I am a person in this House who is opposed to that. I don't like the bell-ringing. I don't like the fact that any of us would read petitions all afternoon or that we would have bills read all afternoon. I prefer legitimate debate. If you cannot sustain opposition to the government through legitimate debate, as lengthy as that might be—as long as it is relevant debate—then I don't think you're playing your role properly as an opposition.

It wasn't as though those of us in opposition wanted to proceed with those kinds of measures. The Conservative Party did not want to read bills all afternoon, the Liberal Party did not want to call for adjournments from time to time, but it was the only tool we had to fight this piece of legislation, because we knew the government was not going to fight this legislation, and there were smirks on the faces of some people this afternoon as they passed it, self-satisfied smirks. In fairness—I want to be fair—there were a lot of people on the other side who weren't smiling when that resolution went through the House, because they recognize the ramifications of that particular resolution.

What is annoying to those of us in opposition as well is the way it was brought in. I recognize that oppositions are never going to be interested in changing rules that would diminish their powers. I recognize that governments become impatient with opposition. I understand those things, but in the past, even if there has been a resolution tabled, there has been give and take and finally a package brought forward which is a consensus of members of this House, and the rules have worked relatively well in those circumstances.

In this case, on Thursday afternoon, at the last minute, the government House leader puts in a resolution at the table that nobody knows about until we read it in the *Globe and Mail* and see Richard Mackie's article, which tells us not only what the government thinks but what the government House leader says the opposition will say and think. We're confronted with this on a Monday, and people wonder why the House, which is never all that friendly, I suppose, in terms of question period at least, is even more cantankerous than ever.

I'll tell you why. It's the sneaky, snide way in which these rules were put before the Legislative Assembly. If there had been some consensus, if there had been some reasonable dialogue, the opposition would recognize that

there are things that had to be given up, that it couldn't be able to read petitions for ever—not that we can, because that's been changed—that you couldn't ring the bells for ever, that you could not read a bill which lasted all afternoon; that those kinds of things would be eliminated, and I think people on all sides of the House would have been pleased to see that.

But for Bob Rae to tell me that I have 30 minutes in this House to speak, 30 minutes if I'm an individual member—90 for a leadoff member, and I recognize that—but 30 minutes for members to speak in this House, and Bob Rae's going to tell me that, it offends me to no end to have him tell me that that is all I can speak in the Legislative Assembly.

I do not intend to sit down at the end of 30 minutes. If I feel my remarks are not complete I will not sit down, and for the first time in 15 years in this House I will be ejected from this Legislature, named by the Speaker. That's something I would never be proud of. One of the things I can say I am proud of over the years is never having been thrown out of the House; that while I have interjected, while I have engaged in debate, while I have been angered, I have never been thrown out of this House. But I must say to you that if I ever am confronting a situation where I am told after 30 minutes that I must sit down because of Bob Rae's new rules, I intend to continue speaking until such time as the Sergeant at Arms has to escort me from this House.

And I'm doing that not on behalf of myself but on behalf of the people of my constituency who elect me—the words is "elect" me—to serve in this House, not some appointed person who sits under the gallery beside the Speaker. That's where the seat of power is in this House now. It sits where the Premier is and it sits where the advisers to the Premier are, not where you people are, not where we are sitting, and that's the fundamental change that's taking place.

If you're ever in opposition again—and I'm not one who's presumptuous enough to say that it's automatic that you're out. A lot of people seem to think that. I don't automatically assume anything. But if you people are confronted with that, you would then recognize how diminished the power is of individual members of the opposition. I contend as well, as the member for Welland-Thorold so eloquently indicated not long ago in this debate in I thought a logical and reasonable way, that the role of individual members of this House would be adversely affected.

1610

I want to indicate as well what I'm concerned about. First of all, the government House leader said: "The reason we brought these new rules in is because you people are obstructionist. You won't let us proceed with our legislative timetable, with our legislative agenda." I ask you, where were the bills? If there were bills before the House, we have to deal with those bills. He said back in December of this year that the opposition was dealing with certain budget bills from the last budget, not this budget, and he blamed the opposition for this happening. I can tell you, as one who was involved in those negotiations, the reason the

government House leader wanted out was a question asked by the member for Kenora, who implicated through that question some assistants to the Attorney General of this province in an affair that was known as the Martel affair.

I saw the look on the face of the government House leader and how eager he was to get out of this place. The government had the option to bring the House back in January. It would have been legitimate if they felt that program was important. It's a bogus suggestion put forward that somehow the opposition is obstructionist. If the government really wanted its agenda to proceed, it would put the bills on Orders and Notices and then we could deal with those bills. There are some bills I looked at that would go through this House relatively quickly that I think there was consensus on and that members of the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party agreed upon. It was good legislation for Ontario. I think people would have said it was good legislation, but those bills were not brought forward. Very contentious bills were brought forward that would naturally provoke many hours of debate.

I'm concerned about the entire package, and I'm concerned about certain aspects: First of all, this House is not going to sit as often as it used to. Surely what people should want out of their legislators is to have them at work here: Not cutting ribbons in the constituency, not going to dinners in the constituency, not worrying about birth certificates coming to Toronto but dealing carefully with legislation.

I say to the member for Cochrane South, go back into the library and read a column Jonathan Manthorpe wrote in 1975 on the role of constituency offices. Essentially the contention he made, which is one that has been repeated by many people, is that we have become glorified social workers, that we don't deal with legislation and that committees don't carefully scrutinize estimates to the point where we can make a real difference.

Speaking of committees, the standing committee on public accounts, always considered to be the one committee in the Legislature which was relatively non-partisan, in effect is shut down today because now the government will not allow anything other than its own agenda to proceed in the public accounts committee. I can remember when there were government members who got into a lot of trouble when the Tories were in power, who voted against their own government in that committee because there was a feeling that it had that kind of non-partisan thing to it—not the other committees; I recognize that.

All of us play a partisan role. The Premier of this province says on many occasions that there are few occasions in the House where people are non-partisan.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: There is only one person who has the floor.

Mr Bradley: The public accounts committee is a special case in the House and always has been. That is why the tradition in the province has been—it isn't in every province—that the Chair of that committee is a member of the opposition. I believe the Vice-Chair of that committee

is a member of the opposition as well. I've been proud of some of the work I've seen done by the public accounts committee over the years. We have a situation now where the orders have come from the Premier's office—that's where they always come from, make no mistake—and that somehow the committee shall deal only with the agenda that members of the New Democratic Party want.

I understand that when there's legislation before a committee, because you want to be able to get your legislation through. I don't like it, but it's certainly understandable.

I remember the former member for Scarborough-Ellesmere, from 1981 to 1985, whose name the member for Renfrew North may be able to help me with.

Mr Conway: Alan Robinson.

Mr Bradley: Alan Robinson got into considerable trouble with his own Premier for voting against his own party on that committee. Jim Taylor, another person who had a mind of his own, was prepared to be independent-minded and voted against his party because he understood that the government required that kind of scrutiny. Yet we're seeing that committee shut down today.

What is most appalling is that this is happening under the regime of the New Democratic Party, which I always thought, of all parties in the Legislature and in politics in Canada, would be the last party to implement these kinds of changes. It is most unfortunate.

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation and Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs): Didn't you change the rules?

Mr Bradley: The rules, of course, were changed previously by consensus in the Legislature. The member for Lake Nipigon asks, if the rules were changed, did not previous governments change the rules? They were changed in discussion and with consensus, not ramrodded through the House by the government House leader and a legitimate majority, because it is legitimate that a majority can pass whatever it wants. My quarrel is not with the fact that the majority rules; my quarrel is with what this government is doing with its majority.

Now we see the shortening of the legislative timetable. That means the government is less accountable, not only for those of us in opposition to challenge the government, as members of the opposition, and keep the government on its toes—because we can do so, essentially, only through question period—but also for members of the government.

I am pleased that on many occasions I see questions offered by backbench members of the government which are not setup questions, but good questions. There are both and there always have been both, but I've seen some questions that have been asked by members of the government who are concerned, legitimately, about an issue of personal concern to themselves or about their ridings.

That role is going to be diminished because this government does not want to sit as many days out of the year. I think we should be sitting more days out of the year, so there's more extensive and detailed debate and analysis, rather than fewer days so we simply rush things through this House.

I've already objected with some vehemence to the amount of time a person can speak. The member for Welland-Thorold in recent years has become the most famous in this House for the length of his debate on the auto insurance bill. I well recall right in front of where I'm standing, just to my left, the bear-hug of the now Premier of the province of Ontario for the member for Welland-Thorold—it's been a long time since that has happened, I'm sure—the bear-hug that took place, and the round of applause that came from members of the New Democratic Party as the member for Welland-Thorold, Peter Kormos, stood in this House for—I believe it was—17 hours to debate a piece of legislation about which he felt very strongly.

This was something he had all his life committed himself to as an individual and as a member of the New Democratic Party, because he knew all those years that when he ran in an election, and his predecessor, Mel Swart, former MPP for Welland-Thorold as well—MLA he would want me to say were he watching this afternoon—he had fought for government auto insurance.

I do not say the government does not have a reason to change its mind. It can do so; I'm not objecting to that. The point I make is that there was a member of this Legislature who cared enough about that issue, who felt so strongly about it and about its implications for the province of Ontario that he was prepared to stand in this House and sustain debate for some 17 hours.

It wasn't a matter of ringing bells. It wasn't a matter of reading petitions on that occasion. It wasn't a matter of reading a long bill. It was a matter of engaging in relevant debate and I think it's important that it remain within this House. Bob Rae has removed the right from me and from members on that side and this side of the House to engage in the kind of detailed debate that I think is exceedingly important.

What else is important is that, again, the public, because the public does not sit in here each day and does not know the rules of the House, perhaps would not understand the time allocation portion of that package which now allows a minister of the crown—not the House, not the Speaker—to come in and say: "I have this controversial bill which is extremely important for the future of the province of Ontario, which has very significant ramifications, economically, socially or perhaps environmentally, and I'll tell you how long you're going to debate it. You're going to debate it for as long as I want you to debate it and it's going to be in committee for as long as I want it to be in committee, regardless of what the Speaker says and what members of the House say."

1620

That used to be done by consensus. That used to be the House leaders sitting down and trying to determine what amount of debate might be important for that bill. There was a good exchange of viewpoint that would take place and then the bill would eventually pass the House.

Unfortunately, that's replaced now. Now one of Bob Rae's ministers will get up and say, "You have this bill and this is how long you will have to debate it," and they endeavoured to take away from the Speaker the right on a

closure motion to say whether significant debate had taken place or not. Yes, it will be much more efficient. I've read the editorials and the House leader was very clever—if nothing else, the House leader is clever—and he said, "This is streamlining and modernizing the rules of the House." It may be streamlining in his view and it may be modernizing, but it is diminishing significantly the democratic role that this House has to play.

When we go to people in the future and ask them to run for the Legislature, when we have to explain to them what role they will play, unless they're sitting in the cabinet, unless they're sitting on the executive council or better yet, I suppose, unless they're prepared to accept an appointed position as one of the advisers to the Premier, then I don't know whether I could counsel someone to run for the Legislative Assembly of Ontario because the role we will play as members will be much diminished over the next several months and perhaps years.

It's a sad day. It's sad because I looked up in the gallery and the eyes were glazed over or the people simply said, "Why don't you people behave yourselves and it would be a better House and the tone of the House would be better?" and so on. They just didn't care what was happening because in many cases their editors wouldn't care. Imagine filing a story on procedural rules, unless there's a dust-up, unless there's something happening in the House, like until such time as the Legislature couldn't sit one morning because there wasn't a quorum. Well, that's news then: "We can put that in and everybody can say, 'Aren't they all silly? The government is inept because it can't get in enough members when the opposition are playing this game.'" They can simply dump on all of us for that. Yet what is important about it is the fact that we were simply trying to bring to the attention of members of the news media and the people of Ontario the importance of the change in these rules.

I cannot think of a day which has been more difficult for me than this day when these rule changes have taken place in this House. I have respected this House over the years. I've respected members of all three parties. I've enjoyed the debate which has been engaged in by members of all the parties. I think that some of the work that has been done in committees, particularly the select committees, has been excellent and members of all parties can take some credit for that.

But I do not know why, in the confines of the government caucus room, there wouldn't be more people challenging the moving from legislative power to executive power in the province of Ontario. It's not that you necessarily elect the smartest people in Ontario to any elected body. Very often the people who have all the qualifications, who are noted for their intellectual prowess and so on, sit and advise the Premier or they advise the government or the people in the civil service, and they have a lot of respect from people. They have a lot of respect from me. But those of us who sit in the Legislature are democratically elected. We are here to reflect the viewpoints or at least take into account the viewpoints of people who vote in an election and that's the essence of democracy. What this government has done has made a significant

shift from the power of elected people to the power of appointed people.

The member for Welland-Thorold appeared on a TV program called "Haeck from Queen's Park," which uses the name of the member for St Catharines-Brock, Cristel Haeck, and that's the name of her cable TV show. He was quite colourful in the comments he made. In fact, a lot of people taped that program because he made some good points. Perhaps I wouldn't use words as extreme as he did. He used derogatory words to describe those "instant experts from Toronto," as he called those who advised the government on its policies. He pointed out the problems with that kind of control being in the hands of those people.

One of the things the government did—it did it and it's over with now and it can sustain it—was to take away the \$100 that went along with the Ontario scholarship. Do you know who proposes those kinds of things? It isn't anybody who's elected who proposes a reward for those who have worked hard and recognition for those people. It is people who are in non-elected positions who provide that kind of advice and then subject that advice to scrutiny by those of us who are in the House, whether on the government or opposition side.

The shift has taken place. I really wonder how James Renwick, a distinguished member of this House, would ever accept the rule changes that have taken place. I'll tell you something, when Jim Renwick spoke in this House, we had two thirds, three quarters or a full House to listen to him speak, because he had something to say, because he was eloquent and compelling in his speaking. He went on at great length. He could speak for two hours and people would not leave this House. Or Patrick Lawlor—I remember him sitting to my left down there—with his great sense of humour, his poetry and again his compelling speeches. Or Stephen Lewis, who characterized many of the problems in the province in such a way as to draw public attention; he was an extremely eloquent individual who spoke at length. Or Donald MacDonald, now the chairman of the Commission on Election Finances, who made some great speeches over those years.

The reason I mention members of the New Democratic Party is that unbelievably it's the New Democratic Party which has rammed through these changes by putting the gun to the heads of the opposition, to the point where even some of the Conservatives walked into the House to vote for this. They did so quite obviously because they don't believe this government will be in for ever and those rules might be applied the other way in the future. But I don't think it will help our democracy if that takes place.

When we deal with issues of this kind, I guess there's a sense of frustration when the media isn't interested, when the public really isn't interested and is prepared to dismiss the members of an elected body as a bunch of clowns or people who really don't have their interests at heart. Yet when you take away the powers we have, when you take away the role we have played over the years, when you take away our voice in an elected assembly, you diminish this assembly so much.

I suppose people will still come here; less often, because the government wants to sit less often and the rules

will be that this House will not sit as much as it has in the past. We will find that the debates won't be the same. The debates won't be as interesting, as compelling, as comprehensive as they should be. Even if the government doesn't change its mind when it is bringing its legislation or its resolutions forward, what is important is that those arguments have been put forward by members of the opposition and rebutted appropriately by members of the government. That's the essence of debate. That's what's important about this chamber, yet this chamber will never be the same after the rules which have passed this afternoon with the majority that Bob Rae has in this province.

I tried to ask him a question in the House. He pawned it off on the member for Windsor-Riverside, the government House leader. I asked it directly of the Premier because of his role in the Canadian political scene. I read in the *Globe and Mail* this morning that he is putting Canada first and that he's always been a person who has cared about democracy, his country and his province. That's why I asked the question specifically of the Premier, because I wanted him to account for why he would change the rules in this House: a person who had fought so vigorously in opposition against what he felt was wrong and for what he felt was right, a person who had a reputation—as the member for St George-St David has told me on many occasions, and he's always admired the Premier as well—for being a civil libertarian or a person who is prepared to defend the interests of the underdog. That's why I directed the question not to the House leader, but to the Premier. I think it was significant that the Premier was embarrassed enough to pass that over to the government House leader, and it's extremely disappointing to me to see that happen.

1630

The rules will change; the House will not be the same—a House, by the way, which did not reconvene until April 6. The government House leader said, "Well, we can't get anything done in this House," and then instead of bringing it back on March 9, he brought it back April 6, with a very narrow time line to deal with the legislation and other matters that must come before this House.

I suggest, and others may refute this, that it was a very calculated way of doing things, calculated to ensure that there would be some reason drummed up to be able to change the rules of the Legislature. Those rule changes came, you'll note, just before a very controversial piece of legislation, the new amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act, would come before the House, legislation in which we'd want to bring about a debate where a lot of government members would want to be involved and a lot of opposition members would want to be involved in probing that piece of legislation. I don't think it was a coincidence that this happened.

I know there are other matters in interim supply that must be dealt with in this Legislature, and I intend to deal with some of them. By the way, I do not feel confined to end this debate this afternoon. I don't know whether I will or not, but I don't feel any obligation to do so. I hear that there's some kind of agreement. I wonder what an agreement means now, if the opposition has no power. You can

be certain that where unanimous consents are asked, there are going to be far fewer unanimous consents.

I remember that the Minister of Agriculture and Food was in a bind over a piece of legislation he had and he asked for unanimous consent. In the midst of the turmoil of the House, he asked for unanimous consent to undo something he had done or to make an addition or else his bill would not have been able to proceed, and the opposition said yes. I happen to like the Minister of Agriculture and Food and his approach to the House, by the way. While I don't always agree with everything he might have to say in the House, I agree with many of those things, and I think he has, for a new member particularly, a good view of how this House works.

The member for Victoria-Haliburton is interested in how this House works. He's now assumed one of the big three positions, as I call them, that we have with Speaker, Deputy Speaker and First Deputy Chair of the committee of the whole House, and he brought forward some suggestions on how the House might be improved. I can't speak for him, but I imagine he would have been embarrassed that in the midst of his resolution coming forward before the House in private members' hour and, subsequent to that, some of the other ideas he had brought forward, that the rug would be pulled out from under him by the government House leader, who had his own agenda for this House, and the Premier, who had his own agenda, which was brought about through the government House leader.

It's more in—no, I can't say it's more in sadness than anger, because I am angry this afternoon, as I have been since this resolution was brought in, even the modified resolution, because the modifications were so minuscule as to be insignificant.

The member for York Centre said in response to something that happened in the House that it had been characterized as an agreement between the three parties. He pointed out that it was not an agreement but a humiliating defeat for the opposition. I suggest it was not only a humiliating defeat for the opposition; rather, it was a humiliating defeat for all members of this House, for our democratic system and for the people we represent.

Enough of that subject. It won't be heard much more because no one will care. You will not see columns written about it, you will not see television documentaries, you'll hear little on the radio about it, but it is one of the most important things that has happened in this House since the New Democratic Party got power.

I want to raise a few issues. In fairness, I'll try to be relatively brief. It'll be difficult because there are a lot of issues. Another thing I want to say about this, by the way, is that this debate was always the opportunity for those of us in this House who wanted to talk at some length about various issues in our ridings where people had said to us, "Would you raise that in the House?" There's not a chance in question period. You don't get many questions: two or three, perhaps, and the leaders' questions because that is all the time allows for and the Speaker tries to be as fair as possible in allocating that time. Both sides are responsible when that time is shortened, as our side has been sometimes and the other side at other times.

They ask us to raise issues of importance to us locally or provincially. I'm going to try to raise some which I think are important in terms of what this government stood for in opposition, what I always thought it stood for, what I was proud of the New Democratic Party for and what it stands for today.

I've asked a question of the Premier about polling. The previous governments that have been in power have conducted polls at public expense and have not released the results of those polls as quickly as they might. I always thought the Premier was going to be different. The argument you've heard me make in this House, and perhaps outside this House on many occasions, when I've been critical of the government, is not that it's worse than the previous governments, but that the Premier suggested it was going to be substantially different. Yet when I asked the Premier in the House, "Are you going to stop polling or are you, at the very least, going to release the results to all members of the House at the same time?" he said, "No, I'm going to continue to poll at government expense; I'm not going to share it with the opposition, even though when I was in opposition I knew where I stood on all these issues." One of the things I used to think about the New Democratic Party, even if I may not have agreed with some of the positions it had, was that it stood for those positions, it was strong on those positions.

I watched the results of the convention. I was always under the impression that at an NDP convention, perhaps unlike the Tories' or the Liberals', the resolutions that were passed were party policy and that the government was obligated to implement those policies. That's obviously not the case. I was mistaken, but I genuinely thought that was the case. I had been led to believe over the years, by watching the NDP in opposition, that it really meant something to have a convention, that it was some vigorous debate on certain issues, but obviously that isn't the case. So the NDP, which was going to be substantially different, has not been significantly different from the two other political parties.

I almost wonder whether to raise this issue, because it annoys the Premier to a great extent and he's got a lot of difficult things on his mind at present. As I said, I read in the *Globe and Mail* that he was putting Canada first, and there was quite a complimentary article on his role to be played at the federal-provincial conference.

But I look at the use of the OPP, and the Premier says he's not guilty of this. We look at the government and how it's handled this. Stephen Lewis, particularly when he was in opposition, I thought, used to get a brown envelope a day from someone in government or someone in a sensitive position and he could raise an issue that would be important to everybody. As I recall, the Tories did not send the OPP after those people. Probably internally the deputy minister was annoyed, but we have a circumstance where on at least two occasions the Ontario Provincial Police have conducted an investigation of the former leader, the member for Bruce, and the member for Halton Centre.

This is scary when you think of it: Public servants feel compelled to release certain information that they think is in the public interest to release and the OPP show up at the

offices. It sends two messages. First of all, it's a bit intimidating to the opposition, but we know we have a certain protection in this House. What is even more significant is that it intimidates members of the public service who then, even though they may feel compelled to share information with the public through the opposition or through the news media, will certainly be very reluctant to do so if they feel that the Ontario Provincial Police are going to be investigating them.

1640

I look at the issue of Sunday shopping. It's an issue which divides the House considerably. I have, since I served on municipal council, been opposed to Sunday shopping, to shopping on the holidays. I know not everybody agrees with me, and I know public opinion has shifted considerably over the years. I guess if I were to look at public opinion polls when I was making my decision on how to vote on any issue, I would vote in favour of Sunday shopping. But I've always felt, as I think the Premier used to feel, that it's important that we not compel a large segment of our population—retail workers—to work on Sundays. Today it's still largely a female workforce in the retail sector. Many people whose husbands may work five days a week in an industrial or business setting are out on Saturday doing their shopping, doing other things that they have to do on that day, business they have to conduct. The one time people could sit down together across the table from one another as a family and speak to each other was Sunday, the common pause day. I feel bad for those people who have to work that day. You know, we can pass all the legislation in this House we want to, saying they don't have to work and trying to protect them—and we should do that—but ultimately there are ways that businesses have of making them work.

In addition to this, I feel sorry for small business people who own a family business and work, as it is, six days a week. They're in the store themselves, maybe the husband and the wife and maybe some of the kids or a brother or a sister or something like that. If the mall is open, even with the new legislation passed there's going to be a feeling that they must stay open. So those people are going to work not because they wish to; they are going to be forced to work on a Sunday.

I think there's a value to a common pause day. Perhaps this speech will come later on. I don't feel it will make a measurable difference in our economy. There are six days a week to shop or seven days a week to shop and the same amount of money in your wallet. All it's going to mean is that you're going to spend it over seven days instead of six days.

The only arguments I've seen advanced that have some validity—and I think they're outweighed by the other arguments that I've advanced today—relate to cross-border shopping. I think cross-border shopping, by and large, is done because of the price and availability of certain products that may not be available over here and that the measurable effect is very small in terms of the number of people who will head over the border only because it's open Sunday and not otherwise.

I saw on the weekend that some banks felt compelled to be open, and soon we'll be just like the United States.

Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview): It's only convenience, Jim.

Mr Bradley: Convenience is the only argument that is put forward, and I cannot argue against that. It is more convenient for shoppers to shop seven days a week than six.

Interjection.

The Deputy Speaker: Order. Only one member has the floor.

Mr Bradley: Well, the member was agreeing, so I can certainly be tolerant of that.

There are certain other issues that on a regional basis are important. The member for Niagara South is in the House this afternoon, and she has a concern, as all of us in the Niagara Peninsula do, about the future of the Fort Erie Race Track.

I have a concern, and again it's an old CCF viewpoint of this world, I guess, as I have on Sunday shopping. It is—and I won't get into this in great detail—that I happen to believe that casino gambling is going to have a devastating effect on Ontario as well. But it's unfair to raise that issue alone. I only raise it in the context of the racetrack.

Fort Erie Race Track, as the member for Niagara South and others have pointed out to me, employs over 4,000 people directly or indirectly. In our society, not everyone is equal. In our society, not everyone has the same qualifications or abilities. There are many people who work at the racetrack who would not have an opportunity to work anywhere else, who like the animals they work with, who like the job they have. They are people who in the marketplace, the workplace, are not going to be able to acquire employment easily. That's why it's so important that Fort Erie Race Track remain viable.

Members from the government side and the opposition side and people at the municipal level are working hard to see that that is the case, that it does remain as a viable operation. It's exceedingly important to Fort Erie, to the Niagara region, in terms of the tax dollars that it brings in, in terms of the tourist dollars that it brings in, in terms of the employment that it provides. I urge the government, and I support the efforts, to ensure that track stays open.

I hope casino gambling does not draw away the people who are going there. I recognize that gambling takes place at a racetrack, but there's also a sport there. There are also horses. It's a different atmosphere. So I'm concerned about that. I know the CCF used to stand foursquare against it. Mr Temple, who was a strong CCFer and a person with strong views on this, felt it was an important issue.

I look at Project X. Project X is something that came about as a result of pressure from the development industry, largely, to change the way government deals with environmental assessment and approvals. I've often said, and some people have heard me interject in the House, "Only the Republicans can end the Vietnam war." Only the Tories could give a lot of power to certain groups within our society that Tories weren't associated with and only the NDP can do certain things as well, I guess, in our society.

When I was the Minister of the Environment, the Treasurer and I had a different point of view on this issue. The Treasurer, publicly, indicated clearly that he felt the processes we had in Ontario took too long, that the Environmental Assessment Act and the environmental approvals regime was such that the economy of the province was hurt by it.

I recall, when a paper was leaked to the press which showed that the government might try to address this perceived problem on the part of the Treasurer, there was weeping and gnashing of teeth on the part of the NDP and a good segment of the environmental community. Yet standing in the House just a few weeks ago was the Minister of Municipal Affairs side by side with the Minister of the Environment announcing that in fact Project X was going to be implemented. I thought, where are the environmental writers today? Where are the people who used to carefully scrutinize everything the government did in those days—the heady days, I guess, of the environment? Where were the people who thought Jack Layton would make a big difference, for instance, if he were elected mayor of Toronto, because Jack Layton was concerned about the environment? Who were the environmentalists and where were the environmental writers when that happened? They were silent. There was nothing written about it. You got away with it.

It gets back to my original point of making a judgement of a government based not on when there's careful public scrutiny and everybody's watching but on what a government does when it can get away with it. You just got away with it. A lot of members over there, I know, got elected on strong environmental platforms, cared passionately about the environment. Yet I don't know if any of those people spoke up against that particular change, the ramifications of which are great for this province. If the Liberal Party or Conservative Party had done that, we would have been accused of being beholden to the development industry and that's why we did it.

Yet when your government does it, the main beneficiary is the development industry and no one says anything about Marco Muzzo or the development industry or anything like that. We used to hear those questions daily, on this side of the House, from now-Premier Rae and the Minister of the Environment, when she was on this side, and so on. I lament the fact that there's simply not the interest in the environment that there was a while ago. It certainly let you off the hook, but it doesn't help the environment when that is the case.

1650

I also want to deal with a couple of other issues that I think are important to people in my constituency and across the province. It's difficult sometimes to speak in this House. You're almost afraid in politics today to speak about anything because you must be politically correct, and that certainly has confined the debate. It's helped in some ways in that some of the things that were said in the past should not have been said. Also, politically correct language has been better for debate in some cases, but it has also forced many of us to pull our punches.

In my community, I think most of the people would want to see the police have the kind of power they need to carry out the responsibilities of dealing with crime. People believe the victims of crime, and not those who perpetrate crime, should receive the sympathy. Yet I see the government—governments plural, not just this government—taking more and more powers away from the police. They must always be beholden to elected people and to civilian administration. I think everyone would agree with that in this House. But I watch as we take more and more power away from the police and they can't carry out their responsibilities as well as they should.

People all over the province, regardless of their own background, care more about the crime being committed against them than they do about ethnic backgrounds or anything of that nature when people are carrying out crime. I'm concerned when we start to take away those powers from the courts and from the police. There should be a prize for being good in this world and a penalty for being bad, yet a lot of people aren't drawing that conclusion from what's happening in Ontario today or in other jurisdictions today.

I'm not one who calls for an agenda which would give the police all power. I am a person, however, who says when a young girl in my constituency, Kristen French—I sat beside her parents at the Holy Cross graduation on Friday night, and Kristen French's parents were there to present a memorial scholarship in her name. Members of the House know that Kristen was the girl who was brutally murdered; kidnapped in broad daylight in a churchyard on her way home from school in her own neighbourhood in St Catharines and kept for some 13 days and then murdered and her body simply dumped on the side of the road. I thought how difficult it was for Mr and Mrs French to go to the stage to make that presentation in the name of their child. Their child had been dead only a matter of several weeks.

I remember going to the funeral, because I know the French family and I know the people she went to school with, and seeing the police sitting in a row behind where I was sitting and there were tears in the eyes of people who are police. You always think of police as big, tough people. There were men and women in the police force there who had very red eyes. They're the people who are first on the scene, and they are not pretty sights they have to see.

Perhaps if we can understand their frustration: Those of us who are elected people recognize the restrictions that must be placed on police forces, but those people feel an obligation to find the killer, the kidnapper, the kind of people who perpetrate these crimes, and they become concerned when they are portrayed as the enemy instead of those who want to solve the problems of our society.

I say this in a balanced way today, but if I were to express the viewpoint of my constituents on issues of this kind, I would suggest to you it would probably be much more extreme than the terminology I have selected for the Legislature this afternoon. I hope we keep that in mind as we try to balance the role of police and authority with those who commit crime or those who are sometimes on the receiving end of the work done by police.

I want to talk about Alzheimer's disease and its effect on people in my own riding as well. I've had telephone calls from people in total anguish, and it's usually about a parent or a spouse who is afflicted with Alzheimer's disease. It has not happened in my immediate or extended family, so I can't say I know on a personal basis what it's like, but those who have described it to me say it's an awful burden on the family itself and naturally on the person who is a victim of the disease.

I think we'll have to recognize that more and more we'll have to put resources into that area. That will mean one of three things: The government will have to borrow more money, which it obviously would not want to do; it will have to raise taxes, or it will have to find something else we have to do without. That's what's so very difficult about governing, particularly today when there is not a lot of money around. The government has to make those choices and the opposition will be there to remind it of its past views and why that may not be a good decision. Those kinds of decisions will have to be made. Tough decisions will have to be made by governments today and in the future.

Alzheimer's disease is something that's going to require an awful lot of funding because it's just impossible for an elderly spouse to deal with a person with Alzheimer's. Semi-institutionalization, if I can use it in the harshest terminology, is often what is required, and we know that is extremely expensive.

As I look down a little list I jotted down, I want to speak as well about violence in the school system. I was a teacher for 10 years and I well recall what it was like in the schools in those days. I admire the people who are in schools today, the teachers who are in the front line facing very difficult circumstances.

I notice that in Scarborough—there are some members from Scarborough in the House today—they need the panic button now for teachers who are facing some threat of assault or some other kind of threat.

I think we have to take a long look at how far the pendulum has swung in favour of the rights of individuals who are in the system and how far it has swung away from those who are there to teach and to maintain discipline. We have, some have told me, essentially a generation out of control. I think that's too strong in my own terminology. I'd say it's a generation without fear, a generation that does not fear authority, does not fear adults, does not fear laws. I don't use the word "fear" in any sense other than "a healthy respect for."

I admire teachers who will take a stand today, because it's easier to turn your head the other way than it is to confront a student in circumstances where that student may be able to get back at a teacher. The calling of lawyers into these circumstances is fairly commonplace now. I've seen the careers of dedicated teachers destroyed by those who have been prepared to vilify them to get back at them. I think our society has to look very carefully at how far we are prepared to go to accommodate those who want to buck the system as opposed to those who are prepared to be a positive part of the system.

I've often felt that if you have 30 students in a classroom, there are 28 students who are not troublemakers, who deserve a good education. That should not be sacrificed at the hands of a couple of people who are prepared to be disruptive and not face the penalties the system once provided.

I could talk about educational finance. I won't, because I think that's a question for another day, except to remind the government that it had promised that 60% of the cost of education would be paid for by the government of Ontario. The reason I mention that is that many of the leaders of the teachers' unions have, at the very least, been tolerant if not openly supportive of the NDP. I hope all the people who have been activists in the past and who have appropriately criticized the Liberal and Conservative governments will have that same degree of interest in the subjects that were so dear to their hearts.

1700

I read in a union newspaper the other day somebody who used to be adamantly opposed to Sunday shopping conceding that perhaps the day of Sunday shopping had come. I would prefer that they be as critical of an NDP government as of a Liberal government or a Conservative government for that stance. There are some people in the trade union movement who have been that way, but there are others who have not been, and my friends who serve in the union movement will know that. They know those who, as I said, have shoe polish on their tongues from the boots that are pretty clean and those who do not, who have said, "I still support the New Democratic Party because I think overall the New Democratic Party will serve what I want, but I'm prepared to be critical when I think it's wrong."

Mr Hope: They kick you too.

Mr Bradley: The member for Chatham-Kent will tell me that there are some people who are prepared to do that and some people who are not.

Mr Conway: Tell us about the OSSTF.

Mr Bradley: The Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation is another. They were very adamant in their opposition to the Conservative Party at one time and the Liberal Party at one time. What I used to say as a teacher—and this is not agreed with by many members in the government—and I was a member of the union and a member of the executive of the union, was that I didn't think we should support any political party. It could as easily have been the Liberal Party in those days. They were extremely critical of the Conservative Party. Bette Stephenson was the minister at that time and I said, "The problem is that you're going to cut off your communication with Dr Stephenson."

I remember chastising a New Democrat, Malcolm Buchanan—who must be blushing many times today—who was quite left-wing, to say the least, and would certainly have been vocal at your convention. I chastised him because in 1982 the OSSTF openly supported Bob Rae in a by-election. That had been the first time—and I know it's tradition in other unions—that a teachers' federation had openly supported a political party or a specific politician.

They had always made their point previously and had been very effective, I thought, because they had attempted to persuade people in all three parties of the justice of their case. I thought they lost their innocence the day they did that.

When they're on your side you're happy, quite obviously. I'm talking about the leadership, because many of my campaign workers are members of the teaching profession who don't adhere to what their leadership tells them. But the problem is that come next election, if the OSSTF is unhappy with this government, who will do its bidding? That's the problem when you associate yourself with one political party in very close way as opposed to some distance.

I want to deal very briefly as well with the issue of the environment, only to lament the fact that we do not have the kind of interest and attention in the environment that was there for a number of years.

Mr Conway: CBC Radio talks of nothing else.

Mr Bradley: I used to listen to Radio Noon and that was a torture, because they had Christopher Thomas and Rodney Palmer, the producer, and they always had something; somebody who was going to die of something would be on Radio Noon. The talk show and "our phone-in show from..." would be on some very important environmental issue. Certain people always managed to get through to that program. Norm Rubin used to get through if it was on something to do with energy, and they had a variety of people who somehow used to get through to that program.

I well recall in the last campaign, when I was on with Margaret Marland of the Conservatives and Ruth Grier of the NDP and a person from the Green Party, someone said, "There were four candidates on against you," because they had listed Christopher Thomas as being quite biting in the questions he asked.

But let me tell you what they're talking about on Radio Noon today. A couple of weeks ago I was listening and I thought, "Some important environmental questions before us today." Would it be the spraying of trees? Would it be a pulp mill in northwestern Ontario? Would it be toxic substances going into the ground? No. They wanted to know, would you phone in if you could identify a bird by the sound it made. So from all over Ontario, they were phoning to say, "I think that's a blue jay, I think that's a robin," and this was the level of debate taking place on the people's network.

The next day they'll have, "Successful fishing: Phone in and tell us your best fishing story." I can recall when the previous government was in power, there'd be a story on fish all right, a phone-in on fish: toxic fish. How much Mirex is in the fish, and what is the Minister of the Environment doing about it? But I know they're impartial, I know my friends on Metro Morning, who had the Minister of Health on for an hour, without an opposition member on—

Mr Conway: But they had Carolann Wright as a community spokesperson.

Mr Bradley: Carolann Wright as a community spokesperson, Olivia Chow on in the morning. I know

they are totally unbiased. That is not a nest of New Democrats on Metro Morning.

I remember when Bob Rae was out in Whistler, BC, and—

Mr Conway: As Premier.

Mr Bradley: As Premier, at the premiers' conference, and there was an evaluation of this from Joe Coté: How could Bob do such a great job for the province of Ontario? Was he really the star of the show? It went back and forth like this. Then the revelation: Do you know that those demonstrators demonstrated against Premier Johnston of BC, but they loved Bob Rae?

Mr Stockwell: Who were they?

Mr Bradley: Indeed, who were they? Of course, it was organized by the New Democratic Party.

Hon Mr Pouliot: You could have switched channels. You don't have to listen to that.

Mr Bradley: In fairness, the member for Lake Nipigon makes a very good point, because those who used to assist me when I was in the ministry used to ask, "Why do you torture yourself listening to them?" It's probably advice I should listen to, I should probably listen to the member for Lake Nipigon in that regard, but I thought a network paid for by all the people in this country should have some semblance of neutrality, political balance.

Another example: We all recall the tragic mine disaster in Nova Scotia. I wondered, who will the CBC have on Commentary? Who will they have on commenting on this? Will it be a person from Dalhousie? Will it be a person from St Mary's, expert in the field? Will it be a newspaper person who's objective in this? You know who it is? Jeremy Akerman.

Interjection: Who?

Mr Bradley: Jeremy Akerman, former NDP member of the Legislature in Nova Scotia. Surprise, he blamed the federal Tories and the provincial Tories. This is who the CBC found to comment.

Mr Stephen Owens (Scarborough Centre): You should read the Globe and Mail.

Mr Bradley: Read the Globe and Mail. Indeed, sir. I want to know your position, I do so, every time.

Hon Mr Pouliot: Where, in the ROB section?

Mr Bradley: Yes, that's right.

Anyway, I simply want to say that where this was going was on the environment. I wish we had all those sharp-pencilled news media people who were interested in the environment before interested in it once again. I wish the environmental groups which would have denounced a Liberal or Conservative government for some of the things that are happening or not happening in the environment today would be so vociferous today, not for any political gain but for a sense of the environment.

If you've been the Minister of the Environment, and many people have been in Ontario, you have a certain affinity for it. My colleagues were annoyed with me most of the time for being so—

Mr Conway: Truculent.

Mr Bradley: Truculent is perhaps the word used.

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): Persistent.

Mr Bradley: Persistent.

Mr Conway: Unilateral.

Mr Bradley: Unilateral; uncompromising on all of these issues.

I understand how an Environment minister feels. I lament the fact that neither the news media nor the environment groups seem to be very interested in pursuing these matters, or perhaps they simply can't get the kind of attention they once could. One has to wonder whether some of them are New Democrats first and environmentalists second. Others are not, I can assure you. I've watched them.

1710

I also want to deal with the matter of patronage. The reason I want to deal with patronage is this: I want to underline for my friends on the government side once again my view of patronage. I understand you are appointing New Democrats left and right. You are entitled to do so because you won the election. I understand as well that on many agencies, boards and commissions you might well want people who have a viewpoint which is closer to yours than to that of other political parties. I understand that. My objection is to hypocrisy. My objection is to portraying the new system as producing results different from what the old system produced.

I walk in once in a while to the committee on patronage—I'm now the deputy House leader so I have other duties to perform—the agencies, boards and commissions committee, or the standing committee on government agencies, and watch defeated NDP candidates or strong campaign workers being appointed to things.

If Bob Rae would say, "I won; I'm going to turn the province around; I'm going to put all these people who helped me get elected and who adhere to my point of view in these positions," I would say: "You're perpetuating a patronage system. You're not doing what everybody expected you were going to do, Bob Rae, but at least you're being honest and upfront."

What happens is they pretend they have a different system. The Premier stands up in this House with all the piety he can muster and tells you how everybody has access these days, yet I look at all of these names that come forward and see so many New Democrats. I just hope that when you appoint them they are people of quality and competence because I saw a number of people when we were in power—the member for Etobicoke West will not agree with this, but when the Liberal government was in power, we appointed a number of people of competence from the New Democratic Party to various positions.

Mr Stockwell: The biggest mistake you ever made.

Mr Bradley: He says it's the biggest mistake we ever made.

There were many people who were appointed to those positions. Today we see a situation where whichever government comes next, when you people are finished ruling, whenever that is, will not have to worry about the issue of patronage being raised because you have set a new standard in patronage appointments in Ontario.

There's Ish from the riding of Renfrew North.

Mr Conway: The first person they appointed.

Mr Bradley: The first person appointed was Ish.

The member for Cornwall would know that his opponent was appointed the other day. They had the bagman from up in Simcoe. He came before them. I said, "Were you not the bagman?" Yes, he was. At least you should try to disguise them as somebody who just has a leaning towards the NDP. But no, we have the bagmen and the ex-candidates.

Mr Conway: Jimmy, have you been hearing about this in the media?

Mr Bradley: No, and I've been looking. One of the things I lament as well is that I would have thought these would have been stories in the news media. I remember when they used to be featured, if any Tory or Liberal was appointed to something, or Mulroney appointed somebody. Now we don't seem to see much about that.

Why? Because Bob Rae has a new system. It's a brand-new system in Ontario and everybody has access. They bring out this nice new book. "We have this nice new book"—they say—"and everybody can look through it." Well, everybody can look through it but not everybody can get appointed. That's the other problem.

I should talk about hospitals in my area.

Interjection: Are you going to let the patronage thing die?

Mr Bradley: I'm going to let the patronage thing die for now. There are many people who have been appointed, I understand, but I wanted to deal with the question of hypocrisy. I want to deal with a couple of things, because as I say, this is the last chance in my career in this House that I'll have to speak this long on anything.

The St Catharines General Hospital had its approval for an emergency ward, which would be modernized and streamlined, as the government House leader describes the new rules of this House. It had eight levels of approval, all set to go, a needed facility and the Minister of Health comes in and pulls the rug out and says, "You've got to determine whether you actually need this or not." They spent eight years determining that need. We must proceed with that. We need the green light on that. The funds have already been allocated within the budget.

Over at Hotel Dieu Hospital, we have the renal dialysis ward. The member for Lincoln, the member for Niagara Falls, the member for St Catharines-Brock and I toured it. The situation is appalling. The amount of room in the hallway for this entire ward would be about half as wide as the aisle between the government and the opposition. It would take you 15 minutes to get from one end of it to the other and it's not that long a ward.

The situation I've described in this House in some detail, with each of the details provided to me by patients, is appalling. Yet with all the allocation that's out there—and I'm not asking for new money; there's an allocation for this purpose—the Hotel Dieu Hospital has been unable to secure the necessary funds to assist patients. These are all patients in the Niagara Peninsula who are confronted with kidney disease and require dialysis daily or three or four times a week.

Again, had I ever thought that would be the case with an NDP government in power? Never. I remember the member for Windsor-Riverside was a tough opponent, a tough opposition critic, as was Ross McClellan when he was over here. They would never have tolerated this circumstance, yet we see that multiplied across Ontario today. I hope the government will see fit to provide that funding from its allocation which is already there to assist those people.

I also want to deal with the Port Weller Dry Docks. The government proceeded with a project. Here I want to compliment the government, as I will compliment the Minister of Transportation in just a moment. He was there. The Minister of Transportation was there. The Pelee Island ferry was completed on time, within budget and competently done at Port Weller Dry Docks. The minister and his wife were there, his wife officially christened it and it was good news for the city of St Catharines.

That was a project that was on its way to being announced at the time. The government didn't have to proceed with it, even though the previous cabinet had decided to proceed with constructing it at Port Weller Dry Docks. This government didn't have to do that, but it followed through on that commitment and as a result we have a good ship and some employment provided.

1720

They need assistance now with a wall. They need a wall that's going to be costly, and they need provincial assistance and federal assistance for a wall that will allow them to repair a ship and build a ship at the same time. I hope the provincial government will give serious consideration to the funding for that. In addition to this, if Wolfe Island needs a ferry boat, we'll be happy to build that at Port Weller Dry Docks. The minister now knows what kind of job they will do.

He was also in our community to officially announce—it was the seventh time, I admit that—the moving of the Ministry of Transportation to St Catharines. He was a delightful person there, charming as always, in St Catharines.

Mr Conway: Who was this?

Mr Bradley: The Minister of Transportation.

Mr Conway: Did he make any sense, though, when he spoke?

Mr Scott: In either official language.

Mr Bradley: Whether he made any sense or not is for others to judge, but he was cordial and charming and he did confirm what I had announced in 1990, that the Ministry of Transportation and 1,400 jobs were moving to St Catharines. Unfortunately, I wonder if that would have been the case if we had not had the announcement of the loss of some 3,000 jobs from General Motors.

Probably the most difficult announcement that ever faced St Catharines was the announcement by General Motors that it would be closing its foundry, losing 2,300 jobs; that another 750 people were laid off indefinitely as of March 1; that in addition, one of the lines in the engine plant would be terminated and another 100 jobs, or

more, would be lost. It was the worst news to hit St Catharines in a long time.

I have introduced for consideration of this House the following resolution in support of Local 199 of the Canadian Auto Workers, which is spearheading the save-the-foundry campaign, the Fight Back campaign, and it reads as follows:

"That, in the opinion of this House, since General Motors announced its intention on February 24 of this year to close its St Catharines foundry, eliminating over 2,000 employment positions in addition to 750 women and men who were to be laid off indefinitely as of March 1 and over 100 people who will lose their jobs as a result of the decision to discontinue the 3.1-litre V-6 engine; and

"Since the St Catharines General Motors foundry is a cost-competitive, world-class, high-quality operation with a highly skilled and motivated work force; and

"Since the loss of these jobs will mean the loss of \$130 million in wages and salaries to the economy of the Niagara region and the province of Ontario; and

"Since the implications for businesses and industries that service and supply the auto sector are extremely negative and serious; and

"Since whenever a production line and a significant part of a plant shuts down, the fixed costs of maintaining the rest of the operation increase and the quality of components from elsewhere cannot be guaranteed,

"The Legislative Assembly of Ontario should urge General Motors to continue the operation of its foundry in St Catharines."

I introduced that on June 9, 1992, because my turn for the private members' hour was coming about.

I hope members of this assembly will unanimously support that. I suspect they will. Anybody who has experienced in his community the layoffs has to know that it's the individual people who are affected by it. It's not just the numbers. It's not over 3,000 people; it's not just a statistic. It's men and women I know, it's their kids, it's their grandchildren, it's people who are starting out in life, people who are older and nearing retirement, and all of them are affected by this. There are tears that are shed on that day. There's anger and anguish that takes place, and for the community it's a major blow to lose 3,000 jobs. That's why the CAW is leading the fight to try to persuade General Motors to change its mind, to maintain the foundry operation in St Catharines. I believe it's incumbent upon those of us in this Legislature to ensure that within our own power we do everything possible to keep the automotive industry, the most important industry in Ontario, in operation.

We do not have all the powers. The federal government deals with international trade. I happen to think they made a drastic error in changing the free trade agreement, because there were provisions changed that affected the automotive industry. I read into the record in this House a column written by Jim Peterson, the federal member for Willowdale and the Liberal critic for Industry, Science and Technology, who talked about the kind of quotas that will be needed to maintain our operations here in Ontario and

in Canada. I hoped the federal government would play its positive role in that regard.

In Ontario we have a role to play as well. Part of it means avoiding taxes such as the so-called gas guzzler tax, the one I refer to because I genuinely believe it's ultimately a tax on auto workers. It is portrayed as an environmental tax and it's about as much an environmental tax as the tire tax our government brought in. The money is not designated for the environment. I happen to believe, as I've said in this House on many occasions, that there's a way to help the environment and auto workers in our province: encourage as many people as possible to replace their old clunker of a car with a new vehicle; get as many people as possible to buy a new vehicle.

There are about three things we can do here: One is not to proceed with this tax on auto workers, a specific tax on cars in the province. We eliminate that. Second, for a period of time—not for ever—we eliminate the provincial sales tax on vehicles sold in the province. The Treasurer cannot sustain losing that revenue for ever, but for a period of about six to nine months it could be helpful in spurring the economy and getting people into new vehicles. The third thing we can do is try as well as we can, and we know how difficult it is, to control hydro rates in Ontario—power rates. A friend of mine in the industry told me that by the year 2000 we would have no forge shops, no electroplating, no foundries—nothing that required great amounts of electricity in Ontario, because we are no longer cost-competitive in terms of electrical power rates.

I'm not going to blame anybody this afternoon. I simply say we have to be able to address that issue. The Minister of Transportation is a strong environmentalist. I well recall his views on spraying trees in the north and on Kimberly-Clark in his own riding. I well recall his strong environmental stand on both of those and how practical he was in those days.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): Kimberly-Clark isn't in his riding.

Mr Bradley: It is. Terrace Bay is in his riding.

When he was in the House—and a lot of people admired him for this—when I was trying to put this oppressive, some people thought, control order on Kimberly-Clark, the member for Lake Nipigon said the company had done more than its fair share because he knew how much had been done up there. His leader didn't say that; his leader was asking other questions, but the member for Lake Nipigon knew what that industry meant to his community. And I know what the auto industry means to my community and to other communities in the province.

I think the environment can benefit, because when people purchase new vehicles the pollution control equipment is far superior to what it was in the old vehicle, and second, the new vehicles are much more fuel-efficient. I hope we will rally around the auto industry in this province and create an atmosphere for investment which will encourage people to keep their investment here and encourage new

people, new companies to invest their dollars here to produce jobs in the future.

Much as I would like to continue all afternoon and well into tomorrow on matters of importance to my constituency, I believe it would be fair because the Conservatives obviously want to have something to say and make a contribution. No doubt they will be doing so in just a moment or two.

Mr Conway: Jim, a last word about Ed Philip, talking about—

Mr Bradley: The member for Renfrew North has asked me—and this is not all that relevant, but some people think the ratings of cabinet ministers are important—mid-term report cards.

Interjection.

1730

Mr Bradley: No, I'm not going to be negative today. I simply want to compliment my friend the member for Etobicoke-Rexdale, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, for getting the highest rating.

"Dr Philip, PhD"—

Mr Stockwell: Doctor of what?

Mr Conway: Sometime ophthalmologist.

Mr Bradley: Says: "Worked hard to get the best deal possible for de Havilland workers. Carries clout in cabinet. Given big bucks to help Ontario firms be more competitive in an effort to spur investment."

I simply want to congratulate a man who is known for his modesty over the years and known for his hard work on receiving the highest rating of any minister in the cabinet. I should say this, he shared it with the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations.

Mr Conway: The party animal.

Mr Bradley: "The self-described 'party animal' has been working hard to bring Ontario into the '90s. She okayed beer sales at Maple Leaf Gardens and will bring casinos to the province. Party on."

I want to congratulate those two ministers because I think the opposition sometimes tends to be negative. I want to congratulate those two individuals on receiving the high rating they have.

I don't know if the Conservatives now have their speaker in line, ready to go: the member for Etobicoke West, who I'm sure will be much more refined in the way he speaks this afternoon, will pull his punches and will be kinder to the governing party than I have been.

I want to thank you, Mr Speaker, for this opportunity to speak. I want to say that I lament the fact that this is the last chance any of us will have to speak in this House and to deal with a variety of issues the way we have this afternoon.

The loser, as I have mentioned—as members of this House will know—is not necessarily even the members of this House, but the democratic system and the people of Ontario whom we represent. The winners with the new government rules are those who reside in the Premier's office, the advisers to the Premier, who are not elected but are certainly better paid even than the cabinet ministers.

I lament that fact. I hope this House can be relevant in the future, but unless the government recants, unless it reconsiders, my fear is that this day this House has diminished more than any of the 15 years that I've been in this Legislature.

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): I would like to congratulate the honourable member who has just been debating for many of the cogent points he brought to this debate. I sincerely hope the government was listening carefully to his dissertation, because indeed it is a sad day for this House.

One of the wonderful things about interim supply is that you get to speak about the whole track record of this government, and it is indeed a very sad track record. This is the government of Bob Rae, who in opposition was always championing the underdog and now has forgotten about them. This is a Premier who sends in the police, the OPP, to investigate anybody who knows anything about what the government is doing.

We've got a government which is spending \$1 million a year to put in a telephone service which is pure propaganda. We know they've spent \$50,000 to develop a new union song. The same minister who's cutting off funds to the Art Gallery of Ontario is giving money to develop a union song. They must be nuts.

While we wallow in a \$10-billion deficit, no wonder this government is going down. We really have to look at a government which is paying off the unions for their support over the years. We're seeing a government that is not prepared to bring forward any impact studies as to what the labour law changes are going to do to us. This is a government which is absolutely without any guts. They're spending \$75 million on creating not one single new day care space. They're wasting taxpayers' money.

Mr Hope: It's always my pleasure to stand up after the member for St Catharines. I was reading his resolution and I noticed during his discussion he talked about getting rid of your old car and purchasing a new car. Out of that, to keep on a little positive note here, I'm going to ask you, do these have to be North American-produced cars or can they be imported vehicles? I wish you to be careful on your answer of this one because there are some people out there you represent.

I know the member for St Catharines always talks about Local 199 of the Canadian Auto Workers. Yes, they are a very vocal group. I've had the experience, since I was 20, to be identified with some members from that local union. When he brings forward this resolution, I think it's a very positive resolution as he spoke about it. It is one of the best unions that represents in St Catharines. We've always been a union that's been very forthright. But during his speech he never indicated anything about his support for the reforms to the labour relations law that would help a lot of the independent parts suppliers he represents in St Catharines.

I noticed he brought up the issue of St Catharines and a dialysis machine. I would agree that those concerns have been expressed for quite some time now; they're not new experiences. As we all try to understand what is currently

going on in our economic climate—and I would agree with him; I would like to see a kidney dialysis machine in my own community because we have to travel an hour to Windsor or an hour to London and it puts us in a very difficult position.

I'd just like to get a little clarity on the provincial sales tax and on these cars. Are we going to help take all cars off the road and only produce North American products? With that answer, I would ask him what his position is with regard to small parts suppliers and the ones that provide glass for these automobiles.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Charles Beer (York North): It's too bad in a way that for so many members—this really goes back to 1987 when we came in with a very large majority and a lot of new people came in, and then in the last election with the New Democratic Party a lot of new people. I think one of the things that in a collective sense we miss is a sense of this place.

The speech we've heard this afternoon from my friend and colleague the member for St Catharines I think really does speak to the strength of this legislative body and the kinds of things that make it strong, that the real problem we face when we make the kinds of changes we have been making today to the rules is that when we diminish the role of an individual member and when we thereby diminish in a collective sense the role of this chamber, we really are making ourselves increasingly less relevant to what is going on politically in the province.

I sat as a member of the government when the member for Welland-Thorold rose and spoke for 17 hours. We've spoken often about that, particularly to the New Democratic members, and we underline that that was a painful experience for all of us in government. But I think we all recognize that it was important within the rules of the House that members were able, in effect, to express their opposition and to use those rules to express the feelings and the thoughts they had.

What is so clear by what has happened today—and I think the passion that came from the member for St Catharines—is that we've diminished that role. We have really made ourselves less relevant to the debates and the issues we're going to be facing in the months and years ahead. I think that's something I would ask all members to think seriously about and to see if we can't change what was done today.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I'm pleased to rise and add my brief comments. We often disagree a little bit with the member on different issues, but I think we heard today a reason why sometimes the speeches are so important in here. On all the interim supply bills he gets a chance to get on the record the feelings from the people, whether they be the local auto workers who are in there or the people at the hospitals or the police. I think some of the reasons we're so upset with some of the rule changes is

because he does it speaking on behalf of the people in his riding.

1740

While we sometimes disagree on what the philosophies are on different issues, I think it's important that members here remember to reflect on what the people of their riding are saying. We were all elected not to represent our own interests—although that's difficult to do sometimes because obviously, as politicians, we believe our philosophies and ideas are important—but I think if there's something we should learn from this, it's that we should be spending a great deal of time trying to get the ideas and the concerns of our constituents out here on the floor.

As I said before in a lot of these debates, regardless of what happens at the end of the day, the government will do whatever it chooses on any issue. But the most important thing is that the people of the province, through this Legislature, will have their input on the major issues facing us today.

I'm going to get a chance to speak a little bit on this bill a little bit further on, but I believe it's important that we reflect upon the will and the feelings of the people of our ridings on all the issues, like the previous speaker did.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for St Catharines has two minutes in response.

Mr Bradley: In response, first of all I want to deal with the issue of the House, which I think is an important one, and the role the opposition and the government play.

You saw an example of that today. I was able to stand up in the House today and give a statement on the Fort Erie Race Track. That doesn't mean I have a stronger feeling about it than the member who represents Fort Erie, who is a member of the cabinet. But she doesn't have that same opportunity to stand up and be critical as I would have, because as opposition you have that chance to do so.

Even within our own communities we will have members who, within the confines of the government caucus, put forth a very strong case. Those of us in opposition, on the other hand, have a chance publicly to be critical of the government and put some pressure on. So the combination of government members and opposition members often works to the benefit of the community, and that's why we both have a role to play, although the opposition generally tends to get more publicity. That's certainly not the case in my case, I can tell you, but it tends to get a lot more publicity because we're being critical.

Interjection.

Mr Bradley: The member for Chatham-Kent, whose interventions I always enjoy, asks about vehicles. I can tell him what kind of car I have driven all of my life—before I was in politics—I've always driven a General Motors car. The first car I had was a Chev. The car I drive today is a Chev. I didn't have to go, during the election campaign, and get a different kind of car and bring it out for the election campaign the way some of my opponents have had to. Years and years ago, I remember one NDP opponent who hid his foreign car somewhere and had an old GM product brought out.

I think that's important. I urge people to purchase cars their neighbours helped to build. I also enjoyed that particular slogan very much. I will always buy the car my neighbour helped to build, just as I hope the member for Chatham-Kent will—I know he will—want to do the same.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate.

Mr Stockwell: I'd like to take the first portion of this period of time I'm given to simply say a few words about the last speech we heard. First, it's going to be one of the last because of the new rules this government has brought in with respect to—

[Applause]

Mr Stockwell: Well, I don't know if that's mock applause or if it's truly intended.

Frankly, I'm in opposition to that opinion. I guess I'm in opposition for a whole bunch of reasons, not the least of which is that I kind of enjoy debate. I enjoy sitting about the House right about now and hearing what members opposite and of the Liberal Party and of my own have to say about the issues of the day. I enjoy many speeches, and I look across at the member from Hamilton who I think is one of the better speakers in this House and gives a very vigorous and defensive—

Interjection.

Mr Stockwell: Yes, I'd better get that straight if I'm going to compliment you, right? Hamilton Centre. I've been on shows where we're in opposition, but I will always say that his defence is interesting. I don't agree with it, but I find it reasonably exciting. There are others across the floor as well as the Liberal Party.

What I think you've just heard, particularly the first portion of that speech or debate, was a very gut-wrenching outline of exactly where the member for St Catharines falls on this issue. I think it was important that it go down in Hansard, because again, you won't have many.

I know the Minister of Culture and Communications was applauding, but I think you missed the point. You missed the point because—she looks at me in an unreasonable manner.

What I'm trying to point out is that you missed the point of some limitations to speeches. That would have gone well over the 30 minutes. I don't think there's a member in this House who would think that wasn't a valued piece of workmanship done by the member for St Catharines; not a person in this House. It was heartfelt, fair and I think it brought forward a lot of good comments that needed to be made. I'm not certain that in the future these kinds of speeches will be allowed.

What I will say about the member for St Catharines is that he seemed to be honestly upset with the fact that this government was bringing in these kinds of rule changes. He said very categorically that it really surprised him that the NDP would be the ones to champion rule changes that would muzzle opposition and backbenchers alike.

I guess the point I'd like to make to my friend the member for St Catharines is this: If you've ever been in a position where you've seen this party in power, it shouldn't surprise you. I guess what it's come down to is that I look across the floor to a lot of members who sit in

government who have sat in this House for a long period of time. You should have been involved in government where the NDP were in charge. There have been places around this province at municipal councils where they have been in charge: the Toronto school board, Toronto city council, and a few other locations from committees and so on at Metropolitan Toronto council.

My friend the member for St Catharines would know that none of this should surprise him. None of this is unusual and everything they've done is totally predictable. I guess the rationale used by that side of the House—I heard it in 1983, I heard it in 1985 and I'm hearing it today—is: "The ends justify the means. We have a higher calling. We know what's best. However or whatever it takes to achieve that is just one of those things that must be done so we can carry out our agenda."

I was surprised to hear the member for St Catharines make those kinds of comments, because with all due respect to this House and this party across the floor, nothing you do surprises me. Nothing you do shocks me. No trick or card that you pull from your sleeve gives me any reason to ponder why you're sitting across the floor. The only thing you must look at is the last provincial election.

Mr Hope: So why do you heckle so much?

Mr Stockwell: I heckle so much because I don't agree with practically anything you do. It frustrates me that you would say one thing outside this House and on this side of the House and do things so diametrically opposed to what you stood for, but it doesn't surprise me.

Just go back to the last provincial election and you'll get lesson 101, NDP campaign-style politics. Say it, mean it, do it but just don't tell them how. They never tell you how. Why? Because they just say it. It doesn't have to be doable. They don't even have to really mean it. They just have to speak with conviction for the minorities and underprivileged of this province and if they got into power, life would be right. Life isn't right. They're in power and they have backed off a lot of their principles.

I think the most interesting display we've seen is the rule changes. This, the party of the minorities: You're now "the minorities" to the NDP. How does it feel? Wonderful? Are they representing you? Nothing they do surprises me.

1750

I often make this comment to my Liberal friends and some of the Conservative people who were in government: "The biggest mistake you ever made when you were in government was believing them, believing that if you appointed them to commissions and boards they would carry out the good work and services they should in fact carry out, that it wouldn't be partisan and they wouldn't be percolating problems for you at the grass-roots level." I doubt very much I'll have to make that speech ever again to my Liberal friends across this House. I doubt very much I'll have to make that speech to my friends on this side of the House. I'll never have to make that speech again, because every day they prove that you don't have to make that speech about the socialists. Last campaign every one of those appointments you made came out and worked as diligently and as hard as they could against you on money

the taxpayers spent paying their salaries all those years you appointed them.

This leads me to the patronage issue. The patronage issue doesn't surprise me either. They toss out names like Andy Brandt and Bob Nixon: "We're non-partisan. We appoint them from all parties." What they do is appoint one or two very high-profile people to a patronage position. Hopefully those people were leaders of their parties at the time, which coincidentally worked out. The patronage system kicks into gear and gets all those people jobs at the public trough—that's what they crave—so they can work together to get this government re-elected next term.

I was somewhat surprised by the comments of the member for St Catharines because I can't believe that a person who has been in this House for 15 years honestly thought the socialists were any different from any other political party. They're not. They're exactly the same; I suggest that they're worse. If it came to patronage, if it came to figuring out how to live off the government system, if it came to figuring out how to get a grant or a job, they could write books about it, volumes. They are professionals. I take my hat off to them. "Don't try this at home; you'd only hurt yourself." Not just at federal and provincial levels: at Metro, at municipal levels; they've done it everywhere, and they're successful.

The only difference today from two, three or four years ago is that we now see them in government, and we've ripped open the front door. As we rip open the front door to the big bureaucratic maze all we see are socialists cashing their cheques, collecting their money and working the system. That's how the system works.

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): What the hell are you talking about?

Mr Stockwell: I'll speak firsthand. I'll give you examples, list by list, in the riding of Etobicoke-Lakeshore, all throughout Etobicoke and Metropolitan Toronto. The debate may come where we could go out in public and discuss this, but after today these kinds of speeches will not be allowed. For 30 minutes you can make your piece, you can represent your constituents, you can argue with the government. I've often said in the past, and I said at the committee of agencies, boards and commissions, they have all due right to do what they're doing; as the Liberals had all due right and made some very serious mistakes, I might add. The Conservatives did, and they made some very serious mistakes.

Mr Conway: Morley Rosenberg was a lot of fun.

Mr Stockwell: That was an interesting one. The federal Conservatives made some mistakes, and I can think of only the United Nations for one. We've all made those mistakes, but the difference is that when this party was over here it was holier than thou. They wouldn't have patronage appointments. They wouldn't appoint people based on their political affiliation rather than their ability to do the job. No, say it ain't so.

Well, what we have today is our friend Marc Eliesen at Ontario Hydro. Marc Eliesen at Hydro is just the tip of the iceberg, but he is a very prolific tip of the iceberg. What you can see is above the water; what you don't see are

thousands and thousands whom they appoint beneath the surface of the water.

I wanted to get those thoughts, because probably with 30 minutes and debating a very intense bill I'll want to put on the record a lot of information I've gleaned from my constituents, but today I wanted to get on the record the respect I hold for this Legislature. I look across the floor. I know I come here because I want to hear debate, and I would suggest that I'm here probably as much—

Mr Bisson: Well, then give up the floor long enough to let somebody debate.

Mr Stockwell: There goes Gilles, the member from Cochrane, another pearl of wisdom.

I come here because I like the debate. It's a healthy democratic process. When that debate is cut off or shortened in any sense I feel ripped off, because I think there are things that need to be said from backbenchers and from people in opposition alike.

The point I want to leave the opposition benches with is this: If ever another government is elected in this province, and who knows who that will be next time—

Mr Conway: H. Ross Perot.

Mr Stockwell: H. Ross Perot.

If ever there is another government elected in this province, it will be very interesting to see this party back to this side of the House. Frankly, they will sit here in absolute silence, with absolutely no ability to criticize, condemn, no soapboxes to preach from, no issues to crow about, no government to complain about.

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): You're the masters over there. Talking about patronage, if ever anybody mastered it, it's that bunch over there.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please.

Mr Stockwell: As in the past, the member from Durham has run in here and offered his salient points of view, suggesting that this side of the House was responsible for a lot of patronage appointments. I have often said in the past, you are the government. If you choose to make patronage appointments, so be it. I know this Conservative Party

when in power—listen up—made some patronage appointments.

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): Some?

Mr Stockwell: Yes, quite a few.

Interjections.

Mr Stockwell: Here we go, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Mr Stockwell: I've unsettled them.

The Acting Speaker: Order. The honourable member for Etobicoke West has the floor. Members will have the opportunity to comment after he completes his presentation. In the meantime, please allow him the respect of the House and give him the opportunity to make his statements.

Mr Stockwell: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I was going to say that at least they had the courage to admit their patronage appointments. They didn't put in place a real—

Mr Conway: Boondoggle.

Mr Stockwell: —boondoggle of a committee. Not one member across the floor who has sat on this committee ever voted against an order in council where the Premier told you to vote for this person on this committee. Don't tell me it's any different. It's no different. It's worse.

I know the time is closing. I will be up tomorrow. I will put this government on notice that my speaking tomorrow, if they found this controversial, they will find absolutely unbelievable. I'm going to lead off tomorrow with the member for St Andrew-St Patrick, because I found her comments about the police absolutely offensive and unbelievable to the ears of the citizens of Metropolitan Toronto. Now you, my friends, can look forward to another fulfilling day in the Legislature, hearing from those people called the opposition.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. It now being past 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until tomorrow, June 30, at 1:30 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 1801.

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Phillip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winner, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaître, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward-Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/ ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale

**COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
COMITÉS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE**

STANDING COMMITTEES/COMITÉS PERMANENTS

Administration of justice/Administration de la justice

Chair/Président: Mike Cooper
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mark Morrow
Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Jenny Carter, Robert Chiarelli, Mike Cooper, Alvin Curling, Charles Harnick, Steven W. Mahoney, Gary Malkowski, Mark Morrow, Robert W. Runciman, Paul Wessinger, David Winninger
Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

Estimates/Budgets des dépenses

Chair/Président: Cameron Jackson
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Margaret Marland
Members/Membres: Gilles Bisson, Gary Carr, Ron Eddy, Will Ferguson, Robert Frankford, Wayne Lessard, Lawrence O'Connor, Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay
Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

**Finance and economic affairs/
Finances et affaires économiques**

Chair/Président: Ron Hansen
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Kimble Sutherland
Members/Membres: Elinor Caplan, Gary Carr, David Christopherson, Norm Jamison, Monte Kwinter, Gerry Phillips, Norman W. Sterling, Brad Ward, Margery Ward, Jim Wiseman
Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

General government/Affaires gouvernementales

Chair/Président: Michael A. Brown
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Carman McClelland
Members/Membres: Ted Arnott, Will Ferguson, Derek Fletcher, Margaret H. Harrington, Randy R. Hope, George Mammoliti, Rosario Marchese, Bill Murdoch, Dianne Poole, John Sola
Clerk/Greffière: Deborah Deller

Government agencies/Organismes gouvernementaux

Chair/Président: Robert W. Runciman
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Allan K. McLean
Members/Membres: James J. Bradley, Jenny Carter, John C. Cleary, Will Ferguson, Robert Frankford, Bernard C. Grandmaître, Rosario Marchese, Chris Stockwell, Daniel Waters, Jim Wiseman
Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Legislative Assembly/Assemblée législative

Chair/Président: Noel Duignan
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mike Farnan
Members/Membres: Mike Cooper, Paul R. Johnson, Margaret Marland, Irene Mathyssen, Carman McClelland, Gord Mills, Gilles E. Morin, Stephen Owens, Barbara Sullivan, Noble Villeneuve
Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Ombudsman/Ombudsman

Chair/Président: Mark Morrow
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Christel Haeck
Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Dennis Drainville, Noel Duignan, D. James Henderson, Paul R. Johnson, Frank Miclash, Bill Murdoch, Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay, Elizabeth Witmer
Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

Public accounts/Comptes publics

Chair/Président: Remo Mancini
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Joseph Cordiano
Members/Membres: Robert V. Callahan, W. Donald Cousens, Noel Duignan, Robert Frankford, Christel Haeck, Pat Hayes, Paul R. Johnson, Lawrence O'Connor, David Tilson
Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

**Regulations and private bills/
Règlements et projets de loi privés**

Chair/Président: Drummond White
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Ellen MacKinnon
Members/Membres: George Dadamo, Ron Eddy, Mike Farnan, Ron Hansen, W. Leo Jordan, Gord Mills, Tony Ruprecht, John Sola, Kimble Sutherland, Jim Wilson
Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

Resources development/Développement des ressources

Chair/Président: Peter Kormos
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Daniel Waters
Members/Membres: Sean G. Conway, George Dadamo, Bob Huget, W. Leo Jordan, Paul Klopp, Dalton J.P. McGuinty, Sharon Murdock, Steven Offer, David Turnbull, Len Wood
Clerk/Greffier: Harold Brown

Social development/Affaires sociales

Chair/Président: Charles Beer
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Hans Daigeler
Members/Membres: Dennis Drainville, Joan M. Fawcett, Tony Martin, Irene Mathyssen, Yvonne O'Neill, Stephen Owens, Drummond White, Gary Wilson, Jim Wilson, Elizabeth Witmer
Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

SPECIAL COMMITTEE/COMITÉ EXTRAORDINAIRE

Parliamentary precinct/Enceinte parlementaire

Co-Chair/Coprésident: David Warner
Co-Chair/Coprésident: Noel Duignan
Members/Membres: Dianne Cunningham, Remo Mancini, Kimble Sutherland
Clerk/Greffier: Smirle Forsyth



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Second Session, 35th Parliament

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Tuesday 30 June 1992

Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mardi 30 juin 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Tuesday 30 June 1992

The House met at 1333.

Prayers.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

FOSTER FARM

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): I rise today to salute Ron McCooeye and the residents of the Foster Farm community located in my riding of Ottawa West for recently volunteering their time and effort to construct a long-awaited and much-needed playground for their children.

With the fiscal pressures currently facing the Ottawa-Carleton Regional Housing Authority, the construction of this project would not have been possible without the volunteer help of close to 40 residents who banded together with pride and dedication to complete the job.

Working cooperatively with the housing authority to achieve greater responsibility has been a hallmark of the Foster Farm community. The residents have once again responded to the challenge, having displayed the necessary initiative and leadership in proving to all that their motto, "Neighbours Helping Neighbours," can indeed be achieved.

By allowing residents to have a bigger role in their community, the people of Foster Farm have proven once again that community pride and respect for property can indeed be achieved in our public housing projects if people are just given the chance to be involved. I congratulate them on their efforts.

WATER CONSERVATION

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I would like to advise this House that four of my constituents, Bill and Lois Greatrex, Audrey Shaw and Byron Hamilton, have given an old idea a new and exciting twist. During Earth Week this enterprising group introduced the Plunge, a drinking water conservation program, to over 4,100 school children in Owen Sound.

Teachers in these schools received kits which contained teaching aids which stress the importance of saving water at home. Each student got a Plungee, a one-litre zip-top bag. Students were to fill the bag with rocks, marbles or pennies to provide weight, top it up with water and put it in the toilet tank.

A local magician, Bert Hood, wrote the Plungee Song and together with a choir from several city schools made a recording.

The group received corporate sponsorship and city council supported the teachers' and children's efforts throughout the program. Over 3,400 families in Owen Sound use Plungee and now save 54 litres a day. This translates into a saving of 67 million litres of drinking water and about \$48,000 each year to the community.

I must commend everyone involved in this initiative because our young people are now learning good water management in a most enjoyable way. I would like children

in other areas of the province to have the same opportunity. The experience in Owen Sound shows that they are enthusiastic about taking part in an extremely worthwhile program which helps the environment.

I would ask the Minister of Education and the Minister of the Environment to look at this idea with a view to sustaining and furthering its use. They would be doing the province a great service.

CITIZENS FOR MODERN WASTE MANAGEMENT

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): I rise today to inform the House about the efforts of an environmental group in my riding of Lincoln.

The Citizens for Modern Waste Management is a group of local environmentalists who believe in progressive waste management strategies. This group is currently fighting a proposal by the Ontario Waste Management Corp to build a toxic waste treatment facility and landfill in the township of West Lincoln. When they were formed in 1985, they believed the technology being proposed by the OWMC was not the best option for dealing with Ontario's hazardous waste. This belief is still held today and is stronger than ever.

What makes this group different is that it is exploring other alternatives for dealing with hazardous waste. They are active in informing and educating the public about the other options and are strong advocates of reducing, reusing and recycling. They share the same belief as this government in that incineration is not a preferred option and that the solution lies with reducing waste at the source, reusing the waste and, if necessary, treating the waste on site instead of trucking it to a centralized facility.

Their name is very fitting, as they believe that waste management strategies should be modern instead of being modeled on a decade-old European system.

NORTHERN HEALTH SERVICES

Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora): Mr Speaker, you will remember your visit to the Kenora riding this past winter. That visit was important to the people of the riding, but of equal and maybe of more importance are the visits made to the riding by visiting health care specialists under the Ministry of Health's underserved area program.

The people of the riding are again asking questions about the NDP's commitment to northern health care and the future of this program, a program which saves thousands of dollars by having specialists travel throughout northern communities to conduct clinics for patients who would otherwise have to travel hundreds of kilometres to receive their services.

Visiting specialists provide services to the citizens throughout my riding, and the cancellation of portions of this program and the uncertainty of its general future is upsetting to many of my constituents who rely on these specialized services.

In his June 17 report to the Dryden district hospital board, chief of staff Dr Carl Eisner indicated:

"Please note this change in government policy is directly contradictory to the policy statement of the NDP government, 'Operation Critical,' of February 1990, which reads, 'New Democrats will fight for needed improvements specific to the northern problem of a small population spread over large distances.'"

People throughout the riding have been told that clinics which they have become dependent on will be cancelled as of tomorrow, July 1. Since clinics have been unsuccessful in their attempts to get a commitment from this government, they have cancelled their travel to many communities throughout my riding.

Today I urge the Minister of Health to get a grip on what is happening to this most important program.

1340

CANADA DAY

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): Tomorrow millions of Canadians will gather in their communities across this country to celebrate Canada's 125th anniversary of Confederation.

Just recently Canada was chosen by the United Nations as the best country in the world in which to live. For most other countries we are the envy of the world.

In terms of nationhood, we are still extremely young and our future is somewhat uncertain.

Over the past two years I have had the privilege of travelling throughout our great nation to discuss the future of our country. The experience has provided me with an opportunity to be exposed to the great diversity in values within Canada. I have been greatly impressed by the undying commitment of individual Canadians and their strong belief in our country as a united nation.

While July 1 is a holiday and the constitutional debate continues, we as Canadians should take a few moments to reflect upon the reasons why Canada is such a great nation in which to live. Think about those reasons why the United Nations chose Canada as the best nation in the world in which to live. Think about the reasons why thousands of immigrants fight to get into this country every year. I think we should reflect upon the fundamental values that have made Canada what it is today: tolerance, generosity, openness, enterprise, faith and determination.

I think we'd do well to listen to the words of two great Canadians. Sir John A. Macdonald said:

"Whatever you do, adhere to the union. We are a great country, and shall become one of the greatest in the universe if we preserve it. We shall sink into insignificance and adversity if we suffer it to be broken."

On January 30 of this year the Prime Minister said:

"What Canada needs today is true understanding, honourable compromise and genuine fairness—the same virtues that gave birth to our nation 125 years ago. In face of that need, I believe firmly that this generation of Canadians will not be found wanting. All those who love Canada, and who want this magnificent experience in citizenship to continue, will persevere. And Canada will grow and prosper as a united country."

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): In my 90-second space today, I want to speak about Canada Day that's coming up tomorrow.

When I came to Canada back in the 1950s, all I had to my name was one suit of clothes, one suitcase, one wife and two children. On top of that, the cash on hand total we had was \$250. If I had thought of the consequences of coming here in such dire straits, I would never have left home, but being young and restless we never gave anything a second thought other than the fact that we wanted to come to Canada and seek out the opportunities that weren't available at home.

As the years progressed, I was given the opportunity to represent my peers in Ontario on a municipal council, and in September 1990 my peers sent me to the Ontario Legislature to represent them. I am honoured to have been given that opportunity.

Today, as we approach our 125th birthday, I salute Canada as my home. I'm proud to be a Canadian, and the Canada I want to live in for many years includes Quebec.

WATER QUALITY

Mr Carman McClelland (Brampton North): I rise today to draw attention to the Minister of the Environment's barren performance in addressing the issue of water pollution in Ontario.

As you know, the minister is prone to falling in love with grandiose but impractical ideas. One of the best examples of this minister's dawdling destructiveness is her stalling on the municipal-industrial strategy for abatement program.

For a year and a half she has "tried to improve" the MISA program. She said that she would improve MISA by including pollution prevention in the regulations. This means filtering out pollutants is not good enough; they must be eliminated from the production processes.

But the truth of the matter is that the minister's petroleum refineries regulations, now before cabinet and a year and a half late, contain no pollution prevention strategy whatsoever.

I also remind members and you, Mr Speaker, and the people watching that the minister spoke of inserting "zero discharge" into the MISA regulations. In September 1991 she stated, "We are developing a list of specific persistent toxic chemicals to be banned from the discharges of all facilities regulated by the MISA program."

But the NDP government forgot about its promises, its responsibilities and its powers and decided instead to beg the Mulroney Tories in Ottawa to do its environmental work for it. They submitted a list of toxic chemicals to the federal government and asked the federal government to take action in banning them.

I ask the Minister of the Environment today, where is the bravely promised list of persistent toxic chemicals to be banned from the discharge of all facilities regulated by the MISA program? When will she stand up and admit that her attempt to fiddle with MISA has accomplished nothing but delay, a barren performance that has unnecessarily allowed hundreds of tonnes of pollutants to contaminate Ontario's waterways?

APPRECIATION OF POLICE

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): We're used to hearing all kinds of negative comments from this government about policemen and policewomen, from the Premier, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, the Minister of Citizenship, and recently a most offensive slur against police by the Premier's parliamentary assistant, a slur the Premier refused to rebut. The police officers of Ontario continue to do an excellent job in protecting the public despite the comments and actions of this NDP government.

On behalf of the Conservative Party, I want to commend the officers who made the arrest this week in the senseless murder of Paul Semple. Although the suspects are innocent until proven guilty, this murder has stirred the emotions of many citizens of Metro and Ontario as a whole. The police deserve to be commended for working quickly to apprehend suspects in this case.

I also want to mention OPP acting Sergeant Scott Couse, who was shot early yesterday on Highway 400 in Barrie. If it weren't for the sergeant's bullet-proof vest, he may not have survived this shooting. On behalf of the Conservative Party and I'm sure all members, I wish Sergeant Couse a quick recovery from his wounds.

The police officers of Ontario are doing a darned good job despite the continuing negative and misguided comments of this government. James Wallace, in a recent Toronto Sun column, said it as well as anyone could when he mentioned: "Rae, Akande, Ziemba et al should remember there are individuals who go out and risk their lives to assist and help others every day. They're called cops." Amen.

MICKEY AND JOAN WARNER

Mr George Dadamo (Windsor-Sandwich): I'd like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to two of the most tireless community activists in Windsor, Mickey and Joan Warner.

Mickey Warner has been working for the corporation of the city of Windsor for over 20 years. He has been the president of his union local for the past 17 years, CUPE Local 82. Mickey has long been a leader in the labour community, pushing for equity and improved working conditions for all workers. His skill and discipline, especially during negotiations, are now legendary. Before working for the city of Windsor, Mickey had been an organizer for the Steelworkers and organized and managed numerous campaigns. Mickey has also been sergeant at arms with the Windsor and District Labour Council for the past 23 years.

Joan Warner has in her own right an impressive record of achievement. Graduating from nursing school in 1957, Joan helped to organize in Windsor the Ontario Nurses' Association Local 93 in 1962, becoming the first vice-president and staying for some 20 years. She has dedicated most of her career of 33 years to Windsor Western Hospital, with a one-year interval in 1966 when she was a nurse at Chrysler. At Windsor Western, Joan has been the head nurse of the recovery room for 20 years and will be

leaving her position in the outpatient surgical unit of the hospital.

With their well-deserved rest from official public involvement, Joan and Mickey can spend more time with their grandchildren. On behalf of my Windsor colleagues and also the member for Essex-Kent, I wish them well in their future endeavours together, because friends and colleagues of Joan and Mickey in Windsor know that retirement will not slow them down.

SYNAGOGUE DESECRATIONS

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services and Minister Responsible for Women's Issues): Mr Speaker, this is a statement on consent of all parties, and I'm making it today on behalf of my colleague the Minister of Citizenship.

In the early morning hours of June 30, 1992, two Toronto and one Thornhill synagogues were spray-painted with anti-Semitic slogans and swastikas. The Beth Emeth Bais Yehuda synagogue on Elder Street, the Pride of Israel synagogue on Bathurst and the Beth Avraham Yoseph synagogue on Clark Avenue were the institutions which were targeted.

This government deplores such activities, because actions such as these promote fear and divisiveness in our society. We must constantly be vigilant to ensure that we name this as violence and that we act as a community to ensure it does not occur again.

The police take this matter very seriously. They are investigating all three incidents.

The Ministry of Citizenship is preparing guidelines which are designed to assist community organizations to respond to incidents of racism in an appropriate and immediate way. The Ministry of Citizenship is also working with leaders in the Jewish community, among them the Canadian Jewish Congress and the B'nai Brith, to develop strategies to respond to these heinous crimes. The Ministry of Citizenship is presently working with law enforcement agencies to develop strategies to stop the growth of hate groups and the dissemination of hate propaganda, which certainly give rise to this kind of crime.

I'm sure all members of the House will join me in expressing my deep concern for the members of the communities affected, my deep concern for all of us that we live in a community where such things continue to happen and that we will rededicate ourselves to ensuring that this does not occur again.

1350

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I rise to comment on an incident that really touches the heart of my community. The Beth Emeth Bais Yehuda synagogue, the Pride of Israel synagogue and the Beth Avraham Yoseph synagogue; two of those three synagogues are in my riding. It isn't just the physical presence that makes it that significant; it's that many of the people who constitute the constituency of Wilson Heights are people who have come to Canada from very troubled areas. Many of the Holocaust survivors who arrived in Canada right after the Second World War have settled in Wilson Heights. We have a very large Russian-Jewish community that settled here

after getting permission to leave the Soviet Union to come to a country they had been told and we keep extolling the virtues of, and just recently we had the United Nations saying that Canada is the best place in the world in which to live. When things like this happen, it puts in doubt some of our statements.

I know we don't know exactly who the perpetrators are of this particular event, if you want to call it that. It is something that is not new; it happens from time to time at various synagogues across this country. But I think it's important that all of us understand that an attack on one group is an attack on all groups. It isn't just a Jewish problem, in the same way that some other events that have happened recently in Ontario aren't just the problem of another group; this is a problem we must all address. It is a problem that creates a great deal of tension in the community, and I want to commend B'nai Brith and the Canadian Jewish Congress, which have always been vigilant in addressing these particular problems. I hope all of us will take a look at the events and make sure we deal with them in a positive way so that we discourage and hopefully eliminate events of this kind in the future.

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): I would like to echo the words of the two prior speakers. These horrible events continue to occur. We had an event like this in Brantford a year ago. We now have another event that we all look at with horror and disdain, and I think everybody in this place certainly feels the way I do, the way the minister feels and the way the member for Wilson Heights feels.

I would only ask my friends in this place to go back to their communities and tell their constituents what has happened and tell them that what has happened is wrong and that we have got to stop this kind of thing. As members of this large community in Ontario, we all have to fight this kind of racism, this kind of hatred together. We all have to send out the message that when these people are found they will be prosecuted with the most extreme vigour this government can muster to prosecute them, that they will face the most difficult penalties that can possibly be rendered for these kinds of crimes. I ask my friends in this place to go back to their communities and to convey that message. If we all work together, we can (a) find the people who perpetrate these crimes and (b) take a major step in trying to eliminate this kind of hatred and racism in Ontario.

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): May I just be allowed a few minutes to comment on this too, because it really comes to the heart and the core of our community, our people in Canada as a whole. As an example in the world, Canada stands out as a place of harmony and tolerance itself.

As you know, these things emerge in many different ways. We have seen hate literature about the Chinese. We saw hate literature about the Jews and about the blacks. We have seen hate literature about francophones. We see hate literature about the Catholics and other groups. This type of thing attacks religious organizations, it attacks the culture of our people, and therefore it attacks the heart and the soul of Canada.

This is a democracy that we all in this House are very proud of, and members of all parties, all the people here, will stand up and fight against all these racist attacks.

Recently, as you know, the government presented its employment equity program, its race relations program and its human rights policies. We stand here and hope that all our different nations and different cultures here will make sure that these things are stamped out.

I would like to say that I too feel very hurt about this process, and we will stand to protect that democracy here.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

JOBS ONTARIO CAPITAL

BOULOT ONTARIO CONSTRUCTION

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation) It is indeed a pleasure for me to inform the House that the Ministry of Transportation will create more than 4,300 jobs for the people of Ontario this year. Our ministry will receive \$140 million of the \$500 million allocated by the province for this fiscal year. This includes \$21.8 million in Jobs Ontario Capital allocated through the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines for highway construction programs in northern Ontario.

When my colleague the Treasurer announced details of Jobs Ontario Capital last week, he said, "This program is intended to create immediate jobs that strengthen Ontario's transportation system." That's exactly what the Ministry of Transportation intends to do with these funds. Transportation construction projects are labour-intensive, and the level of funding we have been given will provide work for people across the province.

At the same time, by investing in our infrastructure, we are providing incentives for businesses to locate and stay in this province of Ontario. Efficient highway links play an important role in keeping Ontario competitive.

Je suis particulièrement heureux d'annoncer que les projets de réfection des autoroutes que nous entreprenons dans le Nord auront aussi un impact important et positif sur l'économie des communautés du Nord.

Across the province, the work will include upgrading and constructing major highways that are essential to reach export markets and facilitate just-in-time delivery—extremely important to Ontario's manufacturing sector.

For example, we will be putting 600 people to work in our eastern region, 627 people to work in the southwestern region and more than 2,400 to work in the central region, which of course includes the greater Toronto area. In the north, with the funding from Northern Development and Mines, we are creating jobs for more than 640 people.

When Jobs Ontario Capital was announced in the budget and the Treasurer said funds would be available this year, we immediately went to work and began the planning work on suitable projects. As a result, we were able to have some projects tendered early to take advantage of this summer's construction season. Work on many of these projects, such as the repaving work on Highway 401 in the Brockville area, started in May to ensure the jobs would be created this year, and so the highway improvements can benefit everyone quickly.

The projects we have chosen to undertake under Jobs Ontario Capital range from constructing noise barriers along the E. C. Rowe Expressway in Windsor, a project that will create approximately 85 jobs, to starting construction on the long-awaited Sudbury southeast bypass with the interchange at Highway 69.

J'ai déjà mentionné quelques projets, dont l'élargissement de l'autoroute Queen Elizabeth entre Hamilton et Stoney Creek, ainsi que la réparation de la voie élevée de la baie de Burlington. De plus, des travaux importants seront entrepris à l'intersection de l'autoroute 400 et de la route 7, juste au nord du grand Toronto.

During the next five years the province will invest \$2.3 billion through Jobs Ontario Capital to support Ontario's transition to a more productive, knowledge-based economy. I'm proud of the work that will be accomplished by our province and our ministry through Jobs Ontario Capital. I'm even more proud of the fact that we are creating meaningful jobs for the people of Ontario.

1400

Hon Tony Silipo (Minister of Education): Today I am pleased to inform members that the Ministry of Education will allocate \$46 million to school boards across the province through Jobs Ontario Capital. These grants, plus a \$19-million local share contributed by school boards, will support construction valued at \$65 million. It is estimated these projects will generate jobs across the province totalling 647 person-years. Approved projects will begin as early as October 1992 and will be completed by December 1993. A total of 307 projects will be funded over this one-and-a-half-year period.

Of the 307 projects, 171 will improve heating, ventilation, electrical and other building systems, including roofing; 38 will promote barrier-free access for persons with disabilities; 50 projects will deal with asbestos abatement, fire safety and sewage disposal systems; six projects will provide schools with new facilities such as libraries or gymnasiums; and 42 will be for general renovations.

These funds are part of the five-year, \$2.3-billion infrastructure investment program announced by Treasurer Floyd Laughren on June 22 of this year. It is estimated that across the government this fiscal year alone \$500 million in funding in Jobs Ontario Capital will result in nearly 10,000 direct and indirect jobs for Ontarians.

Within the education community, Jobs Ontario Capital will support renovations and alterations to schools across the province. These grants are a step towards achieving our goal of using capital spending to improve the quality of life and to build a prosperous Ontario.

An important element of the Jobs Ontario Capital strategy is to strengthen partnerships with key groups that share an interest in education. We are pleased to be working in partnership with school boards across Ontario to help boost the economy. Students will benefit from better facilities, communities will benefit because of job opportunities, and improved school buildings also make the communities more attractive places for business to invest in.

Details of the approved projects will be announced to school boards later this week. I would also like to tell

members that announcements on the 1994-95 capital allocations will follow during the month of July.

RESPONSES

JOBS ONTARIO CAPITAL

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): I want to respond to the Minister of Transportation and say I really think it's time the government acknowledged and came clean with the people of Ontario. Your Jobs Ontario Capital program is nothing more than you cut \$500 million out of the regular capital program and put it in there. The Ministry of Transportation cut \$136 million out of its capital budget. If you look on page 86 of the capital budget you'll see the Ministry of Transportation last year spent \$1,851,000,000; this year they're spending \$1,715,000,000. They cut \$136 million out of the capital budget so today the minister can get up and say, "We are now going to spend another \$140 million." It's smoke and mirrors, believe me, and I'm not saying, "Spend more"; I'm saying, "Come clean with the people of Ontario." You cannot have this flim-flam. You can't say, "We are creating"—I think the number you had in this statement was 4,300 jobs. It's nonsense. You cut as much money out of the budget as you're adding back.

On this Jobs Ontario program, we're not saying, "Spend more"; we're saying: "Be honest with the people of this province. Be honest with the construction workers of this province."

Today we see in the paper a big ad. You are recruiting an advertising agency to publicize this smoke and mirrors. Believe me, as you look at the budget, and I've said this many times to the Treasurer, you are spending less money on capital in the three capital project areas this year than you spent last year. The Minister of Transportation's announcement today is really a fraud on the people of Ontario. You cut it out of one area, you've added it back in this area and you're talking about creating 4,300 jobs. It is wrong, wrong, wrong. To go out and recruit and spend all of that money on an advertising agency to publicize the smoke and mirrors is a waste of the taxpayers' money.

Tomorrow, less than 24 hours from now, every single individual in this province will see their personal income tax rate go up more than 5%.

We hear this announcement today about creating jobs; it is nothing more than transferring money around. There's no new money here, believe me, and if the Minister of Transportation disagrees with that I'd suggest he get on his feet and say that. There is no new money. This is the same money you spent last year as you're spending this year. The only new money that's going to be spent is money on an advertising agency to publicize the smoke and mirrors. You can understand, Mr Speaker, our anger with deceiving the people of Ontario that this is going to be a job creation announcement. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I join with my colleague. In looking at the statement from the Minister of Education we see some \$46 million over two years, and again, looking at the capital expenditure in the budget we see that the interim 1991-92 is \$370 million and 1992-93

some \$332 million. If one simply divides the \$46 million in half again, it is less money than is going into the overall capital, and quite frankly I'm surprised that this would be the stuff of a ministerial statement: \$20 million masquerading as some kind of major innovative program.

Even—and I said this yesterday in referring to the statement by the Minister of Colleges and Universities—the sort of Orwellian way it's set out as a single noun, *jobsOntarioCapital*, is trying to suggest all kinds of wonderful things when, as my colleague has said, we're simply moving dollars from one side to the other and not really adding anything whatsoever.

The significant thing, and I note that it is not in the minister's text but he added it on at the end, was that we have all been waiting and the school boards have been waiting for the major capital announcement. We are aware that there are ongoing discussions about changes to the way in which capital is going to be allocated, how that whole area is going to be dealt with, and I think the minister needs to have underlined the great concern that is out there in terms of just what is going to happen.

Remember that it was the former Liberal government that brought in, for the first time, the concept of multi-year funding for major educational capital. I would hope that in that statement the minister will make clear that the kind of planning ability that gave to school boards is critical, and we would expect to see something much more substantive in that announcement than quite frankly we have seen in this one.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Responses, third party?

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): In responding to the Minister of Transportation, all I can say is, this announcement today is a joke. We've already heard the Liberal critic commenting on this. Today we have seen the Ministry of Transportation take money out of the budget and then they dribble it back, and I emphasize "dribble it back," because in point of fact this year's estimates of the Ministry of Transportation show that the capital spending for the Ministry of Transportation is some \$310 million less than last year. So much for the myth of massive spending on infrastructure and this fraud that this government is trying to perpetrate on the people of Ontario. By adding \$140 million in this announcement today, you are still short by some \$170 million over what was spent by your ministry last year.

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): That is incorrect, sir.

Mr Turnbull: The minister is saying that isn't correct, but if the minister would like to read his own estimates, he will acquaint himself with the facts. You should be better briefed, Minister.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): Spend, spend, spend.

Mr Turnbull: We're not advocating that you spend, spend, spend. We're saying, "Spend money better." Your government isn't spending money appropriately.

In fact, when we look at your promise to northern Ontario in the last election, there was a promise of \$100

million a year on four-laning the Trans-Canada Highway. Minister, we know that in your first year of office you spent 3.5% of that money. We know the document you published in the last election was a fraud. We know this announcement today is a fraud. In point of fact, the \$140 million that is being spent today is a reannouncement of money. They're saying it's coming from the Ministry of Northern Development and Mines. Is each ministry going to reannounce what another ministry is spending its money on?

In fact this is only on provincial highways. There is no mention of any money to be spent on municipal roads, which are a very urgent priority, or should be, with this government. There's no mention of transit systems and there is no mention of GO.

You quite simply are spending less money than last year. No matter how you may try to dress it up, the facts are plain. You are spending less money than last year, so stop telling the electorate you are going to spend massive amounts on infrastructure. You are not doing it. It is a fraud.

1410

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): I'll say it again, as I did yesterday, but today to the Minister of Education: If one wants to stand up in this House and talk about supporting the economy of this province and creating jobs, one ought to be reaching out to the private sector for investment in Ontario. They can start today by withdrawing Bill 40 so that we don't have to sit here and debate something the private sector has told us is detrimental to the investment of business in the province of Ontario.

Second, I'd like to say that this brings back memories. When Tony and I were on the school board we used to call this additions and renovations, but we used to get those announcements in about April. Not only that, we used to build it into our budget so we could plan the local taxpayers' share, which in those days, when the Conservatives were here, was about 10% or 15%. Now today, the minister says, "We're giving you \$46 million but you have to come up with \$19 million." To be kind, we're looking at almost a third, Mr Treasurer, that the school boards may or may not have known they even had to spend, that they have to raise from local tax dollars.

So, number one, we have a capital grants plan that has not been revised since 1975 and I just know this minister is going to get that done within the next year. Number two, we now have a rated capacity in our junior and intermediate classes of some 35. The minister and I both know from our school board days that we did not like the previous two governments because they didn't change it. So again, he's going to get that done within the next two years. Number three, he knows we're in the courts with regard to development charges, and if he doesn't change the rated capacity the school boards won't get the kind of money they need either from the private sector. So we've given him a challenge today.

I have to say one good thing. He wants to change the fiscal year, the school-ending year. He's put out

a discussion paper. If he can get that done within the next year, that will be helpful too.

This is an announcement that should have been made in March so the school boards could have planned. It's not new money and it's not creating long-term jobs, and that in fact is what we need in Ontario. You could speak to the Minister of Labour, ask him to withdraw Bill 40, and I'll be very happy.

MINISTERIAL INFORMATION

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Today is June 30 and I notice that the Premier is not in the House and the Minister of Citizenship is not in the House. I'm coming to the point, Mr Speaker.

You will recall, Mr Speaker, that Stephen Lewis in his report stated how important was the Mary Cornish report on the task force looking at the Ontario Human Rights Code. I don't know if they're out there announcing it right now, because that is their practice.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): What is your point of order?

Mr Curling: The point, Mr Speaker, is: How is it that none of the ministers here are announcing the Cornish report, which is due today? I would expect there would be a report. Stephen Lewis had made mention of it, saying he would expect the government to comment on—

The Speaker: Would the member take his seat, please.

I can appreciate the member may have an interest in reports or statements. There is nothing in the standing orders that allows the Speaker to compel ministers to make statements or to respond to reports. I appreciate the member's interest in these matters.

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): Mr Speaker, might I ask unanimous consent of the House to say a few words on the occasion of the royal visit?

The Speaker: Do we have unanimous agreement? Agreed.

ROYAL VISIT

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): On this auspicious day Canada greets her head of state, Queen Elizabeth II, on her 18th Canadian progress since assuming the throne 40 years ago. The Queen will celebrate the Dominion of Canada's—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for Burlington South asked for and was given unanimous agreement by the House to make a statement with respect to an important occasion. I believe he deserves the opportunity to be heard.

Mr Jackson: On this auspicious day Canada greets her head of state, Queen Elizabeth II, on her 18th Canadian progress since assuming the throne 40 years ago. It is also the 40th anniversary of the first Canadian-born Governor General of Canada, the Queen's representative here in our country.

The Queen will celebrate the Dominion of Canada's 125th anniversary and has already unveiled an equestrian statue of herself on Parliament Hill just two hours ago. Later today the Queen will unveil stained glass windows at Rideau Hall and present new colours to the Canadian Grenadier Guards at the cricket pitch on the grounds of Rideau Hall. Tomorrow Her Majesty will participate in all Canada Day celebrations on Parliament Hill and will remind all Canadians of our royal ancestry and heritage and the roots of our parliamentary democracy and great freedoms that we enjoy today as a result.

I join with all members of my caucus to warmly welcome Her Majesty the Queen of Canada, our pre-eminent symbol of Canadian unity amidst our linguistic, cultural and religious diversity. God save the Queen.

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): I am indeed honoured on this occasion to stand in my place and speak on behalf of the government and our members in welcoming Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II to Canada.

It goes without my saying so that the Queen's public service is unequalled in the annals of history, and the very fact that she takes time from her schedule to come to Canada yet again to be with us as we celebrate our 125th birthday is really heartwarming to many people in Canada.

The festivities tomorrow in Ottawa traditionally mark the diversity of the culture of Canada, and I'm very pleased, and I'm sure that Her Majesty the Queen will enjoy that day in Ottawa as much as we here who can't be there but will perhaps have some time to watch it on television.

I'm very proud to welcome Her Majesty here today. God save the Queen.

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): I too, on behalf of my party would like to respond and make a statement in this regard. We have a symbol in our city of Mississauga. Our slogan is that we must have pride in our past and faith in our future.

While some people may think that some form of symbolic independence, or in some instances acting like an ungrateful member of a family, somehow gives us strength, I know most Canadians believe in their heritage and see the Queen and the monarchy as a very important part of Canada's heritage.

In fact, if we look at it in that light and recognize that having pride in our past means being proud of being associated with England and with the royal family, then that indeed will give us strength in our future at a time in our history when we need strength from wherever we can find it.

As we remember at this time in our history incidents like Vimy Ridge and the 5,000 Canadians who died to free our country, and we see the news this morning and hear stories of our soldiers in Sarajevo leading a peaceful situation over there and trying to bring some stabilization and some peace, I think this is a particularly important birthday and I think it is particularly significant that the Queen has found it in her schedule to join us as we celebrate our birthday tomorrow.

Our strength is in the fact that we're a peaceful country and that we understand our history. Our ties to England are strong and our ties to the monarchy are extremely strong.

The member for Mississauga South rightfully has asked me to tell you that it was through her efforts in her time and my time on council that she actually gave the city that particular motto I referred to, and we appreciated Mrs Marland's efforts in that regard.

On behalf of my leader, my caucus and my party, I also welcome Queen Elizabeth to our country to celebrate our birthday with us, and I want to say thank you for coming. She's an important part of our history and our values. God save the Queen.

1420

ORAL QUESTIONS

TAX INCREASES

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My questions today will be for the Treasurer. I note that the Treasurer is making his own personal preparation for July 1 by re-reading his budget, which seems to me entirely appropriate because today is actually a significant and rather sad day for Ontario taxpayers.

As the Treasurer is well aware, beginning tomorrow Ontario taxpayers are going to work a little longer each day for the tax man. Frankly, I find tomorrow's 3% Ontario tax hike particularly distasteful because at the same time that Ontario's finance minister will be increasing taxes, his federal counterpart is lowering his take by fully 1%. So while starting tomorrow Ontarians will pay more, taxpayers in Manitoba, British Columbia, New Brunswick and virtually every other province will be paying less.

I wonder how this Treasurer can explain to Ontarians that starting tomorrow he is increasing their taxes while taxpayers in the other provinces will see their personal income taxes go down.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): It's true that the increases in the tax schedule kick in tomorrow, both for the general personal income tax as well as the surtax on the higher incomes. I think the leader of the official opposition would be fairer in her questioning if she would at least acknowledge the fact that it wouldn't be very hard for Ontario to reduce its tax burden on Ontario citizens if we could pass on a significant portion of the programs that we and the taxpayers of Ontario assume the burden of delivering.

For you to use the federal government as an example of a jurisdiction that has reduced its taxes is really a bit strange, considering what it has done to Ontario, more than to any other province. They have reduced what I would consider to be what the level of transfers should be in Ontario this year. Because of their restrictions on the Canada assistance plan and on the established programs financing, we are short by \$4.5 billion this year. I think it's passing strange then for the leader of the official opposition to say that we should be picking up some of that slack.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Could the Treasurer conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Laughren: The federal government is simply walking away from its obligations in Ontario. That's why we did it.

Mrs McLeod: I'm trying to keep my questions very clear and very focused. I want to keep the focus on people. Times are tough. We acknowledge that. But times are tough for people and for families as well as for governments.

Last Thursday during the Treasurer's appearance before the standing committee on finance and economic affairs, he referred to his personal income tax as very small and not a lot of money. I beg to disagree. For example, a married couple with two children and one income of \$50,000 will pay \$120 more in Ontario income tax over the next six months. The federal government, of all institutions perhaps, was prepared to give that family a \$40 tax break, but this Treasurer would have none of that. He said, "I'll not only take that \$40, but I'll take another \$80 besides."

I wonder if the Treasurer still believes that in these tough economic times \$120, to use his words, is not a lot of money.

Hon Mr Laughren: I think the leader of the official opposition should be fair about what it is that those taxes deliver to the people of Ontario as well.

When we were striking the budget, we had a choice. We could have indeed cut back programs massively in the province, because this increase in taxation will represent in a full year roughly \$1 billion in revenues to the province. That is significant. If the leader of the official opposition says that we should have cut government programs to the tune of \$1 billion or allowed the deficit to go up by yet another \$1 billion, I wish she'd stand in her place and say so, because that's not the policy of this government.

Mrs McLeod: In the attempt to keep focused on the issue I'm trying to raise today, let me turn to yet another of the messages this government has attempted to send to the people of Ontario.

Three weeks ago the member for Scarborough-Agincourt asked the Premier about tax measures in the budget. He was told by the Premier that for lower- and middle-income taxpayers, that is to say, individuals who are earning less than \$53,000, there will be no increase in the combined federal-Ontario income tax as a result of the federal and Ontario 1992 budgets.

I am not suggesting in raising this question again that the Premier was deliberately misleading the House. I think he simply failed to understand what the Treasurer has actually done with this budget. I ask the Treasurer to set the record straight once and for all. Will he inform his Premier, as well as this House, that the Premier was wrong in the statement that was made, and that taxes are in fact increasing for all Ontarians in 1992 whether they earn \$10,000, \$100,000 or \$53,000?

Hon Mr Laughren: I wasn't in the assembly the day that example was used.

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): Do you read Hansard?

Hon Mr Laughren: I said I wasn't in the assembly the day that was used. I think there has been some confusion over the two years 1992 and 1993. I believe that

confusion was caused by me, quite frankly, by not putting both years in the budget statement. I regret that and I've said that before to the member for Scarborough-Agincourt. For 1992, if we look at a one-earner married couple with two children—I think that was the example the leader of the official opposition used—with an income of \$20,000, the net change of both the federal income tax reduction and the provincial income tax change will be a \$5 reduction. For a \$25,000 level it would be a \$95 reduction. For the \$30,000 level the increase starts kicking in and there's a \$30-a-year increase.

For 1993—I know the Speaker doesn't want me to use too much time in this response—the savings are basically across all income earners because the full impact of the changes then takes place and there's no increase for Ontario citizens who are a one-earner married couple until they start earning approximately \$60,000 a year. It depends on which year you're talking about when you compare the numbers—

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): The Premier was wrong.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Mr Laughren: I don't know whether the Premier was wrong. As I said, I wasn't here when he gave his response. If he was incorrect, I suspect it was caused by the fact that there were two sets of tables, one for 1992 and the other for 1993.

Mrs McLeod: I appreciate that with all the Treasurer's words he's confirming the fact that Ontario taxpayers, everyone, will pay more taxes in 1992. I want to pick up on a part of the Treasurer's response to my question.

The Speaker: A point of order, Treasurer.

Mrs McLeod: Mr Speaker, I was going on to another question.

Hon Mr Laughren: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I don't think the Speaker will allow me to go through it again, but I was trying to show the leader of the official opposition that that is simply not the case.

Mrs McLeod: We'll be happy to provide the Treasurer with clarification about his budget following question period.

The Speaker: I think we would all be served well if we followed the traditional way of asking questions and answering them. Indeed, if it's of any help to the Treasurer, he may wish to table a detailed response to the table so opposition members can have that information.

TAX REVENUES

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I want to turn to another aspect of the Treasurer's tax policy. In fact, the Treasurer continues to ask more questions than providing responses when he attempts to respond to our questions. He asks whether we would not feel his tax policy was justified because he has to somehow regain the money that was lost. I wonder if this Treasurer has simply failed to recognize that taxpayers have reached a point where they are saturated and simply cannot continue to pay higher and higher taxes.

If he would just look at his last year's budget, he would recognize that when he raised 11 taxes for \$1 billion, the personal income tax revenues ended up \$2 billion lower than he expected, sales tax revenues were \$500 million lower than he expected and corporate taxes were \$600 million lower than expected. It is clear that at some point, higher tax rates actually lead to lower revenues because they have such a negative impact on consumer spending and business investment.

I would ask this Treasurer if he could tell this House whether he has ever looked at where that cutoff point actually is. Does he know how long he can continue to raise taxes before those increased taxes actually lead to lower revenues, where they don't help him solve his problems of meeting his expenditure needs? I wonder if it's not possible the Treasurer has already passed that point.

1430

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): I obviously don't believe we've passed that point or we wouldn't have made the changes we did this year. But I would ask the leader of the official opposition to cast her mind back to about 1980 when the supply-side gurus in the United States said that if we could only reduce taxes—and did indeed—the economic activity that would generate would in effect do what the leader of the official opposition says: increase overall revenues to the state, if you will. What happened was that eight years later the debt of the US had tripled because it didn't have the revenues to pay for its programs.

I don't believe we've reached that point. I do believe the tax system in this province is competitive with other jurisdictions. That is the big test of a tax system, it seems to me, along with fairness. I believe we're going to move some way to addressing both of those concerns.

Mrs McLeod: Clearly it's not 1980; it's 1992. I want the Treasurer to deal not with economic theory, but with reality. The reality is that the Treasurer's record in projecting the revenue he's going to get from his taxation policy has not been a very good record. I've already cited the complete difference between his projections in his last year's budget and what he actually raised in revenue.

The Treasurer needs to deal with that reality. I'm not sure he understands that he can't pull \$1 billion out of the economy in higher taxes every year, particularly in these difficult times, and expect that same economy both to provide jobs for our young people and also to provide the revenues he needs to meet his expenditures.

The Treasurer's 1992 budget is pulling \$640 million out of the economy through income surtaxes alone. I wonder whether the Treasurer has attempted to conduct any studies at all on the effect his higher taxes are going to have on jobs, consumer spending and business investment. If he has done those studies, perhaps he would share those with the Legislature today.

Hon Mr Laughren: The leader of the official opposition asked me not to deal with 1980, when in fact she's using 1980 arguments to develop tax policy. I don't think that makes any sense.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): Tell us about François Mitterrand's 1982 budget policy.

Hon Mr Laughren: Never mind François Mitterrand. This is Ontario.

I was comparing the tax rates in the various jurisdictions in Canada as well as in the United States. I am convinced that we are roughly in the middle of the pack. We are not overly taxed compared to other jurisdictions. I could go through the list if you like, but I don't think question period is the appropriate time to do that.

I would simply say to the leader of the official opposition that I really do believe we are achieving—we haven't got there yet in terms of fairness—a tax regime in the province that is both competitive and in the end will be fair.

Mrs McLeod: Perhaps I can ask the Treasurer to focus on something even more specific, that is, one of those taxes that has certainly reached the saturation point: the gasoline tax. July 1, tomorrow, marks the start of the summer tourist season but unfortunately, 1992 could become one of Ontario's worst tourism seasons on record. With 95,000 hospitality jobs having disappeared over the last two years, surely the Treasurer would agree that this sector of our economy needs a boost.

The Treasurer was absent when I asked the Premier two weeks ago to have a look at the possibility of instituting at least a summertime gas tax rollback. We happen to believe that the net impact in terms of consumer confidence and tourist interest would actually pay dividends both to retailers in border communities and to tourism operators across the province.

I would ask the Treasurer whether or not he has looked at this suggestion. If he has, could he tell us what kind of impact a summertime gas tax rollback would have on Ontario retailers and tourist operators? Will he be prepared to examine the potential that a gas tax reduction could actually increase his government's revenues by encouraging people to shop at home and by encouraging tourists to come to Ontario?

Hon Mr Laughren: Yes, I was aware of the suggestion from the Leader of the Opposition. I am not convinced that a temporary rollback in sales taxes on gasoline will have the effect some people think it will. For one thing, the rollback would have to be very substantial, it seems to me, to have any kind of major impact on consumer behaviour. I don't think one, two or three cents per litre would do it. I think it would have to be a very substantial rollback.

The final point is that I believe, from an environmental perspective, the whole principle—

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): So let's kill tourism to save the environment. Come on.

Hon Mr Laughren: The member for York Centre has got the answer to everything, it seems. The fact is, I do not believe a rollback in gasoline taxes would produce the desired result on tourism revenues. Second, I don't think it would be environmentally helpful.

VISITORS

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Stop the clock. Before recognizing the leader of the third party, I would

invite all members to welcome to our chamber this afternoon three special visitors: Gwen Shea, a member from the Texas state Legislature; Dennis Smith, Senator from the state of Missouri state Legislature, and Dan Halperin, Senator from the state of New York state Legislature. Welcome to our assembly this afternoon.

TAX INCREASES

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): By way of introduction to my question to the Treasurer, I would like to say how much I support the call from the leader of the Liberal Party, and suggest to the Treasurer that if you would cut even 10% of the massive tax hikes the Liberals brought in, it would have a dramatic effect in this province.

My question is to the Treasurer. Now that the signs are that Canada is slowly pulling out of the recession—no thanks, Treasurer, to your free-spending government—the latest NDP tax hike, this one on personal income, kicks in tomorrow. I guess it's Bob Rae's way of saying "Happy Canada Day, Ontario" with \$1 billion of new tax hikes. Many Ontario workers will have \$10 to \$20 less in next week's pay envelope. That's an extra \$1,000 a year that won't be spent on groceries or rent or in purchasing power by consumers.

Treasurer, why are you reaching yet again into the pockets of Ontario taxpayers just as they are struggling to recover from the recession and just when what is absolutely required is that new \$1 billion of spending that you are taking away from them?

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): It's such a relief to move from questions from the Conservative Party to questions from the Reform Party.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Mr Laughren: Never mind. I wish members would take this question more seriously.

I do understand that the leader of the third party has gained some notoriety, and quite rightly so, from his posture, his role as a tax fighter in Ontario, but I think he should understand that for every penny or every dollar of tax revenues that does not come in, there's going to be some kind of program out there in Ontario that people really want to keep.

When we had the pre-budget consultations, the one message representatives from across the province who were at those consultations gave us very clearly was to keep the deficit in check, do something about jobs and maintain essential programs. Those were the three key messages they gave us.

1440

Mr Harris: By way of supplementary, the Ontario government does not have a revenue problem; the Ontario government has a spending problem. Quite frankly, this spending problem started with the Liberals in 1985 and it has carried on with the NDP since it's taken office.

Treasurer, not only are you massively carrying on the program of increasing taxes to feed your spending appetite, you are also now, by way of what I call back-door or

secret taxes, massively increasing fees, which is an indirect way of taxation.

I would like to ask you specifically about the increase in fees starting in July when every corporation in Ontario will be ordered to make a special filing that will cost it \$50. With 300,000 corporations large and small, that works out this July to a new tax of \$15 million on businesses in this province. Treasurer, wouldn't you agree that this brand-new fee is nothing more than a new \$15 million tax on corporations that are struggling in this province?

Hon Mr Laughren: Before I attempt to answer the question, I'm not too sure I understood the question, so I would ask him to go back at me again in his final supplementary, if he will.

The leader of the third party started out by giving us a broadside, saying that we didn't have a revenue problem, we had a spending problem. I would remind the leader of the third party that in the year we're in now, our growth in spending at 4.9% is the lowest rate of growth in spending in 39 years—many of those years when your government was in office, my friend.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. Treasurer.

Hon Mr Laughren: I will attempt to be non-provocative in the remainder of my answer.

I would ask the leader of the third party as well to put the tax increases this year in a context of revenues that we are not getting which we deserve from his friends in Ottawa. I know you will try—

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): You did it to the municipalities, school boards, hospitals.

The Speaker: Order, the member for Oakville South.

Mr Carr: Tell that to the mayors. Tell that to the school boards. You did the same thing.

The Speaker: The member for Oakville South, come to order.

Hon Mr Laughren: The Conservative Party will try to depict that as a provocative and partisan statement. That's not what I intend it to be. It's simply meant to get on the record the fact that one of the major reasons—

Mr Carr: You did the same thing to your transfer partners: municipalities, school boards, hospitals. You did the same thing.

The Speaker: The member for Oakville South is asked to come to order.

Hon Mr Laughren: The members opposite don't like to hear it when I remind them why we have a revenue problem in Ontario. Much of that problem rests squarely in Ottawa. They're your friends, not mine.

Mr Harris: I don't take the minister's comments as provocative and I don't take his comments as partisan. I take them as a basic lack of understanding of the problem. Ontario taxpayers don't want to pay any more federal taxes either. You have a spending problem. That's your problem: You cannot control your own spending. You are spending this year an increase higher than every other province, higher than every other government, and two

and a half to three times the rate of inflation, the same as the Liberals did—the same problem. That's what we're faced with.

I asked you specifically about the new \$15 million of fees to corporations brought in to ask them to do new filings the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations wants. Not filings that businesses want to do; they have been ordered to do it. They have been ordered to pay \$50 for you to collect your information. In addition to that, if they don't comply, they can be fined up to \$25,000.

I ask you, Treasurer, as you got a vague look on your face when I first raised it, will you investigate this new \$15-million tax, the new \$25,000 fines on corporations to collect information you want, not that they are asking for?

Hon Mr Laughren: It is true that the government has raised some fees that reflect more the cost of delivering the service. I don't think there's anything untoward about that.

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): What service is that, Floyd?

The Speaker: Order, the member for Willowdale.

Hon Mr Laughren: I don't know why you ask a question if you don't want to hear an answer. The leader of the third party once again referred to spending. I keep notes from day to day in the Legislature and I have a list here that the following members of the Conservative caucus want more money spent on various programs. The member for Simcoe West wants more money on health care, the member for London North on education, the member for York Mills on municipalities, the member for Nipissing on health care, the member for Waterloo North on colleges and universities, the member for York Mills on transportation, the member for Parry Sound on provincial parks and the member for Willowdale on credit counselling, and the list goes on and on.

I would simply ask the leader of the third party to be consistent. He cannot, day after day, accuse us of spending too much money while his own colleagues are demanding that we spend more at the same time.

Mr Harris: The Treasurer talks about fee increases. It's a brand-new fee brought in, never before charged by anybody, a new \$15 million.

ENVIRONMENTAL SENSITIVITY

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): My second question is to the Minister of Health. I want to ask you about what is a matter of life and death for Marilyn McCleary of Barrie, Ontario. She is a victim of multiple chemical sensitivity syndrome. She cannot tolerate most of the things in our surroundings that the rest of us take for granted. Since there is no facility in Ontario, Marilyn has been receiving treatment in Texas since September. She was told by OHIP that 75% of her costs would be covered, but OHIP has since changed the rules. They now tell Marilyn McCleary that only a fraction of her costs will be covered.

Minister, Ms McCleary has no money left. She cannot afford to stay in Texas, but there is no environmentally safe haven here in Ontario for her to come home to. What advice does the minister have for Marilyn McCleary?

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): I find the question a difficult one to answer in terms of what advice I have. The whole issue of environmental sensitivities and the way in which the medical profession has not reached a consensus here in this province and in this country with respect to treatment of that leaves it very difficult for governments with respect to investment of dollars in these areas.

I've met with representatives of groups representing patients who have, with some physicians, found diagnoses of environmental sensitivity and it is a horrendous problem. I know that a number of years ago George Thomson did a report on this. Again, from a layman's perspective and from a political perspective, it's a very troubling issue. Where there isn't a medical consensus, it leaves governments with a very difficult problem, when there are scarce resources, about investing resources.

With respect to the individual case, I would have to take notice on that and indicate that we can look into it within OHIP. I can't comment on the individual case here in the Legislature.

1450

Mr Harris: In 1985 Ontario was spending about \$8 billion a year on health care. Today you are spending in the neighbourhood of \$17 billion, more than twice as much. In 1985, seven years ago, the Thomson report, as you alluded to, called for an Ontario treatment facility to be established for people like Marilyn.

Here it is seven years and \$9 billion of new spending later and there is still no treatment facility in this province. Patients must leave if they want to live. Yet your government is telling them if they're not rich enough to pay for the treatment themselves, they're out of luck and they're out of life.

Minister, the health care system, OHIP, was set up by Ontario Progressive Conservatives to provide a safeguard for people like Marilyn McCleary. Why is your government busy spending billions more, \$9 billion since 1985, on a system that is stripping away those safeguards?

Hon Ms Lankin: Again, the way in which the question is put is problematic, I find, in terms of the juxtaposition of the expanse of spending on the health care system and the gaps that are in the system, not in the sense that I disagree with the member. In fact, I agree with him completely and have been saying many of these same things over the last number of months, as I have taken over responsibility for this portfolio.

I think what we are trying to do is to look at the gaps in the system in areas where we think we can more effectively spend money to get good health outcomes in this province, and it's a question of shifting the system.

At the same time as the member is recognizing the need for that, he and members of his caucus have also talked about the need to continue the expenditures in the hospital sector and for physicians. The member himself has raised questions around northern specialists leaving the North Bay area because of the thresholds we put in place with respect to physician payments. The member can't have it both ways on these issues.

I do recognize that there are many services we do not have covered in our Ontario system. We are striving to reform the system to be able to invest in those areas. I come back to the point that with respect to medical decisions on approval for treatment, I have to listen to medical advice, and there is not a consensus around environmental sensitivity yet, although there may be a very strong political imperative to act.

Mr Harris: Minister, without OHIP coverage for her medical treatment and taxes, Marilyn McCleary is destitute. She's destitute. Without a government commitment to provide a safe haven for people in her position, she's dead. In 1985, spending \$9 billion less, Marilyn McCleary was provided for and the treatment was provided for. Now, seven years and \$9 billion of new spending later, it is not provided for.

Minister, when medicare was first set up in Ontario—again, I repeat, by a Progressive Conservative government—its first priority was not to provide 100% of everything for everybody everywhere, every time, everything they possibly wanted. I suggest to you, Minister, that the first priority that was advanced by those who fought for medicare in this country, by John Robarts, by Bill Davis, by even some New Democratic Party advocates across this country, the very first priority they fought for was to ensure that no one, no individual, no Marilyn McCleary, would ever be faced with a choice of bankruptcy or dying.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources): Robarts called it a diabolical plot.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): He said "Over my dead body."

Interjections.

Mr Harris: I would ask you, Minister, two things: Will you personally investigate Marilyn McCleary's case to ensure that she is not faced with that choice, and would you not agree with me that the system is failing not only the Marilyn McClearys but so many others in trying to be all things to all people and ignoring the first priority responsibility Tommy Douglas himself fought for, that of ensuring nobody is faced with the prospect of bankruptcy or dying?

Hon Ms Lankin: I'm not a student of history, but people all around me in this Legislature are indicating that John Robarts in fact called medicare a diabolical plot.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Ms Lankin: Do you think there's any credibility in the statements we just heard from the member across the floor here with respect to his defence of the system? Let me tell you what I heard. Behind those words, what I heard was a call for user fees. What I heard was a restructuring of the system with a Tory agenda, which is not much different than what I heard when I was in Ottawa from their federal friends and their Minister of Finance.

On the problems that are out there, they don't accord with what I believe in, don't accord with what Tommy Douglas believed in and what this government believes in,

and I'm not going to respond to that kind of myth that is being perpetrated across the floor.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. New question, the member for Mississauga West.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Will the member for Parry Sound come to order. The member for Mississauga West with his question.

Interjections.

The Speaker: I ask the House to come to order. The member for Mississauga West has patiently been waiting to ask his question.

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): I'll just talk over it if they get excited again.

APARTMENTS IN HOUSES

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): My question is to the Minister of Housing. Recently outside of this place, the day that we were not in here, you announced in a press conference draft legislation to legalize basement apartments. You did so without consulting the municipalities, without talking to AMO, and most important, without talking to the public about the pros and cons of that policy. What you've done is created chaos in the community instead of taking an idea and building on it.

Minister, what process have you put in place to allow municipalities to deal with this issue? They're concerned about their tax base. They're concerned about their zoning bylaws, which they feel are in serious jeopardy with your program. They're concerned about the quality of life in their communities. What message do you have for the municipalities on how they can deal with this very contentious issue?

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): It is the case that the announcement was made outside of this Legislature. It was the day when the Legislature had been closed down by the opposition at about 10 o'clock in the morning, so the announcement was made in the media studio.

The announcement I made was that there would be a summer-long consultation around draft legislation for apartments in houses. In fact the municipalities of Ontario and AMO have participated over the last year in the housing policy framework discussions. This was a very large consultation on the direction of housing policy in Ontario and the question of apartments in houses was one of the issues raised for discussion in that paper. We got a fair amount of feedback from municipalities, from the public, from tenant advocates and so on. That gave us a good introduction to release draft legislation which will be discussed publicly this summer. I personally have discussed this in a room with the leadership of AMO.

Mr Mahoney: It's interesting to hear the minister say that. I would simply remind the minister that the day you made the announcement, the House was not sitting because the government could not generate 20 members to sit in their places, so let's just be clear about that. It was

this government with its vast majority that failed to deliver a quorum.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): And your supplementary?

Mr Mahoney: The president of AMO and mayor of Kingston, Helen Cooper, has stated, "In some neighbourhoods we already have a very serious problem trying to maintain the quality of housing stock, and this could simply exacerbate the problem." I could go on with quote after quote of municipal politicians.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): What does Hazel think?

Mr Mahoney: I can tell you what Hazel thinks. You know darned well that she's very concerned about the fact that you have not put in place any kind of mechanism for the municipalities to deal with their ratepayers on this. You have not addressed absentee landlords. You have not addressed blockbusting. You have not addressed rooming houses, parking, noise, safety regulations, the impact on the municipal budget and the infrastructure, or schools.

You haven't addressed anything. You've simply created chaos by getting the community all upset. You've taken what in reality is the germ of a good idea and you've made it impossible for the municipalities to deal with it. You've created anger and fear and the entire community is upset. They're mad at you, but let me tell you, they're mad at the local politicians, because they take the heat. Are you simply trying to pass the buck on to the local politicians so they can take the heat for your ill-thought policies?

Hon Ms Gigantes: Quite the contrary. I would be very pleased to take what I believe will be a lot of public appreciation on this matter.

We haven't created anything. We have released for public discussion a piece of draft legislation with accompanying discussion points, which is open to all members of the public, including any elected representatives at the municipal level, to provide us with comments on it. That's precisely why we released it. We're going to have discussions all around Ontario on this subject. I don't know if the member for Mississauga West is aware of it, but this is a very welcome legislative initiative in many, many areas of Ontario.

1500

RENT REGULATION

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): My question is for the Minister of Housing. I sent the minister a letter regarding a case involving fraudulent invoices submitted with past applications for rent increases.

The tenant who contacted me about this issue met with the ministry's rent review investigation manager in April 1992 to review approximately 50 invoices. The manager's conclusion was that—and I quote—"serious fraud has occurred and that criminal charges should be laid." However, for two months the tenant heard nothing further, and numerous messages left with the minister's assistant, Tim Welch, by the tenant, my assistant and a representative of the Ombudsman were never returned.

When the tenant finally spoke to Mr Welch in late May, he was told that "a letter had been drafted and was awaiting signature." It was with some surprise, therefore, that the tenant later learned from a member of the Premier's staff that the letter has never even been drafted.

My question, Minister, is: This deceptive and cavalier behaviour is unacceptable; will you address this matter immediately?

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): The member is correct that this case has been carefully investigated in the Ministry of Housing. Under the existing legislation, the RRRA, the Residential Rent Regulation Act, under which these malfeasances were done, there isn't a prosecution for some kind of slippery behaviour such as this if it occurred more than a year ago.

What has to happen in a case like this is, a criminal charge of fraud has to be laid, and in fact, that is something which is, as I understand it, being advised by the members of the Ministry of Housing staff. She's quite right that it needs to be followed up legally, but that doesn't come under the Residential Rent Regulation Act, because there's been an expiry of more than a year since the fraud was committed.

Mrs Marland: It's very hard to understand why the minister's staff have ignored all our calls when perhaps they could have alleviated a tremendous level of concern if they'd even had the courtesy to return those phone calls. As a matter of fact, last Friday the tenant finally met with the rent registrar, who told him that criminal charges will be laid by your ministry. Unfortunately he was also told that the artificially inflated rents would not be rolled back.

I'd like to ask the minister to tell this House how her ministry can admit that the landlord has defrauded the tenants while at the same time refuse to review the rents which were increased as a result of the fraudulent invoices. What possible explanation can you offer for this incongruity, and what action will you take to ensure that fairness is going to be available to these tenants, these tenants about whom you spout off all around the province that you protect?

Hon Ms Gigantes: I should make it clear. I think earlier in answer to the member for Mississauga South I suggested that there had been fraud. There's an allegation of fraud, and as the member is aware, there is follow-up on that allegation.

She is suggesting that the rents won't be rolled back. If it can be established that the rents have been illegal rents, that they have been set illegally, then that's another matter. As far as I understand the situation, once the question of whether fraud had been involved was established, then you would have established whether the rents were legal, but it's not an automatic thing to roll back rents in the situation which she has described.

LEGAL AID

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): I'm pleased to be able to ask a question. I was also pleased to have the question placed on my desk before I got here this afternoon, but I really had something that was closer to the things that have been asked of me lately. It's a question to

the Attorney General. People across this province, members of the bar, people interested in due process in the criminal justice system—and I know this is an issue the member for Willowdale has raised on numerous occasions—have been concerned about what's been happening recently. People like Anthony Leardi and Guy Gardin, who are sitting here in this Legislature right now, are interested in exactly what has been happening within the Ministry of the Attorney General in terms of its plans about the future of the legal aid plan, especially in view of the recent discussion paper proposal, white paper, call it what you will, that was released a couple of weeks ago.

I read with interest the comments—I'm getting close to the question, sir—of Michael Crawford from Canadian Lawyer Magazine, who says, "While Ontario's government has denied it wants staff clinics in criminal law"—you know, American-style public defender systems—"it is cautiously testing the water."

I ask the Attorney General to clarify once and for all, to assure us that we are not going to descend into that lowest common denominator of public defender systems and that, rather, this government is committed to maintaining the private-counsel legal aid system.

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): I welcome a question on this issue. By way of explanation, I should point out that due to the failure of the federal government to live up to its funding obligations with respect to legal aid, we face this year a likely shortfall of about \$35 million in the legal aid system. We're trying to find that additional money through some other sources, but in terms of longer-term solutions we want to try some pilot projects in the area of refugee law, in the area of young offenders law and some experiments with staff duty counsel.

Interjection.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member for Willowdale come to order.

Hon Mr Hampton: But I should point out that at no time in our discussions with the Criminal Lawyers Association, with the Ontario legal aid plan or with the Law Society of Upper Canada have we entertained the idea of moving towards a public defender system.

Mr Kormos: I ask this because all sorts of people—again, to be fair, a whole lot of them lawyers, but hardworking lawyers, people who work hard to defend the rights of people; people like Mark Evans, a bright young criminal defence lawyer down on King Street in Welland—have been wanting an opportunity to provide input into this decision-making process. They recognize the validity of the leadership of the Criminal Lawyers Association, of the Canadian Bar Association, of any number of organizations. This is an important issue, Speaker, and I appreciate your indulgence. What these hardworking lawyers, who work literally day and night, seven days a week, want to know is: How are they going to have an opportunity to provide some direct input into the decision-making of this government? I believe that's crucial if this government is going to maintain and if the Attorney General is going to maintain any credibility on the issue of the future of legal aid.

Hon Mr Hampton: We have already met, for example, with the law society, with the Criminal Lawyers Association, with the community legal clinics, with the actual board of the Ontario legal aid plan, and we have gone through the numbers with them. We have pointed out, as a matter of fact, that the federal government will increase its funding to legal aid this year by about \$400,000 over what it was last year. If they were sticking to their agreements they would be increasing the funding by about \$40 million. We've made all of these groups aware of the shortfall in funding from the federal government.

We have also given them our assurances that in terms of the design of any of the pilot clinics, any and all clinics will be designed with full consultation with the Criminal Lawyers Association, the Ontario legal aid plan, the law society and the other interests that want to become involved in this.

1510

ONTARIO HYDRO RATES

Mr Dalton McGuinty (Ottawa South): My question is for the Minister of Energy. Minister, you will know that we have a very serious problem in Ontario when it comes to hydro rates. Those rates are going through the roof. At a time when inflation is less than 2%, rates this year went up by 11.9% and next year they'll likely go up by close to 9%. This is having a terrible impact on Ontario Hydro's 3.7 million ratepayers.

Your principal response to this very serious problem has been energy conservation, but here's the rub: According to information filed with the Ontario Energy Board recently, this minister's conservation policies will cost ratepayers \$2 billion over the next four years. To be clear, that's a \$2-billion net cost after allowing for any savings generated by conservation. In other words, this minister's response to the problem of skyrocketing rates is making matters worse. Minister, my question very simply is: Is it deliberate or is it a mistake?

Hon Brian A. Charlton (Acting Minister of Energy): It's very deliberate; it's not a mistake. Those numbers didn't come from information tabled at the OEB; those numbers came directly from this minister and tithiministry in the House here. We have announced on a number of occasions that we intend to spend \$2 billion over the next four years and \$6 billion over the next decade on energy conservation and efficiency in conservation. It's a deliberate program of the government.

The rate problems that are confronting the industries, the home owners and the businesses of this province are rate increases that result from a lot of very inappropriate decisions that have been made in the past, like the Darlington nuclear station. This government is determined to ensure, on the one hand, that those kinds of mistakes never have to be made again, and at the same time to proceed to help the consumers out there in the real world to reduce the bottom-line numbers on their bills by becoming more efficient, even if the rates have to go up.

Mr McGuinty: First of all, let's be perfectly clear about Darlington. I am prepared to acknowledge that the

impact Darlington is having on rates is something that is completely beyond your control.

I'm not talking about Darlington; I'm talking about your energy conservation policies—something over which you have complete control—which the Ontario Energy Board has said are ill-advised, simply not cost-effective and constitute short-term pain for little or no long-term gain. Will you now commit to revising your conservation policies so they will be cost-effective and not add to the terrible burden already being felt by ratepayers?

Hon Mr Charlton: The answer to the question is absolutely not. The member is quoting from an Ontario Energy Board report released last August which took a look at energy conservation programs that were ineffective and that were implemented under the previous administration.

The structure of the energy efficiency and conservation programs that are now being pursued has been dramatically changed both in terms of direction and efficiency. The reality is that the member has to come to terms with the relationship between rates and costs. Rates can go up while the costs that consumers pay go down.

NATIVE HUNTING AND FISHING

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): My question is to the Minister of Natural Resources. It is about his attempt last January to smear the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters.

Last January the federation went public with evidence that wild turkeys were being hunted out of season by some native people and that this hunting was putting the wild turkey population at risk. It went public with this because the Sparrow decision, which the minister always quotes, says it is the government's responsibility to put conservation first. Ahead of native rights, ahead of hunting, ahead of native hunting, ahead of native hunting out of season, comes conservation.

The Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters then went public with what it felt was a case of putting the wild turkey population at risk. Your response, Mr Minister, was to issue a release that said the OFAH was incorrect and, after passing judgement that the federation was mounting—your words—a campaign against aboriginal rights, you then after all of that decided to investigate. Can you tell me the results of that investigation?

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): I should indicate clearly that there was certainly no attempt to smear anyone and my statement that the press release of the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters was incorrect was indeed accurate. Their statement was that aboriginal people were illegally hunting and that was incorrect. The aboriginal people involved appeared to be exercising their rights protected under the Constitution. The investigation took place and the Ministry of Natural Resources was not able to determine that conservation was put at risk.

Mr Harris: The minister paraphrases what the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters was saying. They were saying the turkey population was threatened and that it was the minister's responsibility to protect. Minister, your comments at the time were so out of line the Attorney

General was called in to find out if you had prejudiced the investigation under way at that time by your officials.

You have said, Mr Minister, that you're willing to look into any hunting or fishing incident that threatens conservation. You've said you're willing to do that, yet when the federation raised an issue, you publicly attacked and smeared their credibility and impugned the motive well beyond the desire of the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters for conservation. I ask you, Minister, how you expect people to come forward if as soon as they bring forward examples—in the case of doctors they are smeared; in the case of civil servants, instead of whistle-blowing legislation they get OPP officers investigating them to find out where the information came from, but in the case of the Federation of Anglers and Hunters you come forward with the kind of smearing press release—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Will the member conclude his question, please.

Mr Harris: I ask you, Minister, do you not realize you are making it very difficult for people who care about conservation to come forward? Will you do the honourable thing today and apologize to the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters, an organization that has always put conservation first?

Hon Mr Wildman: Mr Speaker, I wonder if it's in order for a member to use that kind of language in a preamble to a question. As you've decided that apparently it is in order, I will attempt to respond. Frankly, I don't believe it is in the interests of racial harmony in this province for that kind of question to be put in that way. As I've indicated—

Interjections.

Hon Mr Wildman: The member does not want to hear the response, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Harris: That's exactly what you said. They raised the conservation issue and you started to smear them. They raise the conservation issue and you tried to smear them. You, like Miss Akande, are part of the problem.

The Speaker: I ask the leader of the third party to come to order. I listened very carefully to the Minister of Natural Resources. At first there was simply a reiteration of an accusation which had been made outside the House. However, just now I heard the leader of the third party accuse the member directly of smearing, and I ask the member to withdraw the unparliamentary language.

Mr Harris: I will withdraw the unparliamentary language, Mr Speaker.

The Speaker: Will the minister conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Wildman: The statement that we need to develop a proper approach to preserve conservation is in fact correct and it is the responsibility of all governments. That's why the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans, the government of Nova Scotia, the government of the Yukon and all other governments in this country are attempting to work out agreements with aboriginal people to protect their rights and at the same time meet the obligation to

protect conservation. As a result of the need to do that, the Ministry of Natural Resources has initiated a dialogue between the Chiefs of Ontario and the leaders of the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters with the Ministry of Natural Resources. That first meeting is taking place today.

1520

IRRADIATION OF FOOD

Ms Jenny Carter (Peterborough): My question is for the Minister of Agriculture and Food. Constituents of my riding of Peterborough are increasingly concerned about media reports of superfoods and the new technologies which prolong shelf life, such as irradiation and genetic engineering. In particular, to be able to exercise their power of choice consumers need to know if food has been so treated. Could the minister tell the House what he is doing to ensure that Ontario consumers can continue to be confident that the food they buy is safe and healthy?

Hon Elmer Buchanan (Minister of Agriculture and Food): Any new technologies that come into use in Canada have to go through extensive testing for approval through the federal Food and Drugs Act before they're approved by the Department of National Health and Welfare. All products and all technologies are tested on an individual, case-by-case basis.

Here in Ontario we currently are building a new food services lab in Guelph. In conjunction with developing that particular building, we are looking at developing a new, enhanced food quality safety program which is going to have several components to it. One will be consumer education. We will have research facilities there. We'll have a food safety response team. We'll have food standards legislation which we would like to introduce in this House.

In cooperation with other ministries within the government, I feel we are going to have some of the safest and most healthy food available for consumers here in the province of Ontario.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The time for oral questions has expired.

MOTIONS

STANDING COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

Mr Cooke moved that the Chair, clerk and research officer of the standing committee on public accounts be authorized to attend the conference of the Canadian Council of Public Accounts Committees in Fredericton, New Brunswick.

Motion agreed to.

HOUSE SITTING

Mr Cooke moved that when the House adjourns today, it stands adjourned until 1:30 pm on Monday, July 6, 1992.

Motion agreed to.

PETITIONS

LANDFILL SITE

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I have a petition signed by some 750 persons that reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly:

"Whereas the official plan of the township of King states that 'the township of King has traditionally been a rural municipality within the region of York,' and that 'the township possesses a significant amount of land which has historically been, and remains, devoted primarily to agriculture'; and

"Whereas this document also states that 'agriculture is an important land-based activity within the township';

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We oppose the provincial government's proposal to take prime agricultural land in King township and turn it into Metro and York region's megadump."

I support this petition and I have signed it accordingly.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Order, please. There are too many conversations going on. If you want to vacate the House, do so now.

GAMBLING

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario signed by many residents from my area:

"Whereas it is against United Church of Canada policy to indulge in any type of gambling;

"Gambling casinos bring crime to a community;

"Not everyone has the self-control to limit their betting;

"Low-income people will suffer from unwise use of their resources;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Be it resolved that the Toronto Conference United Church Women do strongly object to the Ontario government's proposed legislation to promote offtrack betting, sports lotteries and gambling casinos."

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a petition signed by 24 residents of the county of Middlesex, petitioning the Legislature to reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London.

VIDEO STORES

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I'm pleased to table a petition signed by very concerned constituents from my riding of Oakville South which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the undersigned oppose the presence of adult-only video stores in our community and would like to see them and their material banned in Ontario; and

"Whereas we find that such stores in our community do not promote anything of good moral value or help to build upon the strength of our children, youth, women, men and family units,

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to revoke and remove permanently the licences of these stores."

SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): I have a petition signed by approximately 10 students from the provincial riding of Cambridge, expressing their concerns with respect to the government's plan to amalgamate certain art-related courses at the year one secondary school level into one course in a proposed program called the Transition Years.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, signed by residents from all over Ontario.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas independent and non-partisan economic studies have concluded that the proposed changes to Ontario labour legislation will increase job losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery and the maintenance of a sound economic environment in the province,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the Ontario government declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to the labour legislation in the best interests of the people of Ontario."

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario that reads as follows:

"Whereas independent and non-partisan economic studies have concluded that the proposed changes to Ontario labour legislation will increase job losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery and the maintenance of a sound economic environment in the province,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government of Ontario declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to the labour legislation in the best interests of the people of Ontario."

Mr Speaker, I've affixed my name to this petition.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly:

"To the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas the report of Mr John Brant, arbitrator for the greater London area, has recommended a massive, unwarranted, unprecedented annexation by the city of London; and

"Whereas the arbitration process was a patently undemocratic process resulting in recommendations which

blatantly disregard the public input expressed during the public hearings; and

"Whereas the implementation of the arbitrator's report will lead to a destruction of the way of life enjoyed by the current residents of the county of Middlesex and will result in the relevant portions of Middlesex patently not being economically viable,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

FRENCH-LANGUAGE SERVICES

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I have numerous petitions here signed by people from my area and it's a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas the province of Ontario is experiencing a severe economic recession;

"Whereas the placement of bilingual signs on Ontario's highways without consultation and at a cost of more than \$4 million represents a blatant misdirection of taxpayers' dollars, which should be used to address the current pressing economic and employment needs of Ontario citizens;

"Whereas citizens of Ontario are increasingly being denied essential services, such as medical treatment, for lack of adequate funding;

"Whereas Bill 8, the French Language Services Act, does not mandate bilingual highway signs, leaving interpretation to the direct discretion of the Ontario Transportation minister who, as the minister responsible for francophone affairs, is empowered to grant exemptions under the act,

"We, the undersigned, do petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that the Ontario Transportation minister's directive to replace existing highway signs in Ontario with bilingual signs at a cost to taxpayers of more than \$4 million be revoked immediately."

1530

ATTENDANCE OF PREMIER

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I have a petition which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly to ask the Premier of the province of Ontario to attend question period every day and to respond to the legitimate needs of members of the Legislature."

I will sign this petition and present it for consideration.

REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

STANDING COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

Mr Mancini from the standing committee on public accounts presented the committee's first report and moved the adoption of its recommendations.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Does the member wish to make a brief statement?

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): The report deals with drug abuse and alcohol abuse clinics. This matter was studied by the committee before I was named Chair and before I was named a member, but I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the previous Chair of the committee, Mr Bob Callahan, who oversaw the work of the committee.

I understand the committee did detailed work in regard to finding out how we could best offer services to individuals who were in need because of alcohol or drug abuse and how we could assist the Ministry of Health in securing these services at a rate affordable to the people of Ontario, and introducing a system where we did not have to send our own citizens outside our province and into the United States.

I think the work of the committee should be acknowledged by the Ministry of Health and I think the ministry should in fact implement some of the recommendations that have been made by the committee, because we can do that work here.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): How cooperative are the government members now on the committee?

Mr Mancini: My friend the member for St Catharines asks me whether or not the members of the government committee have been cooperative. The only thing I can say is that the members of the government have used their majority to vote down every initiative put forward by either party of the opposition, something that I have not seen done before in my 17 years here in the Legislature.

I would say that if this trend continues, we will have other members of the committee resign, as did Mr Sorbara last week. I believe the government House leader should take note of what's happened in the public accounts committee, because if the situation continues it will become a mockery of the Legislature.

We do not want a politicized public accounts committee. We want to hear and do things that the government members ask us to do, and at the same time we want to hear and do things as members of the opposition who have been duly elected and have serious responsibilities to their constituents. I present the report to the members of the Legislature and in particular the Minister of Health.

On motion by Mr Mancini, the debate was adjourned.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS

TORONTO ATMOSPHERIC FUND ACT, 1992

Mr Marchese moved first reading of Bill Pr45, An Act to incorporate the Toronto Atmospheric Fund and the Toronto Atmospheric Fund Foundation.

Motion agreed to.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

INTERIM SUPPLY

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for interim supply for the period commencing July 1, 1992, and ending October 31, 1992.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): I believe the member for Etobicoke West had the floor when

we adjourned last night. He is not here. Therefore, I will recognize the member for Brampton South.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I am pleased to participate in this debate. I'd like to raise a few matters that I've spoken to before—I'm glad to see the Treasurer is here—the first one being the matter of special education. Due to the economy and the lack of funds on the government's part, funds available for special education have been cut back significantly.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Can I ask for unanimous consent? I wasn't finished in my speaking yesterday.

Interjections: No.

Mr Stockwell: Okay. Thank you.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): Just a second. I think you should listen to what is requested.

The Deputy Speaker: Order. When we started orders of the day, the member for Etobicoke West unfortunately was not here and I recognized the member for Brampton South. Therefore he has the floor, unless there is unanimous consent.

Interjections: No.

The Deputy Speaker: There is no unanimous consent. Therefore, the member for Brampton South.

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: These things happen from time to time.

Interjections:

Mr Scott: Mr Speaker, I'm on a point of order. The unwritten policy of the House is reasonably clear. For example, the other day when the Minister of Agriculture and Food made a mistake in the House and wasn't present at exactly the moment he should be, unanimous consent was asked and granted to override that consent. This House can be very fractious, but I'm sure the members of the government would want to reconsider and allow this member to exercise his rights, now somewhat more limited than they were last week, to speak in the House.

The Deputy Speaker: I have asked already if there is unanimous consent. I will ask once more. Is there unanimous consent that the member for Etobicoke West have the floor?

Interjections: Yes.

The Deputy Speaker: Therefore, the member for Etobicoke West has the floor.

1540

Mr Stockwell: I appreciate that effort made by the opposition party and the government. I thank them and I certainly will remember that if one of them is ever late for a speech.

Not to temper my remarks at all to deal with the issue at hand, yesterday I started discussing the rule changes specifically and the lack of shock, the lack of surprise, I felt with respect to the government's introduction of those rule changes, considering its history with respect to representing those who are part of a minority. Being in opposition, we being the minority, it was rather interesting to see the rule changes unilaterally introduced by this government without

any discussion, without agreement or consensus and basically rammed through the House. It was shocking to me to some degree, but not nearly as shocking as it was, I found, to the member for St Catharines.

To move on in this interim supply debate—I know we have some time constraints—I would also like to deal with the serious concerns I have that the remarks made by the member for St Andrew-St Patrick, Zanana Akande, about the program that she put in place and was covered quite liberally by the press.

Let me start with the comment itself, and exactly when that comment took place and how the member, in effect, tried to slip out from behind or underneath the comment until it was so painfully obvious that what she meant was before the public.

Let's be clear about this comment: This wasn't a Shelley Martel kind of comment. This wasn't a comment where Ms Martel was under attack and claimed to have been having a bad day and also claimed to have lost it and so on and so forth. This comment came, as I can gather, at an NDP convention attended by NDPers, with like-minded people sitting around discussing the concerns they have with respect to the running of the provincial government and the province in general.

I might add that the question, I thought, was a very legitimate question, and I will note that on any application we accept in this government or any application accepted in the private sector, it was duly noted many years ago, and rightfully so, that there can't be a question of race put on the application to determine whether the person is black, Asian or white. The question came from the floor at that conference by, again I assume, an NDP member—and they shake their heads no, maybe I'm wrong, I'll stand corrected, but I understand it was at the conference—

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services): A training session.

Mr Stockwell: Excuse me?

Hon Mrs Boyd: A training session.

Mr Stockwell: A training session. I see. At a training session at the convention, was it not? Okay, I withdraw that. It wasn't at the convention; it was a training session, as I picked up the remarks, by a social worker.

Now the question was: How do you know whether the person you're trying to hire for the job is black? That was the whole point of this particular program, and it's a good question because under the employment standards of today you can't ask that question on an application unless you absolutely interview every single person applying for the job. We know, in some instances, that's physically impossible. So the question was a fair question and I think should have been treated like a fair question.

So I say, when this question was asked it was asked of a very influential and important person in this government, a person who, as I understand it, had a very successful teaching career in the city of York.

The Deputy Speaker: Just on a point of order, on a temporary basis: Will you please welcome to the chamber a delegation that is here from the Instituto Bruttium of Calabria, Italy, headed by Don Franco Gentile, and the group

Arca, headed by Professor Fabio Gallo. They are here on a cultural exchange program.

Mr Stockwell: So let's be very clear what took place with respect to this question, and I thought it was a reasonable question.

The response I find unbelievable. I frankly find it unbelievable that anyone holding such an influential position in this government and who is, in fact, representing the viewpoints of the people in this province, would shoot back with the comment that she shot back with: that "You don't have any problem identifying us when you want to shoot us." I just can't believe that is an acceptable comment made by a member of the government, particularly a member whose responsibility is hopefully as a person who's going to cool the concerns that are out there in the community today.

This member, in my opinion, crossed the line and created more havoc, more concern, more frustration, and obviously upset a considerable number of people in this province. I can say categorically, there is not one person I have run into and spoken to about this who finds those comments acceptable. Not one. I have spoken to a considerable number of people in my riding and across Metropolitan Toronto who have heard about these comments and find them offensive. That's what they were: offensive.

I know full well this member apparently had a very good career at the school board in York, was promoted to the position of principal and was teaching the children in Metropolitan Toronto. I would hate to think that every time someone would ask a question that she didn't necessarily agree with or found trouble with, this is the kind of response she was giving them.

My goodness, you're in politics. You're going to get questions from people you don't necessarily like and you have to deal with them, and dealing with them means you try to answer them. Maybe if you can't answer them you say, "We have to agree to disagree," but it hardly gives you the right to slam the members of an entire police force right across this province, suggesting that they have no problem identifying blacks when they want to shoot them. That is absolutely unacceptable to me and, I believe, to the people of this province, and it should be unacceptable to you, the backbenchers in this government and the cabinet.

I went back into the history books, because do you know what else really troubles me about this issue? It is the fact that the Premier, by his silence, has endorsed the remarks. "Why has he endorsed these remarks?" you ask. I think the track record of the Premier is a little sketchy at times as well.

The member who made these comments tried to quietly sidestep the issue in a television interview that I caught where the question was put to her: "Were these comments reflecting your attitude to the police? Did you include the police? Did you mean the police when you made these comments?" Her comment was, "I never qualified those statements then and I will not qualify those statements now," thereby trying to leave the impression that she was not talking about the police.

Not so. A few short days later in the press she admitted the fact that she was talking about the police, and do you

know what? The police are mad, and the police should be mad, because they have to go out on the streets and deal with the problems in our troubled neighbourhoods and the last thing they need is a member of this government making statements such as the one that was just made.

It really concerned me that the Premier of this province didn't ask this minister to either apologize or resign. It seemed to me the most logical and appropriate position the Premier could take. But then I was reminded of this book I read a few short years ago about Bill Davis, a biography by Claire Hoy, and I recall a statement this Premier made when he was elected leader of the NDP.

I'm wondering to myself, "How can this Premier, in this House, stand behind those remarks by the member for St Andrew-St Patrick?" Now I sat in this House when the member for Leeds-Grenville stood up and asked how one of your representatives, on a committee that you struck to deal with the race relations issue in Toronto, could still be on a committee when he was arrested during the riots in Toronto. I know full well there are members across there who screamed at him that he was a bigot and a flaming racist. I heard them, and all he asked was, "How could you leave this person on a committee?"

I think the word "racist" is a word that's overworked and overused today. It's lost its meaning. It has lost its meaning simply because in today's society people can accuse June Callwood of being a racist and get away with it. I'm not sure if that's an appropriate word to use, but it's certainly lost its meaning. In an excellent Globe and Mail editorial some few weeks ago, she outlined exactly my position on these kinds of words. They're words that are too loosely used and too damning in criticism to be taken without the seriousness they deserve.

I would suggest that those two members, the member for Victoria-Haliburton and the member from Barrie, who made those comments during that day in the House, should think long and hard before using those words again, because those are the kinds of words that certainly inflame me and inflame, I know, the member for Leeds-Grenville, and he should be rightfully upset.

He should be rightfully upset because what he said, as compared to what the member for St Andrew-St Patrick said, is nothing, and the police forces across this province and in Metropolitan Toronto will tell you that. That's the most damning thing that's been said in this House in years. That's what the police are saying out there today. That hurt. That's painting with a broad brush every law enforcement officer in this province.

1550

Let me get back on track. In 1982 the now Premier of this province, who was elected NDP leader, had this to say during his speech. I will quote from the book by Claire Hoy.

"Rae, a highly publicized federal NDP finance critic, had been seemingly preordained as the saviour of a party desperately in need of divine intervention after four years of rudderless tutelage under Michael Morris Cassidy. He is a silk-stockinged socialist, raised with all the inherent and definitely unplebeian privileges of a diplomat's son, such as being whisked off to private school in Geneva in a

chauffeur-driven limousine. But here was this self-declared man of the people telling about 2,000 socialists that the dreaded Tories were not only misguided; they were out-and-out racists to boot."

It goes on: "In his main convention speech Rae conveniently ignored the fact that there were less than a dozen non-white faces in the crowd and said he wanted to speak of two visions of Ontario: 'Toryland and the real Ontario.' He said many people from minority groups had been excluded from power because Toryland 'is an Anglo-Saxon land. Maybe that's why it's so bland. You won't see a black face or hear the Italian language or the Greek language or the French language spoken in Toryland. They'd rather those things were kept quiet in some quaint little restaurant where they don't bother anyone.'"

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): Who said that?

Mr Stockwell: That was Bob Rae at the 1982 convention where he was elected as leader of the opposition party.

It goes on: "Hugh Segal, doing television commentary for the convention, called Rae's comments 'the lowest political attack I've ever heard on any politician. To imply that somehow there is a racial prejudice in any political party is not justifiable.' Davis, too, was outraged, saying, 'I think perhaps it's one of the first mistakes Rae has made.'"

That seems to cut to the very bottom of the issue. It cuts to the bottom of the issue for me. Why? Because how can we ask this Premier who made these kinds of comments in 1982 to ask the member for St Andrew-St Patrick to redress those comments she made not a few short weeks ago?

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I just got in here. Who said that?

Mr Stockwell: Bob Rae, the Premier of Ontario.

This is an issue that causes me great concern. Of all the things this government has allowed to happen, from Shelley Martel to its flip-flop on auto insurance to its flip-flop on Sunday shopping, to allow one of its members to malign every police person in this province is one of the worst things it could have done. And to allow the Premier, through his silence, to endorse that attack attacks the very fabric and integrity of the people in this province. I don't accept it. I don't accept it today, I didn't accept it then and I will not accept it in the months and years to come.

I know it didn't make for great headlines and I know it was only partially picked up in the media, but I will say in closing, as I know there are many who want to get into this debate, that I am very upset. I am upset the comments were made and I am equally upset by the arrogant, self-serving comments made by the member for St Andrew-St Patrick when she came into this House, treating us as insolent serfs who have dared question her authority on whether or not these comments should be made, and looking at us, glaring at us, and saying, as I am certain all will remember her words, "In conclusion," as if by commenting we were out of line. It left me with a very sour taste, it has left my constituents with a very sour taste and it has left the police with a very sour taste.

Mr Rae and Ms Akande should be ashamed of themselves. With those kind of comments, I'm sorry to share the same benches at times.

The Deputy Speaker: Questions and comments, the member for Downsview.

Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview): Thank you very much for the opportunity to respond very briefly to some of the comments made by the member yesterday in his speech to the House when he talked about our rule changes and how that's going to impact on the procedures of this House.

Let me start off by saying there's no question that yesterday was a sad day for many of us who have spent considerable years in opposition, because in opposition you tend to make full use of the rules, and rules, more often that not, should be structured and slanted in favour of minority groups. There's no question about that. I've enjoyed on a number of occasions in this House listening to some of my learned friends in this place who have gone on at quite some length and shared with us their experience of government and quite generally their experience of life. I've welcomed that opportunity and I've appreciated that opportunity to listen to many great speeches that were made in this place.

I can tell the member for Etobicoke West that I enjoyed his talk on the rule changes. I thought many of the points he made and many of the arguments he put forward struck at the heart of what many of us are experiencing in this very place. I can tell you that my good friend the member for York Centre also spoke at quite some length about the rule changes in this chamber and he too put forward some very excellent arguments about why the status quo should be preserved.

But I supported the rule changes, for one reason and one reason only, after much contemplation, and that's because I fundamentally believe the opposition has used tactics just simply because it's refused to accept the authority of this government.

Mr Mancini: I want to comment, not on yesterday's speech but on the speech made today by the honourable member for Etobicoke West. I think he's brought to light in the chamber a number of important things and a number of important issues that have taken up the time of the Legislature over the past few years. If there's one thing I can be critical of of the members across the floor, it's that they have no sense of the history of the Legislature, no sense of what transpired here prior to their election, and therefore they are in any number of ways put at a disadvantage.

We just heard from the honourable member across the floor who just sat down, talking about the rule changes. He has no idea of what those rules meant to the opposition, because he was not here to use or in any way take advantage of those rules, as opposition parties and opposition members should. He joins us as a member of the large government majority, which feels that any criticism of the government is because it was elected, and that's not true. If the government does receive criticism, it's because there are different points of view.

When any government uses its power and its majority to shut out different points of view and to shut out other people who are not as strong as it is at the moment, and large segments of the population, it does itself an injustice

and it does democracy an injustice, and certainly it does the members of the opposition an injustice.

I cannot agree at all with the comments made by the member across the floor sitting on the government benches. I'd rather agree with the comments made by the member for Etobicoke West.

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): I would just like to say that, first of all, I congratulate my colleague the member for Etobicoke West for an excellent speech. I really believe that speech should be mandatory reading for everybody in this Legislature. Indeed I would commend it to all of the NDP to take away and read what he says, because he talks volumes about tolerance and how disgusted he is with a government which would move to support the comments by members of its own government which are clearly of a nature which will inflame the attitude of people, and indeed he spoke about the rule changes.

As I've listened in this House, there are not many speeches which go on for many hours, but I have found I've been enchanted with listening to, for example; the member for Renfrew North as he has made his excellent dissertations. I don't always agree with him, but I must say his sense of history and his view of what has gone on in this House leading up to legislation is certainly something that any new member should dwell upon and find useful.

With the introduction of the new House rules, we won't be able to have that benefit for new members. Indeed this is a sad day for this House because this is the last day we'll have any lengthy debate, and it will be the worse off for it. So I thank my colleague the member for Etobicoke West, and I also take the opportunity to thank the member for Renfrew North for many of his long, excellent and insightful dissertations.

1600

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): I just want to add my comments to the others made in this House with regard to the comments of the member for Etobicoke West with regard to the rule changes. While I wasn't present for all of that speech, I did hear a portion of it here and also on the television while the speech was given, and I want to say that in my view, while I don't associate myself with all the views he expressed, it was an excellent speech and it was obviously heartfelt.

As someone who has served in this House for a considerable number of years and has had an interest in politics all of my life, I think I have that sense of history the member for Essex South indicated that many may not have; I'm not sure that many don't have it. As someone who served in opposition for many years, I recognize the importance of the protection of the minority, but I also recognize that even in other Legislatures across Canada changes are being made because of the need to be able to allow the majority to carry out its responsibilities.

At one time in this House we could ring the bells ad infinitum, and did, and measures were then taken to change those rules. I understand in the Saskatchewan Legislature this week there are proposals being put forward to end the ringing of the bells that has bedevilled the operation of

that Legislature both under Conservative and NDP governments over the last couple of years.

It seems to me that whenever there is significant division in the House, it leads to tactics which then inevitably lead to rule changes, as the member for Etobicoke West indicated in his remarks, and that almost always then leads to investigating new ways of getting around the new rules by the opposition. I suppose this is a cycle that will continue. I just hope that as we get through this process we can indeed get back to more civility within the House.

The Speaker: The member for Etobicoke West, you have two minutes to reply.

Mr Stockwell: I'd like to just quickly thank the members who gave their questions or comments. I certainly understand why the members opposite disagree. I can understand their frustration in processing legislation through this House. I don't necessarily believe it's something that is necessarily unnecessary or bad.

I very rarely buy the argument, at any level of government I've been in, and it's always the last argument if all else fails, "Well, we're doing this because everybody else has." You hear it all the time. "We're changing our rules because they did in Saskatchewan." Well, what makes them right in Saskatchewan? "We're changing the rules because they did in PEI." Well, what makes them right in PEI?

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): Potatoes.

Mr Stockwell: Something. I used to hear it at all levels and I don't buy it. If the best excuse you've got for changing the rules or forwarding an argument is, "Well, everyone else is doing it," that's just not good enough in my books. Because the kids come in when the lights go on, and Johnny stays out later. So what? I'll quickly explain it again. Your kids come to you and say, "Well, Johnny got to stay out later," and you told them they had to be in when the lights come on. That's that argument, and we're changing our rules because Saskatchewan did; not really deep.

Finally, now we are saying we will not have any more speeches beyond the 30 minutes. You know what? I'm the loser because I enjoyed them.

Hon David S. Cooke (Minister of Municipal Affairs and Government House Leader): Ninety minutes for leadoff.

Mr Stockwell: A 90-minute leadoff. Well, we're splitting hairs; 30 minutes if you're not the leadoff. I enjoyed sitting here and listening to speeches from the members for St Catharines and Renfrew North and Hamilton Centre and even Essex South, but the real loser is the taxpayer.

The Deputy Speaker: Any further debate?

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I'm pleased to enter the debate here. I was sitting in my office on Friday. I want to share a letter that was sent there. It says:

"I live in a high-rise apartment facing the Petro-Canada refinery in the Bronte-Oakville area. I am a chemical engineer and have worked in the oil industry for 40 years."

This is a letter that came in about a man who was concerned with what was happening. I was reflecting on it

as we were sitting here debating about all the tax increases and the spending that go on. He says he's maintained for four years accurate records of what's been going on in the Petro-Canada facility.

He goes on to say: "Our highest complaint is the odour. We cannot sleep with our windows open. People in the homes cannot see their outside facilities. It is affecting the young and the old alike. They pollute the air with their frequent heavy brown smoke, which is noxious. We in this area would appreciate your kind attention to the problem."

As I sat there and reflected on the fact that we're the highest taxed province in Canada and the highest taxed jurisdiction in North America, I went back to see exactly what some of the concerns were. I raised on October 11, 1990, this issue with the minister when she had recently signed in as the minister at that time, October 1. I tried to get a meeting.

November 29 of that year I made a statement in the Legislature on that issue. The following December a public meeting was held where the ministry was saying it was going to solve the problems. On the 21st I again wrote the minister regarding this problem. On the 22nd I requested, through this Legislature in a statement, some assistance. February 20 of that year I requested a meeting for myself and some of the other people, which was given. On April 30 of that year I introduced a resolution regarding the situation and what was going to be happening. I won't go into the resolution. September 11 I again requested another update on what was happening. On December 17 I made a statement in the Legislature.

To date we have had no solution to this problem.

As I sat in the office last Friday, I thought, here we are, we have the highest taxes, yet none of the problems seem to get solved. I went back and looked at it and a year later these poor people have no solution. As I look and see all the effort that's been done, there are no answers out there for these people.

It was the same thing virtually two hours afterwards when I thought, here we are, we're no better off in terms of the environment a year and a bit after this government has taken over. That's why I believe there's a sense of frustration out there. I think people believed the NDP wouldn't solve all our problems in the areas of taxes and spending, but I honestly believe a lot of them thought the environment was going to be one of the areas it was going to improve. Of course we know what's happened with this Minister of the Environment. She's been caught up in the dump issue. The two chaps who came to my office thought one thing we would be able to do was have some clear action on the environment. There has been nothing.

Friday was not a particularly good day for me as I looked back and I saw as a legislator all the things you've tried to do, the letters you've written and the statements you've made, the resolutions you've introduced. The fact of the matter is we're no farther ahead.

It was the same situation two hours later when somebody came over over housing, come in regarding some of the apartments—I know the former Minister of Housing is here and I wrote him many times—at 5166 and 5170 Lakeshore Road. The chap came in with the Rent Review

Hearings Board decision, 43 pages, and the frustration—I won't name the chap because he probably wouldn't like the landlord to know that.

It is so ironic that the former Minister of Housing and the now Minister of Housing surely are trying to help these people. He wrote on the Rent Review Hearings Board appeal number application that came back, "The hearing at the appeal is a disgrace to the province of Ontario and to the sworn oath of the board members."

I spent last Friday on the issues of the environment. We got nowhere. This particular issue has been going on, and I sat in some of the hearings on this and there's no doubt that the hearings were confusing, frustrating and time-consuming. On the environment we've had no improvement whatsoever. In the area of housing, these people feel frustrated. In fact I can't say in the Legislature what they said about the particular hearing process.

1610

We see why there is frustration out there and why people are so concerned, and all they're asking now, for example, the people in the housing, is, "What direction do we need?" Some of the people have been fairly kind. I had a chance to speak to the people, the housing manager, and said, "Where do we go from here?" Quite frankly, there were no answers and I think that's why the frustration and the confusion out there, because nothing seems to work. Ontario is in trouble. We've got high taxation, high government spending, high unemployment and low productivity, but nothing seems to be getting better, whether it's the environment, whether it's health care, whether it's education.

It was the same thing with another chap who came in the same day. He was with the Naylor Group. He came in concerned about a labour board decision. The nutshell of it is that the labour board has decided his company can't build the Oakville-Trafalgar hospital. He's a subcontractor and it's very complicated, because the contractor has to use workers who are from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. He won the bid in a closed process. From his letter, I believe it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of \$400,000 cheaper, and he can't build that hospital because of the labour board decision. He came in very frustrated.

Here I was on a Friday. The chap from the Naylor Group came in; he was frustrated. The system didn't work; the labour board. The environment people came in; that wasn't working; the housing people.

When I think back to when this government was elected, I want to share a few thoughts with you, the hope that was out there. This is a quote, and I'm not going to tell anybody who it's from or where it was from, but it goes back to August 1990 and it says:

"I started this campaign by saying our party would not be presenting an endless catalogue of promises to the people of Ontario. Men and women across Ontario have told me that they don't want promises that can't be kept and they don't trust parties that pretend to serve every need and satisfy every demand. Compare our approach to the record of the Liberals. We don't use election campaigns to discover problems, promise solutions and then ignore them afterwards."

Well, that's from the Agenda for People. As I sat on Friday and found out the chap from the Naylor Group—Jim Wilson is off rotation; he's in a meeting. That means I keep going. Thank you.

I was just going to say that in terms of the labour board decision with the Naylor Group, he's frustrated with what was happening. The environmental people are frustrated, and I won't even get into the frustration out there with the Minister of the Environment over the dump issues. I think, rightly so, they have called for her resignation regarding that. It's the same thing with the housing situation and the frustration that's out there regarding that.

As I was reflecting back on some of the record, I was looking and I just want to go through some of the promises that were made during that election campaign and let's see where we are today, and then I'll close up, because I know some of the other people want to go on.

Here are some of the election promises that were made that year. Driver-owned auto insurance: That promise has been broken. Gambling? That promise has been broken. Sunday shopping? That promise has been broken. Remember the one about the northern fund? Nothing with that yet. They were going to four-lane the highway in the north. Nothing.

They talked about safe, clean water. Nothing. The member said you made that promise. You'd better start working on the Minister of the Environment if you made that promise because the next election is coming quickly. Environmental bill of rights: nothing. Pipeline to Wallaceburg: I remember that one, but there's been nothing on that. Clean air: nothing. Waste management: That promise I think has been broken and broken again.

The minimum corporate tax—remember that one?—nothing. They were going to fight the GST and the free trade: nothing. The speculation tax they were going to put in: That promise has been broken. The education funding one—holy smoke—60% funding they were going to raise it to. In Halton it dropped farther this year. That was the promise that was made. I would say that would be broken, and I underline that one.

They were going to eliminate the food banks. Remember that promise? That one's been broken too. They were going to preserve the farm land. That's been broken. We didn't know they were going to put dumps on it. We didn't realize what they were going to do with it. The gas tax: They were going to be the ones who were going to help the gas, and that's been broken. We saw that very clearly with their increases. They were going to do something about pensions: nothing on that. Reforestation: That one's been broken.

The taxes for the working poor: As we heard today, that was the biggest one, because Bob Rae ran around this province and said, "Yes, you're right; the taxes are too high. It's David Peterson's fault. We can have all the spending, \$5 billion more, but don't worry. Somebody else will pay." We found out in the last budget who that somebody else was. It wasn't the rich, it wasn't the corporations; it was the average working person who paid. I would say he broke that promise as well.

Job protection: nothing there. In fact, we've lost more jobs. Historically this province has had 40% of the jobs and 50% of the manufacturing capacity. In this particular recession, we in Ontario have lost 80% of the jobs. This has been an Ontario-led recession, and this government is to blame for it. The statistics have been very clear on that. Some 40% of the jobs historically have been in Ontario; 80% of them, if you look at the statistics of what has been lost, have been in Ontario because of this government and its policies.

They made some promises on the job protection board: There's nothing in there. They talked about some of the training initiatives: We're into that with OTAB, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, so there's a little bit there. We'll see what comes out of that.

Then they talk about some of the other things here. As I look at the list, we wonder why there is frustration among the people of Ontario with this government and any other government. It is because they thought you would live up to some of your promises, and you have not.

I know the next member wants to speak. It is with a sense of frustration that we close up this particular session. I say to the people out there, we are worse off under this government. I say to the people out there who last time voted for this government because they were angry at the other two major parties and really didn't know what they were going to stand for, next time you'd better take a look at what the politicians are saying, because the province of Ontario is worse off now. It's a direct result of this government. It's a sad day in the province of Ontario.

The Deputy Speaker: Questions and comments? Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? The member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): It's actually Scarborough-Agincourt, Mr Speaker. I'm pleased to join the debate on supply. I guess the thrust of my remarks will be around the issue of trust: trust that the government has and trust that it should have.

I remember well the throne speech. I carry it with me all the time. This was the first speech from the throne, November 20, 1990. The Premier's words: "My government's first challenge is to earn the trust and respect of the people of Ontario. My government's integrity will be measured by the way this government is run and our relations with the people we serve. Our task is to guard against institutional arrogance and the abuse of power wherever they exist."

My comments will be all around the issue of trust and how, in my opinion, the government has lost the trust of the opposition. Nothing, I think, could be more important and more fragile than that. It's a rather personal comment, because I'll go back to where this all started for me, the first signals.

When the Liberals were defeated, the first major event by the new government was the swearing-in at Convocation Hall. No one likes to lose, but I wanted to go to that event because I felt it important that one respect the new government. I phoned the new Premier's office for several days asking for tickets. I couldn't get tickets to the event.

Hon Mr Cooke: There were no reserved seats.

Mr Phillips: There were tickets for the event and there were reserved seats. There you go again. I went over to the event. I tried to get into the event. People were rushing by me to their reserved seats. The problem with the government House leader is that he says these things and indicates why I don't trust him. There were reserved seats there. People were brought into their seats. I didn't mind. I stood in the hall on my tiptoes looking in on it. I didn't mind that. I understood that and accepted it. But the Premier's office said they were sending tickets to me and they didn't. That was my first indication of things to come. I'll go through a variety of things. As I say, the government House leader is reinforcing my concern about the government.

The second thing that happened, and not necessarily in any order of priority, was that in November 1991 we received a memo to cabinet from Shirley Coppen on the consultation central coordinating committee. It showed once again the cynicism of the government. To use its own words: "Ministries will take responsibility for mailing out documents, keeping lists and using names creatively. This is an opportunity to establish new support bases across Ontario. Participating ministries must agree to resource the project." It goes on further, "We will conduct these things based on the budget committee approach last summer."

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For those people who are watching it, the budget committee approach that was used the previous summer was an exercise in futility that we in the opposition conducted. You may recall, Mr Speaker, that we spent the entire summer last year going around the province trying to get input into how people reacted to the budget and what people thought about the budget. Little did we know that at that very time the Premier's office was phoning groups that relied totally on the government for their funding to show up at the committee and speak in favour of the budget. It was a sham orchestrated out of the Premier's office. This is why you are losing your trust and why—

Hon Mr Cooke: You used to take your marching orders from Hershell Ezrin.

Mr Phillips: We have heckling from the government House leader because he doesn't like the facts.

Who was on that committee, by the way? Again, this is government money, money used by participating ministries. Who was on that committee? Jill Marzetti, NDP. That was the second thing that began to raise my concerns about trust by the government.

The third thing: There is no question the Premier's time in this House is severely limited. We see him here perhaps once, perhaps twice a week. Today he had an event this morning, which we understand, but he was due back here in the Legislature at 3 o'clock. Could he not have been back an hour earlier to participate in question period? We understand it is an orchestrated approach for the Premier to avoid being in the House, to avoid the opportunity for the opposition to ask the Premier about the business of the day. We also see most ministerial statements made somewhere else, made out of the Legislature,

giving the opposition no opportunity to respond. That's the third thing on this trust issue.

The fourth issue, and my colleague in the third party talked about it, is the Agenda for People. I remember that document was waved under my nose throughout the campaign at event after event, many orchestrated, I will say, by the NDP, where placard carriers would be outside my campaign office waving the Agenda for People under my nose and saying: "They'd do this. Why can't you do it?"

Here we are now, less than two years after their election. The member who so ably spoke before me on campaign promise after campaign promise after campaign promise broken—whether on the common pause day, on educational funding, on public auto insurance or whatever—went through perhaps 15 different promises that were made. While I personally respect many of the members opposite, as a government I'm losing my trust in them.

The issue that perhaps offended me the most was the OPP incident. To refresh your memory, it was back in October. The Treasurer gave an update on the financial picture of the province and was bringing the House up to date on several significant changes. The day that happened, the member for Bruce was given a copy of something called a midyear adjustment plan. As the Treasurer himself said, it is a non-sensitive document. It is merely, as it says here, "general themes" in answering questions, some questions and answers and has absolutely nothing significant in it in terms of sensitivity.

I know the fact that the member for Bruce received it that day angered the government. I know they were upset that somehow or other this document had come into our hands, and they did something I continue to be totally offended by. They called in the OPP anti-racket squad. I honestly don't know why the caucus members of the NDP aren't totally offended by this. If there is something you should be guarding against, and all of us should be guarding against, it is the state using its police against the opposition. To this day I don't know why some of the civil libertarians in the NDP caucus haven't demanded of their Premier, "How do we justify this?" This document, believe me, was totally non-sensitive. It was irrelevant, other than the fact that you didn't want us to have it. What was the response? The government phoned the OPP and said, "Go get 'em."

There is no doubt, by the way, that the Premier didn't phone the police. I know that, but the Premier was fully briefed on this and he did have a choice, as I said in the Legislature here. I'd known the Premier when he was in opposition for some time and I had fully expected the Premier to say: "Listen, this offends me. I don't believe we should be letting the police go after any opposition on a matter like this. Stop it. Back off." I honestly can't understand why some of you in the caucus haven't raised that and said, "Listen, if there's something I believe in, it is protecting the freedom of speech in this country from the state police." Certainly the police had no option but to do what they did.

I've raised this several times in the House and the Premier says: "I have nothing to do with this. This isn't anything to do with me." Yet it does affect him. It isn't the first

time it's happened to us. On at least two occasions the OPP has been called in to officially investigate the opposition on documents that really are not sensitive and that, as I say, I think should not have been investigated.

But the Premier, when I raised it with him, said, "I have nothing to do with this." If he has nothing to do with it, who does? Who is going to set the policy that says this is unacceptable? Or any time anybody in the bureaucracy wants to turn the police loose, are you going to turn them loose on us?

I can't forgive the government for that. I will continue to raise it. I have asked the Premier on several occasions simply to get up and say: "I understand why the opposition's angry and I've now issued a code of conduct on how we are going to conduct ourselves." But do you know what he said to me on several occasions? He said, "You're wrong, I've nothing to do with this."

He was briefed and he and only he can stop this, because right now what is acceptable behaviour is that whoever wants to can turn the police loose on us. I'm repeating myself, as I feel so strongly about this and I cannot understand why the Premier's not gotten up and cleared the air and said, "We made a mistake." There was something else in the speech from the throne, "When we've made a mistake, we'll admit it." Why don't you admit it?

The next area of trust: Members will know that from the day the budget was released, my leader, Lyn McLeod, said: "We've got some serious questions about the accounting methods in the budget. We don't think that the way the pension funds are accounted for is properly done." Events have proven us right. She said: "We have some real questions about the way the asset sales are being reported. We have significant questions about what's called the fiscal stabilization plan and whether in fact we're ever going to get that. We are going to ask our Public Auditor to look at it." So we sent a letter off.

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The auditor sent a letter back to us saying he and his office would be happy to look at it "but we require a legislative committee to ask us to do it." So we prepared a motion that we took to the standing committee on public accounts. What happened? It was turned down, rejected. The government members said: "No, we're not going to let you get at that. The answer is no."

You can understand why the trust we should have in the government is gone. I can't tell you how offended I am by that. Historically, when the Liberals were in power, the NDP and the Conservatives had essentially free rein on the public accounts committee. To the Conservatives' credit, when they were in power, the public accounts committee was allowed to look at virtually anything it wanted to, to assure the people of Ontario. So here we have now significant concerns.

I will say this. The Treasurer said in the committee of the day that we have spent \$2 million more than we needed to on interest because we chose to borrow the money, not on the market as we would have done but from the teachers' pension. It's a sham. It is a deliberate attempt to understate the size of the deficit. There is no question about that. The Treasurer said as much in the committee.

But we want to get the Public Auditor to look at it. The Treasurer, when I ask him a question, says, "I have no trouble with the Public Auditor." But then when it gets to the committee, whoever is pulling those strings, whoever is putting the whip on—I think it's out of the Premier's office; I have a lot of respect for the Treasurer—says, "We don't want this exposed." The theme of my remarks is trust. There we have it. In the House, the Treasurer says, "I think it's a good idea for the Public Auditor to look at it," and then when it gets to the public accounts committee, the whip is on: The opposition uses its power and says, "We're not going to let you look at it."

I'll talk a little bit more about trust. I repeat: I have respect for the Treasurer personally, but the budget has some extremely questionable numbers in it. One of them we talked about today in the Legislature, that is, the increase in personal income tax that comes less than 24 hours from now. On July 1, every person out there will see his Ontario personal income tax go up more than 5%.

By the way, and my colleague from the third party mentioned it, in the Agenda for People—I can remember being in the House here when the then Leader of the Opposition, Bob Rae, would say: "Bob Nixon, why don't you reduce the taxes on the working poor? In our Agenda for People, we're not going to reduce it; we're going to eliminate the taxes on the working poor."

What happened, though, as the working poor will find out tomorrow, is that they didn't eliminate personal income tax on the working poor; they actually increased it more than 5%. It is ironic in the extreme that at the very time when Brian Mulroney, of all people, is reducing the income tax level on the working poor, the NDP has chosen to increase the taxes.

The member for Dovercourt, Mr Silipo, sent out in a communication, a householder, to every house in his riding, information that is incorrect. He said, "If you're earning less than \$53,000 a year, don't worry about it, because you won't be seeing increased taxes." That was wrong. We had to get the Treasurer in the House to instruct the Minister of Education, the member for Dovercourt, to issue a correction, to say to the people in his riding that he was wrong and to send out a correction.

Mr Mancini: Did he send it out?

Mr Phillips: I don't know whether he's sent the correction out yet.

This was on May 14. I remember it well. The surprising thing is that in the Legislature two weeks ago, who said the same thing? Who said, "For people earning less than \$53,000 a year, there'll be no increase this year in personal income tax," which is wrong, wrong, wrong. Who said that? After Treasurer Laughren had instructed Minister Silipo to correct it, who once again said it wrong?

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): I bet it was the Premier.

Mr Phillips: The Premier.

Not only that, I said: "Premier, you're wrong. Will you correct it?" He said, "I will take that as notice." Normally when one takes it as notice, eventually you come to the Legislature and say: "I'm sorry, I was wrong. Here's the

correct information." The Premier has never done that. The Premier has never come back to correct the record.

In terms of trust, my last point on trust is the House rules. Perhaps the finest speech I've heard was made last Thursday night—it went from perhaps 6 o'clock to 11:30 or thereabouts—by my colleague Mr Sorbara. He outlined for us the issue of House rules and how it impacts on each of us.

I made the observation then that I understand why the cabinet does it. This allows it to have the real power, and I understand that. But why the caucus would permit it is beyond me. I realize there is only one member of the government caucus who sat in the Legislature in opposition, apart from the cabinet ministers, and that's the member for Welland-Thorold. I hope he would appreciate the importance of these House rules. All the rest of the government members who were here in opposition are now in the cabinet, with that heady thought of power.

The government House leader has chosen to bring these rules in. I will just say that when I dealt with Bob Rae in opposition, I actually had some confidence, some trust in him. This series of events has led me to think there are two Bob Raes, and I liked the Bob Rae in opposition a lot better than the Bob Rae who is Premier.

Look at the things we sitting in opposition see coming at us: how seldom the Premier chooses to be in the Legislature, because I know he's got instructions, "Don't go there, you'll just have to answer tough questions"; the central coordinating committee document and the manipulation of the committees; the whole Agenda for People and how cavalierly that's been discarded, and how much I felt it was a central part of the campaign; the OPP thing that I continue to feel deeply about and frankly won't give up on; the abuse of the standing committee on public accounts; the misstatement in the budget; the misstatement by the Premier, and the final straw is the House rules.

As we look ahead for the next several years, while we deal in opposition with the government, I hope that at least the caucus members who aren't in cabinet will understand why we feel the way we do and why we act the way we act. I hope some of you will begin to ask the tough questions in caucus that have to be asked. I'm sure you thought before you were elected that you would never let these things happen without significant challenge by yourselves.

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The Deputy Speaker: Questions or comments? Further debate.

Mr Callahan: This is the delayed debate; our colleagues here were kind enough to let the member from Etobicoke go ahead.

It's interesting because in 20 minutes, or 19 minutes now, I'm going to have to say things that I feel passionately about and then I'm not going to be able to do it further. I think it puts in perspective what will happen to members of this House with the new rules that have been voted on: the fact that people who were able to speak about things they felt very passionately about in interim supply will have 30 minutes within which to enact that speech.

Having said that, I've already spoken at length on the rules and how I feel they were really a trammeling of democracy and the rights of members of this Legislature to represent effectively the people from their ridings. I want to address, as quickly as I can, five issues. The first two will be the alpha and the omega of the world: senior citizens and young people.

I hope, whether or not anybody else is listening to this speech around the province of Ontario, that at least the following people are: the Minister of Colleges and Universities, the Treasurer, the Minister of Education, the Minister of Correctional Services and the Minister of Health. None of them is in the House, but I hope they are listening on the television sets they have in their offices.

I want first to address the question of young people. Over the 25 years that I practised in the criminal courts—and this is a speech I've repeated time after time, and I hope somebody's listening—the number of times I've had to approach a judge in terms of the sentencing of a young man or a young woman on the basis that he or she had a learning disability, that it went undiagnosed, that they were pushed through this eclectic system that we have and couldn't make it and found that they became asocial and got into crime, to the unhappiness of their families, and wound up in our correctional system.

These were people who were not given the benefit of a test by a psychologist to determine whether they had a learning disability. We can all be empathetic about the fact that if somebody's in a wheelchair or they're blind or they're deaf, we can see that disability. We can't see the disability of young people who have learning disabilities, who perhaps are not dyslexic, which is clearly evidenced by someone looking at them. There are kids in this community, in the province of Ontario, and I bet around the world who are treated as illiterate, who are in fact people who have a learning disability that is not diagnosed.

We go on as politicians making plans in terms of what's good for tomorrow, what's politically sexy for tomorrow, instead of planning for the help of these kids. You look at the crime rate in the streets. The crime rate, I suggest to you, is just a drop in the bucket. We'll be like New York if we don't do something about this issue. I plead with the ministers. Number one, the Ministry of Health should pay for psychologists to test young people, either on a contract basis or through OHIP, to determine whether or not they have a learning disability. There should be a psychologist on staff at the correctional facilities in this province to test every inmate coming in who might show some perceivable problem with a learning disability. Otherwise we are just housing these people, putting them away, and they'll come right back out the revolving door and we'll have the same problems we have now.

I plead with the Treasurer that if you're going to plan for money, plan for it for the future, plan for it for the most important commodity that we have in this province, our young people. Don't just let them be flipped off into the correctional system and become into a way of crime. Let's do something about it.

We pay for psychiatrists under OHIP. It just blows my mind. You have two types of psychiatrists—without offending

either one of them—you've got those who figure drug therapy is the secret to everything and constantly rewrite prescriptions for kids so they can constantly get more drugs, or you've got the psychiatrist who perhaps uses a different approach, who perhaps is a little more effective.

But then you have psychologists, who I think do a pretty good job. A psychologist's exam to determine if a child has a learning disability can go anywhere from \$900 to \$1,500. Families who are poor cannot afford that, and in many cases those are the families where the parents don't understand that the child has a disability. They think the child is out of control, or they can't afford it. The net result is that that child winds up in a system of asocial behaviour.

It's just like the mechanic says, "You can either pay me now or pay me later." I suggest to you that it's far more humane, it is far more beneficial to this province, if we in fact pay for it now, if we plan for it, if we in fact look after these children and make certain that they get that examination, and it's not happening.

This may not be a sexy political issue, one that's going to win the election for the government in 1995, or for that matter for any government, but in fact if you think about it, we have to do something very substantive for the young people of this province. We just see window dressing.

We see window dressing in terms of \$20 million that's thrown out for jobs, and the only people who get employed are the people in those agencies who are interviewing the kids who are supposed to get the jobs. I talked to young people at Gage Park in my community last Tuesday and I asked them about this. I said: "Is the \$20 million getting any jobs for you kids? Are any employers coming and listing jobs on your board?" "No." So what is the \$20 million being used for?

We play these window games as politicians with the people, the most vulnerable part of our society next to the seniors. We play these window games with these people, smoke and mirrors, and we expect them to have some respect for law and order, we expect them to have some respect for politicians, we expect them to have some respect for what goes on in our society. I say: "Wake up, Ontario. Wake up, Canada." Politicians have got to stop playing the smoke and mirrors game. We've got to start thinking about what those kids are all about.

Of course the only time this will hit home is when some member of this Legislature has a child who has a learning disability and finds that child is not able to get access to a proper job because employers don't understand that a child with a learning disability has to have something explained to them in a much more expanded arrangement.

We look at our universities. I was talking with the critic for Colleges and Universities and a couple of other people. Our universities are set up to provide spaces for people who have learning disabilities. But think about it. What's happened in the last little while is the fact that because of the cutback in the number of spaces available in universities because of the cutback in funding, because of the fact that the competition for these spaces has become so tremendous, you now need an 80% average to get into most universities. So it doesn't matter if you've got a program there for them to help them out, to assist them. What you

have to do is provide access to those people who can only earn a 65% or a 70% average, those people who are disabled, those people whose disability we can't see but it's there. It's as true as the person in the wheelchair.

Yet what do we do? We continue to have a process whereby you need a 75% or an 80% average to get into university, or perhaps the same to get into a community college. What are we doing for these kids? Can we leave this Legislature thinking, "Oh, well, we fooled around with it, we played with it, we were able to get a sexy political issue, get a few headlines in the newspapers"—because that's the be-all and end-all in this joint. If you can get in the press and you can get a headline in the press, you have achieved. That's the success of your government—that plus polling.

But are we not here for a purpose, to achieve something significant as opposed to just the glamour of seeing your name in the press or seeing yourself on television or getting re-elected?

Hon Mr Wildman: I'd rather not see my name in the press.

Mr Callahan: We can say: "Well, the Minister of Natural Resources has just spoken up. We can save trees"—which is very important—"we can save farm land"—which is very important. We can save a whole host of things that are very important, yet when it comes down to saving the most important thing in our society, our young people, we have no planning whatsoever. It's the quick fix. It's the spin doctors in the back, down the hall, the unelected representatives who have the say about what will happen.

1650

What did we do to the teachers in the secondary and elementary schools? We gave them 1%, 1% and 2%. So the government threw the onus upon the trustees to take it from the taxpayer. Well, they're politicians too, so obviously the least line of resistance for them, rather than tax the taxpayers more, was to cut back on programs like special ed. I don't know how people in political life can possibly live with themselves, how they can possibly go home at night and feel as though they did a good job, if they're only interested in the quick political fix, the headlines in the newspaper or the polls, and not about those young people.

I said the second part of it is the omega, the seniors. What did we do with our seniors? We have made them now pay at provincial parks. They have worked their buns off in our society, done a lot for this community, and what do we do in a recent initiative of the government? We charge them to go to the provincial parks for their outing. It may be the only thing they can afford.

What else did we do? We took people who are travelling outside the country and who perhaps have served their days in Ontario, have worked hard and are perhaps summing or wintering someplace, and we changed the rules on OHIP for them. Did we tell them? Of course not. Some senior could have wound up getting ill someplace in the United States—and I would suggest to you, that's a real possibility with a senior—and may have found that the

OHIP coverage was not sufficient to cover the cost of the US or whatever foreign medical service.

So I suggest to you that we're looking at the two sides of those coins, and we're looking for quick political fixes. I know the government's in trouble in terms of finances. That has nothing to do with whether it's an NDP government or a Liberal government or a Conservative government, but for God's sake, don't try to ride it out on the backs of kids and don't try to ride it out on the backs of seniors.

Our correctional system is supposedly there to assist people who get in trouble with the law. Let's face it: I suggest to you that there could be people in this Legislature whose kids could wind up in trouble with the law. Do we provide institutions where there is proper treatment for these people? Do we provide alcohol and drug abuse treatments? Yes, in the Ontario Correctional Institute. OCI houses about 200 inmates. That's the select place you go. In order to get there, you've got to get about two years less a day.

Why haven't we got more of that? Why is there not more concentration on Correctional Services? I'll tell you why: because corrections is not a sexy political issue, nor is justice. Justice is not a sexy political issue. The Attorneys General of every political party have had difficulty weaselling money out of the Treasurer for corrections and for justice.

I suggest to you that that is becoming a significant issue. We see it in the debates in this House now on the violent crime that's occurring on the streets. We see that happening because of our inability to deal with the question of drug and alcohol abuse and the treatment of those people.

You keep giving 1% or 2% to justice out of the provincial budget and I can assure you—and I suggest that you read *Bonfire of the Vanities*—you won't be able to leave the Legislature or the courthouse without an armed guard. We're going to see it, and some day—I hate to say it—I'll look back at these debates on what I've tried to say in the House and say, "I told you so." I don't want to have to say that, but it's coming. It's happening.

I've spoken on the reform of this place ad nauseam. This place has to be reformed totally. The power is so concentrated, it's incredible. It's concentrated in the hands of people who were not elected, as my friend the member for St Catharines so eloquently said the other night in terms of people who are accountable. It's the backroom boys. They talk about the United States with its backroom boys. Ours are worse. You've got people back there, spin doctors, who decide what is the important agenda of the day or how they're going to muffle the Legislature, muzzle us with rules that are inappropriate for a democratic society, and you have those people back there setting the agenda for Ontario. I suggest to you, that's totally objectionable. It's objectionable to the people of Ontario. It's objectionable, or it should be, to every one of you people who have been elected to this Legislature.

I'll give you an example too of very poor planning. We have the excellent Peel Non-profit Housing Corp in the region of Peel. It is a major way, and probably the most innovative one, of providing low-cost housing for people.

In the recent initiatives by the Minister of Housing, where she allocated 3,500 units of the first phase of 10,000 units, she didn't give very much, in fact very little, to Peel Non-Profit. It went to co-ops, and that's fine; I think cooperative housing is a good approach. Peel Non-Profit Housing has a demand of 8,300 households. The most disastrous thing I hear in my constituency office is that single parents with children can't find accommodation. You have to put them up in a fleabag hotel. When they come to my office and say, "I can't find housing," I go to Peel Non-Profit. Nine out of 10 times they solve that problem, but they won't solve it with a demand of 8,300 households outstanding.

The Minister of Housing's suggestion of how she would allocate the non-profit housing may very well have been politically sexy for her because she spread it among larger groups that would become beholden to the government of the day. If that's the agenda, direction and aim of a government, I say, "Shame on you." Shame on any government of any political stripe; that should not be your directive.

Your directive should be to try to solve the problems of this province where they can be solved and try to direct your money in a way that it's going to be most effectively used, not listen to the spin doctors, the Agnews and the rest of them back there and even the ones who were there for the Liberals and the Conservatives. Listen to your constituents. In your caucus, fight for the opportunity to represent your people; you're not doing it. Every time you vote, you stand up like you're joined at the hip. Do you really believe that the people in the next election are going to say, "I want you back"? I don't think I would if I were out there in the electorate. I'd say: "You didn't serve me to begin with. You weren't able to carry on in the small things I gave you. Why should I give you greater opportunities?" I suggest to you that's exactly what's going on.

We're seeing things in this community that absolutely blow your mind. We're seeing a flip-flop to casinos. Casinos are going to kill the charitable organizations.

I went to the Big Sisters annual meeting. They raised 70% of their funding through fund-raising. They made \$147,000 of their total budget, Mr Treasurer, on the basis of Nevada tickets. For those people who are watching who don't know what a Nevada ticket is, it's a paper slot machine. The minute you bring in slot machines, I can assure you that the Nevada tickets are gone and the Big Sisters of my region, who do an excellent job, will be out of business. So I suggest you look at that.

If you look at the whole thing with the race industry, the jobs you're going to destroy there are absolutely incredible. That's the whole problem: that this government doesn't bother itself with planning or with consultation; it looks at the polls, it looks at what the press writes about it, what the television coverage is.

Mr Treasurer, I have to say to you I'm really disappointed, because I knew you in opposition, and you were a man who constantly was at the government of the day, the then Liberal government, and I'm sure you were at the Conservative government, because you were around in those days, stressing that it should try and look at the

question of planning and using these dollars that are becoming scarcer and scarcer every day in a really planned way. I suggest you're not doing that.

I would love to be able to speak longer. I have lots more to say. I'm not sure if it's because of the new rules we've enacted or, if I'm wrong, if it was on the basis of consent, which is the way this place should work, really, but I'm prepared to close.

Before closing, I'm going to make the final pitch: food banks, Mr Treasurer. I talked to you about that. There is a solution for food banks. The marketing boards we have in our province prevent a producer from producing more than is the necessary quantity. You're high on co-ops. Why could we not set up co-ops that would allow the farmer or the producer to sell that extra product for a pimple above the cost to those co-ops and make them accessible only to people on social assistance who would have a card like a credit card? It would keep the people out of there who had the fur coats. It would provide it for the people who really need it, and we wouldn't constantly be begging for food in the various food banks that are around this province.

Hopefully, as I said, the ministers I've suggested have been listening, and hopefully I'll get another opportunity to put an oar in the water for the areas I've discussed.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

1700

Mr Scott: I note the presence of the Treasurer. I want to assure him that I don't intend to do anything to prevent him, under the new rules or the old rules, from getting his way. I'm not a person who could maintain a filibuster if my life depended on it, and I had no intention of participating in the debate until I heard the honourable member for St Catharines speak with such passion and such concern yesterday about the changes he sees in the House. He, like the Minister of Labour, the Treasurer, the honourable member for Renfrew North and others, is a long-time denizen of this place and understands its temper, its values and its instincts much more profoundly than I've been able to in the short seven-year period in which I've been here.

I think we will begrudge the change we have made in the rules. I understand perfectly well the dynamic that requires a government to propose such changes. I also understand perfectly the dynamic that leads to resistance. When I was in cabinet there were many of us who thought aggressive changes should be made so that efficiency would take a greater role at the expense of participatory democracy, and there were others who thought that, no, a popular democracy, at least in this assembly, was a value that had to be protected.

The interesting thing is that in the seven years I've been here, I've heard stories about the past but I can only recall two instances of a protracted filibuster. There may have been more, but I refer to the filibuster around the previous government's automobile insurance legislation, which will certainly form a place in the history of the NDP policy manual right there; and the second, the filibuster around the Sunday closing legislation which the Liberal government introduced.

Looking back on it, I think I was right to conclude at the time that those pieces of legislation were reasonably good pieces of legislation. I wouldn't dare say that in the presence of a majority NDP government except that I note, after a good deal of rustling about, that it essentially has adopted them as its own. I think that illustrates that the policy adopted in both those laws was, for its time and for the present time, a reasonably sensitive and practical accommodation of the issues.

So you ask, how can you justify a filibuster conducted against legislation that you thought was not only plausible but entirely desirable in the public interest? I think it has something to do, and something to do very profoundly, with the nature of a popular democracy. The honourable member for York Centre, who spoke the other night, made some of these points. You can't get up and filibuster for 17 hours and sustain that kind of resistance to legislation if you don't represent a profoundly held view in the community. It may be a foolish view and it may be a wrong view, but it will probably be a view that is widely shared.

When I look back at the filibusters around a common pause day, I think some of the things that were done were silly. The successful attempt to prevent the Treasurer from reading his budget was not only silly, I think it was counterproductive in the end, because it was an excellent budget when it came out, but that kind of technique served no purpose.

The filibusters themselves, as long as there was a remedy to terminate them under the direction of the Speaker, were appropriate and desirable democratic mechanisms. The mechanism, of course, to terminate it was that the government could intervene and ask the Speaker to determine that there had been significant and useful debate, and then closure could be introduced. That was a sensible rule. I very much regret that that rule has now been abandoned. So we now face the reality that after three days of debate, or whatever it is, at second reading a minister of the crown will be able to announce to the House how long the debate will continue.

I have every reason to believe that members of the government party—and I see one or two of them here—must have had grave difficulty assenting to that legislation. I know all about cabinet solidarity, and bear the scars on my back from submission to it in one or two rare instances when I wasn't in total agreement with everything that was done. I see one or two ministers here, perhaps more, who must have found it a trying day to abandon this important instrument of popular democracy in Ontario.

The good news is that in Ontario we have three mature, fully formed political parties. There's nobody around saying that the Liberal Party is going to disappear and, no matter what we may wish, there is nobody around saying the NDP is going to disappear. With three fully formed political parties we recognize the reality that sooner or later there will be a minority government—probably one in which the NDP will play a much less significant role than it did in the last minority government if I have anything to do with it—in which the successful cry for the restoration of the old democratic, popular rule that you could filibuster until the Speaker said "Stop" is applied.

As I say, I am no denizen of this place and I don't understand its traditions, but I think the honourable member for St Catharines made a telling point about our traditions which would be unfortunate to ignore.

I don't see why the Treasurer should have his money any sooner than absolutely necessary. With that in mind, I want to deal with three or four other but perhaps connected matters in no particular order of importance.

The honourable members who are sitting for the government can be certain of one thing, and perhaps one thing only: I will not be a member of the next Liberal government that will take its place here.

Interjections: Oh, no.

Mr Scott: Sad. Why is it that the complaints and the reservations about that pronouncement come only from the government and not from my colleagues? I'm not able to say.

I just want to deal with three or four things, one of them contentious. The first is political patronage. I accept entirely what the honourable member for St Catharines had to say about it yesterday. I think his words were wise and sensible. They recognized the errors of us all, but those words recognized certain realities and the importance of being as good as your promises.

I want to take up—I have tried to take it up with the government; the honourable member for Ottawa South, I believe, has tried to take it up with the Attorney General—one area of political patronage that concerns me as a lawyer very greatly and about which nothing, though I have been asking for weeks, has been done.

One of the initiatives of which I am most proud as a former Attorney General is the establishment in this province, and it has become a model for its establishment in other provinces, of an independent committee—a majority of whom are intelligent, lay people in the community, not lawyers—to make recommendations to the Attorney General about the appointment of judges. The first chairman of the committee we appointed was Professor Peter Russell of the University of Toronto. It had on it a majority of lay people. Its function was precisely to offset the notion, which I think was not often true, that perhaps politicians had too much to do with the appointment of judicial officers.

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That committee made its recommendations to the Attorney General. During the time when I was in office, I rejected only one of those recommendations, and that on the basis that the proposed appointee was not capable of speaking in both official languages in a district where I believed that to be required. In other words, it removed the element of political involvement and, more than that, because I don't think political involvement really was ever a very big factor in the appointment of judges in Ontario, it created a sense with the public that those appointments were recommended by good, sensible Ontario people in their communities. I'm proud to say not only that our government introduced that but that when it was introduced, the present Premier approved of it and spoke highly of the exercise.

I want to tell you that I'm very disappointed. I should tell you that I never said for a moment that there shouldn't

be people who were interested in politics on the Judicial Appointments Advisory Committee. It seems hard to believe that between 1985 and 1990, perhaps even to 1992, you could find 11 people in Ontario who weren't interested in provincial politics and didn't have views about a wide variety of subjects.

For example, when I established the committee, I didn't hesitate—and this is merely an example—to appoint Michele Landsberg to the committee. She is the spouse of Stephen Lewis and an able, intelligent, experienced Ontario person. I don't think anybody would have any doubt about how she voted; indeed, it would be almost a matter of domestic crime to hear that she had voted against a Lewis for political office. But I didn't hesitate to appoint her, because she was not an active politician even though she had political views. I thought she could sit on that committee, make her judgements and no one would think that the committee was controlled by an active political person.

I must tell you that I am really saddened at what has happened under this government. This government decided to appoint a new chairman of that committee and appointed a person who I'm sure is excellent in every way and is a professor at the University of Windsor law school. That professor then decided, as a member of the committee and as its chairman, to seek the NDP nomination in a federal election and obtained it and is now engaged in the preparatory work for an election campaign. I believe that chairman should step aside.

I find it extraordinary that a scheme designed by our government and approved by the NDP to insulate judicial appointments from political interference should be seen by the public of Ontario to be chaired by a person, and I'm sure an excellent person, who is now an active candidate for political office. I can tell you, honourable members, particularly on the other side, that if, for example, Professor Peter Russell had announced that he was going to be a candidate for the Liberal Party and remain as chairman of the Judicial Appointments Advisory Committee—

Mr Bradley: He'd be gone.

Mr Scott: He'd be gone because I'd demand it. He would be gone because Bob Rae would have demanded it, and he would have been right to demand it—not gone in disgrace, not gone because you lack ability, but gone because you have lost, if only for the moment, the ability to present yourself as non-political to the public of Ontario when you were making judicial appointments.

I don't want to generalize about the patronage practices of this government or about any of your other practices. I want simply to give you that example and to ask you, as members of a government, if you can really live with that, because I think, when you examine it, you won't be able to live with it. If you can begin to make changes like that, there is some significant hope for all of us.

The second matter I want to deal with, and I am not embarrassed to deal with it in the presence of the honourable member, is what has now become known as the Martel affair. As an opposition, I think we bear some

responsibility for what has happened, which in the end is tragic.

I remember the day in this House when the then minister responsible for women's issues came into the House, obviously visibly upset, and explained to the House, having obtained unanimous consent, that she had written a letter to the discipline committee of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario. It had been brought to her attention that it was not proper to do so. It was a breach of the Premier's guidelines and she proposed to offer her resignation. The Premier got up and graciously said he proposed to accept it. The honourable member who is now the Minister of Northern Development got up and said that in effect she had done the same thing.

Then an extraordinary thing happened. My leader, the Honourable Robert Nixon, a great human being in my opinion, overcome, I think appropriately, by compassion, by a sense of these careers at stake, by the sense that one minister, who has had her own difficulties with health but was trying to do a good job, had resigned for something of which she may have been totally unaware in terms of propriety and where another minister, the daughter of his long-time good friend, a young woman who had an enormous contribution to make to Ontario politics, was facing the same fate, got up and said, "I wish she would reconsider."

It was a magnanimous gesture of a most remarkable kind that could only come from an extraordinary human being. But in a way it was a terrible thing to do to the government and to the member in question, because if that had not happened the minister responsible for women's issues would have resigned—her resignation had already been accepted—the Minister of Northern Development in all probability would have resigned and her resignation would have been accepted, and following the model of the Minister of Health both of them probably now would be restored with full power and capacity to the cabinet.

But do you know what happened? I don't know whether it happened in the Premier's mind or in the minds of those in the Premier's office. They said: "Hey, we know what should be done because we've already done it with the minister responsible for women's issues. We know what propriety demands, but look, we're going to be able to skate by this because of what Bob Nixon said."

The Premier did that. The Premier abandoned the principle: I'm not worried in this context about automobile insurance or casino gambling or these principles that have to do with the economy of the country; I'm worried about principles that don't cost you any money. On that day when Bob Nixon made that offer, as the honourable member for St Catharines said the other day, "We saw an opportunity to look at what a government and a leader of a government will do when they think they can get away with it."

Bob Nixon, a great man, a man I admire enormously, out of an act of compassion gave the Premier an opportunity to make a choice and the Premier, I regret to say, made the wrong choice. That will be a matter for debate and there will be many who think I am wrong about that and I understand that perfectly, but the tragedy of that exercise, when all is said and done, is that the Premier lost

the ability at that time, and I think it may be extremely difficult to recover, to take the high road on matters of that type.

Wouldn't it have been wonderful if he had said, as I thought he would: "I have drawn the line in the sand. I like that minister but she will have to go and we pray that she could soon come back?" No, he said, "I've got an advantage because I've got this opening. I can get away with it," and he did.

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What's the upshot of that? The upshot, when all is said and done, is that the Premier is besmirched by that in an important area. But that doesn't worry me. The other thing that is tragic is I think that in a practical sense has damaged for ever the career of an able, intelligent, devoted, young member. It used to be said the member might succeed Bob Rae as the leader of her party, and she would be qualified and able and experienced enough to do it.

The tragedy of that, the tragedy of trying to get away with something because there's a chance we can skate by it, has damaged him. That doesn't matter. He's the Premier. He has to make these choices and he can live with them. But ironically that has more profoundly damaged her. Now that's an example of conflict of interest. I do not speak generally to generalize; I only take examples.

I also want to say that I think there is a third problem that has to be addressed. I have been a member of a government and I understand some of the difficulties. There is much said in this House about the fact that the NDP has been unable to carry forward its Agenda for People. Frankly, having read it in its fullness, I'm not terribly upset that you haven't implemented every single provision of it, and cower with fear when my Conservative colleagues demand that you comply with your promises. Few things would terrorize me and do more damage to the Ontario economy than if in fact you did comply with all your promises. But I understand about that; I have no trouble about that.

The difficulty that seems to have happened—and I say this sitting a little bit aside, looking at your party and the government from outside—is that there is an angst about being pragmatic. You aren't comfortable with it. The Tories aren't comfortable with it either. It was fascinating to see the two parties of the left and the right, the ideological parties, today engaged in a fuss about what Premier Robarts said about OHIP, as if it matters in 1992, or what the position of this ideological party was as opposed to the position of that ideological party. Ideological parties in Ontario don't survive, never have, never will.

But there's a problem that you seem to be dealing with not very satisfactorily: how to put the Agenda for People behind you, how to concede that all this stuff you said you would do is simply out of touch with the realities of modern Ontario and how to begin to govern effectively and still have a democratic party.

You're grappling with that; you're trying to deal with it. The notion that the governance of Ontario can be established in town halls all across Ontario is so naïve it would be almost offensive to state it to any sensible person in the province. But what is happening, as you grapple with this,

is real difficulty, because if you are going to be successful, you will become a pragmatic party and abandon some of those loony ideas which carried you successfully through opposition. But if you're going to become a pragmatic party, you've got to successfully address that question.

The next election is going to be fabulous. If the members will permit, I just will tell one story about appearing in an election campaign—and I won't name the riding or the candidate—at a cooperative housing project for a political meeting. The NDP candidate, a fine young woman, was there. I was there as a Liberal member of the Legislature in a sitting government. The Conservatives don't go to co-op housing meetings because there aren't any votes for them there at all. So there were just the two of us and it was like the old days when you had a two-party system.

But the co-op members, most of whom in that particular poll, which I don't think was anywhere near my riding, are devoted NDP supporters, immediately turned on me, as a minister of the crown, and said, "What are you going to do about cooperative housing?" The question didn't come to me totally out of the blue, so I had got together what we had done. I forget the figures, but I think we had committed to build some 60,000 units over five years and we were in the third year of that program. So I said, "That's what we're doing."

Loud boos from everybody and the NDP candidate said, "I told you that's not enough. They don't do anything. That isn't nearly enough," and started to dump on me, the likes of which I've never had. I didn't know what to do. I was in an enemy camp, surrounded, when "not enough" seemed to be enough to win the battle.

I decided that the only thing to do would be to turn to the chairman of the meeting, like you, Mr Speaker, the protector of the innocent, and say: "Look, Miss X, I have told you what our government is committing to do over five years. Will you tell me what your government, if you form a government, will do over the same period?"

Mr Rosario Marchese (Fort York): You asked that?

Mr Scott: I asked that. There was silence. The audience, first of all, booed, but then when I put the proposition again, the NDP candidate was finally forced, "You should answer the question, candidate."

The NDP candidate hadn't the faintest idea what the answer to the question would be, except for one thing: She knew she had to pick a figure higher than 60,000. But that wouldn't be good enough because if she picked 65,000 or 75,000, would that satisfy this clamouring crowd? She had no idea. So wisely, I think, never expecting to be in a government, she picked 100,000, a good round number. I would have picked it myself but for the fact I didn't want to have to pay the bills. She said 100,000.

Then an interesting thing happened. We'd been talking about a five-year program and she had said 100,000. Then there was a sort of rustle at the door. Actually someone was trying to get out, but she thought it was a sign of dissatisfaction, so she said 100,000 each year. While that poll was not in my riding, I am sure she won it. Certainly, if you're interested in cooperative housing, she won it.

What this means of course is that as this party, which now forms the government, moves into the next election, you are going to be planning election campaigns of the type you never imagined.

I thought 1985 was a wonderful thing because in all my adult life there had been only one government in Ontario. I have many friends who are NDPers. My first law partner was an NDPer. I made contributions for Bob Rae's campaign in Riverdale—I wish he'd stayed in Riverdale—and did other things of that type. I joined the Liberal Party—pragmatism had its way—because I thought the Liberal Party was best placed to win the election of 1981—misjudged that one slightly—and if not that, then 1985. My goal was to displace one government in Ontario, the Conservative government, not because they were bad governors particularly, but because a single party in government for any length of time is destructive of political debate.

The year 1985 was great news; 1990, personally, was bad news. I was sorry to leave. I thought that on balance we provided reasonable government. But there was a good thing about it: We now have an opportunity to watch the New Democratic Party in government.

Let me tell you, my friends, that you are going to have to learn to be realistic. Next time, if you produce an Agenda for People, you'll be laughed off the streets of every town in Ontario. Next time, if you announce that you are going to promise to do this, someone will say, "Cross your heart and hope to die?" because they will know you have been able—I'm not criticizing you for it—to carry forward barely one of the promises you made.

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): Not true, not true.

Mr Scott: I'll give you one. I heard someone promise that Rosario Marchese, my friend, wouldn't be a minister for ever. You kept that one and that's one you shouldn't have kept; he was a good minister.

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What I say to you is that you, an established political party, are moving into a new world. This speech isn't meant to be funny. This speech is to encourage you to adjust to that reality and to avoid one thing that I find afflicting some of you, more notably the ministers than the backbenchers: that there is a bit of meanness about the atmosphere in this place. There's heckling and there always has been. There's heckling in question period, and I've been known to make an odd contribution to that, but there is a meanness about what is happening. I don't blame you for that. I think the meanness is a result of the fact that you've finally come up against the fact that you can't do what you promised the people you would do.

That must be a very unsettling thing for you. It's not unsettling to pragmatists who understand that; it's very unsettling for ideologues and especially ideological ministers. The reality is that you can make this adjustment, as other parties have had to do, and I simply pray that you will be able to make that without developing, as an antidote to your inability to be ideological in the future, any meanness of spirit toward those who oppose you, those

who do not vote for you and do not support you and, indeed, to those who may think, like some of my friends, especially on the far left here, that you're an odd pack from beginning to end. They're Ontario people too and you're going to have to successfully adjust to this.

I find, for example, in dealing with the opposition in matters of rule changes, in dealing with the bureaucracy, there is a hint of this meanness developing that I find quite extraordinary. I'll give you an example: I think of Mary Hogan who was the Deputy Attorney General of Ontario. I would have been honoured to appoint her to that job. I appointed her a judge before we had this committee and she is a fine and able woman. She was one of the Premier's first appointments as a deputy minister and one which he made very personal, you may remember, one of the first senior women deputies. She had a distinguished career at the bar and on the bench and I don't know why it didn't work out, but it didn't work out. I'm sorry for that, as I'm sure everybody is.

There was a touch of meanness about the way the matter ended. I don't know who stole the letter out of her desk. It must have been somebody in the building. I don't know why the bureaucrats hustled hither and yon to cover it up. I don't know why the minister didn't come to her defence or go to bat for her. I don't know why the Premier didn't say anything. But I certainly have the feeling that an us-and-them mentality was developing on your side of the House to a certain extent and that Mary, a fine woman and great judge, was to a certain extent a victim of that. I pray that you will be able, over a period of time, to approach these very difficult questions with a little more generosity than I think may occur.

Just one last minute and then the Treasurer gets his money as far as I'm concerned. The member for Scarborough-Agincourt is a moderate, modest, sensible man. He is, as you will know, very exercised about the intervention by the Ontario Provincial Police in the offices of the then Leader of the Opposition and of our environmental critic, the member for Halton Centre. I think he has a right to be concerned about that and I think the responses from the government have not been full and fair enough to do that issue justice, and it's an enormously important one.

Everybody understands what happened. The OPP turned up at those two offices in this precinct, or nearby, to interview those people about how they got a government document. They didn't say to the police, "Somebody came in here whistle-blowing from the bureaucracy and the NDP has always been in favour of whistle-blowing so I knew there'd be no problem." They answered the questions.

But how did it happen? The Premier says he didn't send them, and I accept his word because he's an honourable man in this respect and I've known him for many years. That's not the point. I accept that he didn't send them for these purposes. The fact is the police were there and somebody sent them and we don't know who. The question is, why didn't the Premier tell them to stop? That's the question. Why didn't he write a letter to the chief of the OPP: "You can't go and interview the Leader of the Opposition and his staff and an Environment critic like that. You're going to make me look terrible because

people might think I had something to do with it." He knew it was happening because he said so. Why didn't he stop it?

He says he didn't stop it because he never interferes in police investigations. That, my friends, and you, Mr Speaker, whom I include among my friends, is the shallowest, most trivial, most impossible of explanations. There is nothing wrong and everything right if the Premier of the province or the Solicitor General, who has direct responsibility, calls off an improper police investigation. That's what civilian control of the police means. Our Premier didn't do that. I think that's an important thing. It may not be fatal. The member for Bruce will survive it, the member for Halton Centre will survive it and this government apparently will survive it, but I think you have to think about these things in a slightly broader perspective.

There's nothing more boring to government backbenchers than hearing how it was in 1985 to 1990, and I don't intend to go through that. I grew up in an NDP law firm. Andrew Brewin was my boss. He was one of the founders of what was then called the New Party. He was for many years the president of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, a person who came to your party not through the trade union movement like David Lewis but rather through the church, as many of you have done, and was a person of great compassion and understanding. I can't imagine Andrew Brewin answering the question that way. I simply can't imagine it.

I don't believe most of you, in your heart of hearts, would answer it that way. I think if you found out that someone had sent the police to the Leader of the Opposition's office, you would have said, "We want that stopped right now." Maybe you did say that in caucus. That's what caucus is for. Maybe you did say that. Let me tell you, my friends, after only seven years, if you didn't say things like that on those occasions and on the Martel inquiry and in dealing with Mary Cornish and these hosts of issues on political patronage in the judicial appointment system, if you don't speak out and say those things, you won't be here very long. You will be replaced and it will be right that you should be replaced.

I know what our faults were. There were many. Not as many as some of my voters thought, but there were many and we paid for them. I can tell you, you're on that track as sure as can be—forgive me, honourable member for St Catharines—not because you've introduced casinos in Ontario. That's not going to get you defeated. I think maybe even your sensible turnaround on the common pause day is not going to get you defeated. What's going to get you defeated is the likes of these things: Martel, Mary Hogan, the police in the Leader of the Opposition's office and allowing people who are candidates for political office to run the system for the appointment of judges.

I say I won't be here after 1995 and I'll be reading about you. Most of this, of course, I probably won't read about because the reporters don't cover it very thoroughly, which is the luckiest thing that ever happened to you and us. But the reality is that you won't be here unless things like that happen.

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This government is only two years old. It came to office with the support of a significant, not an overwhelming, percentage of the Ontario population. Regardless of the votes you got, you came to government with extraordinary goodwill, just as we did, from Canadians and Ontarians who wouldn't have voted for the NDP if you were the only party on the ballot. It's the truth.

That goodwill was an enormous resource. It's not the flip-flops on policy that are going to cost; it's the abandonment of principle in those areas where it ironically doesn't cost anything.

Why can't you deal with the Deputy Attorney General fairly when she gets into trouble with her minister, particularly when she's one of the principal women bureaucrats you've brought to the system? Why can't you deal with issues like Martel in a way that does not damage her distinguished career and allows the Premier to honour his intentions? Why do you not deal with the Judicial Appointments Advisory Committee by asking the NDP candidate who is now the head of it to step aside until the election is over? And why don't you deal with such issues as the introduction of the police to investigate the Leader of the Opposition's files by saying: "Under our government, that's not going to happen. We didn't come here to do that"? As the Premier said, "We didn't come here to permit that to happen."

Those of us who will be outside the House after 1995 may not be voting for you, but we will be very proud of a government that does those things.

In conclusion, I think the Treasurer should get his \$16 billion. I've been tossing that up and down in my mind for half an hour, but I think on balance he should get it just this once more.

I want to thank you, Mr Speaker, for your indulgence.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): I thank the member for St George-St David for his contribution to the debate and invite any questions and/or comments.

Mr Sorbara: I have a brief word of commendation for the member for St George-St David, the former Attorney General of the province, for his comments.

In the past few days I think we've heard some important addresses in this Parliament. I include on the list of important addresses the one given by my friend the member for St Catharines just the other day on the supply bill, but I think he touched on a number of extremely important themes and reminded us what this Parliament is all about.

I include on that list the speech just given by my colleague and my seatmate the member for Scarborough-Agincourt, who I think has as accurate and effective an analysis of the economic policies of the government as anyone in Ontario, and certainly anyone sitting in the Ontario Legislature.

Of course I include in that list the speech just given by the member for St George-St David. It makes sitting in this Parliament truly worthwhile and truly significant. Not all the speeches, not all the questions, not all the interjections, are of much note or of much significance, but the remarks we've just heard today from the former Attorney General,

the member for St George-St David, I think were perhaps one of the most important messages government members could hear, because it was a speech about principle.

I just want to remind my friends in the government party sitting over there on the other side of one sad aspect of that speech, that is, that as a result of the work they have done as a government, and in their search for even more power as a government, the speech my friend has just completed would not have been permitted under the new rules that will govern this House as of next Friday at midnight. That is to be lamented.

The Speaker: Further questions or comments? If not, I recognize the member for St George-St David for up to two minutes for a response.

Mr Scott: I think the honourable member from Wilson Heights made this point, that if the government's polls remain very low over the next three years it seems to me conceivable that the last resolution before we go to the new polls will be a resolution from the House leader to restore the old rules. I'll want to give some thought to that when it comes up.

The Speaker: Further debate? If none, I recognize the Treasurer for any windup remarks which he may wish to make.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): Probably one of the reasons I have stayed in the Legislature as long as I have is that I enjoy the speeches that are made in a wide-ranging way on motions such as supply. I have enjoyed those over the years, and this debate was no exception, and I do thank the members for taking part in it. I wasn't here for every speech, but I did enjoy the ones I was able to listen to here in the assembly. I felt somewhat nostalgic hearing the Attorney General give what most objective observers, if they were sitting in the gallery, would say is "a good speech, but it sure sounds like a swan song." I don't want to read more into that speech than should be there, but there were several references in it that made me think along those lines.

I listened to a big portion of the leadoff speech in the official opposition from the member from St Catharines. I don't think anyone on this side had any doubts whatsoever about the vigour with which he not only delivered it but felt about the issue of the rule changes. I understand that, and I know that rule changes are always very difficult. I do believe, however, and I don't want to trigger a new debate, that with the rule of 90 minutes for the leadoff and 30 minutes, that's a long speech, 30 minutes, and I don't think it's unfair if you compare it to other jurisdictions, for example. Also I think there was some misunderstanding of the new rules. I heard some of the members talk about how little time there would be and how in one day a bill could be put through. That's simply not the case. I think when you reflect on the actual content of the rule changes—

Mr Sorbara: No, four days.

Hon Mr Laughren: Right. Well, there were people using much shorter time frames than that in their speeches. I'm not saying the member from York Centre was, but there were members who used much shorter time frames than that in making their point.

I realize as well that a supply motion of \$16 billion is a lot of money, and it warranted a full-ranging debate, and I appreciated the comments of the members opposite from both parties. I wish there was more time because I know there are a lot of members on this side who have a lot to offer in these kinds of debates, and unfortunately—

Mr Sorbara: They never stand up.

Hon Mr Laughren: The member from York Centre says, "They never stand up." They would love to engage in this debate for another two or three days. But I think the reality of the situation is that we do want to get on with other business, and you would recognize, I hope, that by members on this side not speaking, members of the opposition have a much fuller say in the debate than they would otherwise have. So I regret that our own members, who feel very strongly about a lot of the issues, in particular a lot of the economic decisions and fiscal decisions that have to be made, don't have an opportunity to speak longer.

I did want to allow time, and I think there's time, for one more piece of legislation. I feel the Minister of Education's eyes boring into my back, so I think I will simply thank members once again for their contributions.

The Speaker: Mr Laughren has moved government notice of motion 9. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

Motion agreed to.

1750

EDUCATION AMENDMENT ACT
(EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND
MINISTER'S POWERS), 1992

LOI DE 1992
MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR L'ÉDUCATION
(COMMISSION INDIENNES DE L'ÉDUCATION
ET POUVOIRS DU MINISTRE)

Mr Silipo moved second reading of Bill 21, An Act to amend the Education Act in respect of Education Authorities and Minister's Powers / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'éducation en ce qui concerne les commissions indiennes de l'éducation et les pouvoirs du ministre.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Does the minister have any opening remarks?

Hon Tony Silipo (Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet and Minister of Education): Briefly, Mr Speaker, I'm pleased to introduce this bill for second reading. As members know, amendments in this bill are in keeping with government policy with respect to anti-racism, employment equity, native education and drug education.

As a government we are deeply committed to eradicating racism from our education system. One of the measures in this bill will require school boards to develop and implement anti-racism and ethnocultural equity policies. A key part of this requirement for anti-racism policies is that these policies be approved by the ministry. We must ensure that the young people in our schools are taught to understand and respect racial and cultural diversity. We must take firm action now to address the problem of racism at all levels in our education system.

As members know, I will be naming a new assistant deputy minister whose responsibility will be the development and implementation of the ministry's anti-racism and ethnocultural initiatives. In conjunction with anti-racism and ethnocultural equity policies is the need for employment equity policies that target women and minority groups identified by the ministry. This bill then will also amend the requirement for boards to have employment equity policies that include women and those other designated groups.

With respect to native education, this bill will allow a single Indian band to establish an education authority to provide for the educational needs of band members. The present requirement is for two or more bands.

Finally, this bill will require school boards to develop and implement drug education policies in accordance with the framework established by my ministry. It is imperative that school boards have such policies in place so that our young people are educated, beginning at an early age, to the dangers of drugs of all kinds.

These then are the amendments to the Education Act contained in this bill. I urge members in the Legislature to give quick passage to this bill. Certainly, if we had more time, this is something on which we all could spend more time debating, because I think the issues presented in this bill are significant ones. I appreciate the cooperation of the members opposite in having this bill proceed expeditiously.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member, the Minister of Education, for his introduction and invite questions and/or comments.

Seeing none, I invite further debate.

Mr Charles Beer (York North): Mr Speaker, in line with the agreement and cooperation among all parties, I would just say a few things about this bill, which we will support. Clearly it is in the interests of all members to ensure that we have clear policies and guidelines around the whole issue of anti-racism that express the views of this House and indeed the views of our society.

There are perhaps two cautions, simply, in that what we are really dealing with in the bill are principles we support. The two cautions: I think it's very important that, as school boards go forward in developing their programs, the ministry be very involved in ensuring that the proper resources and funding are available to make sure these can be meaningful. I don't think they have to require a lot of expenditure but, none the less, I think it is critical the ministry assist in that regard.

The second point is that, as we approach these issues when we are trying to deal with anti-racism and a variety of equity issues, we not become overly bureaucratized, but that we recognize we're dealing with people, that there may be situations from one board area to another where we would want to have some flexibility in how this is developed. If we can do that, then the spirit of the law will be fully met and we will be able to ensure that these principles are in fact realized, not just in law but in the way they are carried out from day to day. With those brief remarks and, as I say, in light of the all-party agreement, we will support this bill.

The Speaker: I thank the member for York North for his contribution and invite any questions and/or comments. Seeing none, I invite further debate; the member for London North.

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): With the few minutes left I would like to put some comments on the record with regard to Bill 21, especially with regard to the minister's intent about employment equity and ethnocultural equity in school boards.

I think the best advice I can give the minister is that in many school boards now we have employment equity policies in place, we have ethnocultural equity policies and programs in place and, best of all, Mr Minister, there are many anti-racism policies in place where school boards have a vision and have looked to the challenges in their own community and put these in place without this legislation.

I'd like to say to the minister: He ought to look to those boards that are leaders and have proven they have policies where they are working with their communities to establish a working, positive teaching environment. My great fear is that we're going to be looking at some unrealistic time lines and demands on what I would call a blank cheque to be all and do all for all people. Mr Speaker, I have to tell you that what we're talking about today are attitudes. We need positive role models in front of our young people, and therefore we ought to be looking at what the minister and I talked about earlier—that is, our admission policies into our educational institutions. In fact, in every community throughout Ontario we should have leaders from our young people within our school systems entering education. We won't do it with the way our teachers' colleges are working right now.

It takes time. This isn't anything we can force, but it is something we can support. We're very concerned about time lines and quotas; we've been concerned in the past. I'll leave those remarks with the minister and wish him the best and tell him that we hope to work with him with the positive implementation of these policies within our school boards.

The Speaker: I thank the honourable member for London North for her contributions to the debate and invite any questions and/or comments.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): This will be very short. This entire proceeding, I reckon, will take eight minutes, and it's the way this kind of bill should be dealt with. I just hope everybody here understands the way the old order worked, because I can see, though I pray it will not happen, the day is fast approaching when a new order will impose upon this kind of routine proceeding not eight minutes but three days.

I say again I think what has just happened is entirely commendable and I hope everyone pays attention to what can happen when the old notions of consensual agreement around here speed the business through in eight minutes.

The Speaker: Further questions or comments? Seeing none, the member for London North has up to two minutes to respond.

Mrs Cunningham: To whom, the minister?

The Speaker: I invite further debate on the bill. Seeing none, the minister is entitled to a windup.

Hon Mr Silipo: In the spirit of the consensual agreement that has been arrived at, let me say that I remain one committed to doing business in this way. I think this is a significant bill. I appreciate the comments of the two opposition critics, because I think they're ones we will continue to look at in terms of implementing this legislation. I think this piece of legislation will go a long way in ensuring a greater sense of equity in our school system.

The Speaker: Mr Silipo has moved second reading of Bill 21. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

Motion agreed to.

The Speaker: Shall the bill be ordered for third reading?

Hon Shelley Martel (Minister of Northern Development and Mines): Mr Speaker, it was my understanding there had been consent to do third reading today as well, and I would ask for it at this time.

The Speaker: Do we have unanimous consent?

Interjections.

The Speaker: There does not appear to be an agreement to do third reading right away.

Bill ordered for third reading.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Hon Shelley Martel (Minister of Northern Development and Mines): It's my understanding that pursuant to standing order 53, next week the business on Monday, July 6, Tuesday, July 7, Wednesday, July 8 and Thursday, July 9, will include second reading of Bill 40, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Collective Bargaining and Employment standing in the name of Mr Mackenzie. In addition to Bill 40, it is my understanding the House will be undertaking:

Second reading of Bill 23, An Act to amend the Colleges Collective Bargaining Act and the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act; second reading of Bill 27, An Act to amend the Education Act and certain other Acts in respect of School Board Finance; third reading of Bill 21, An Act to amend the Education Act in respect of Education Authorities and Minister's Powers; second reading of Bill 26, An Act to provide for the Regulation of Gaming Services;

Second reading of Bill 162, An Act to amend the Game and Fish Act; third reading of Bill 150, An Act to provide for the Creation and Registration of Labour Sponsored Venture Capital Corporations to Invest in Eligible Ontario Businesses and to make certain other amendments; third reading of Bill 166, An Act to amend the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act with respect to Co-operatives; second reading of Bill 168, An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act;

Second reading of Bill 169, An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act; second reading of Bill 164, An Act to amend the Insurance Act and certain other Acts in respect of Automobile Insurance and other Insurance Matters; second reading of Bill 75, An Act respecting Annexations to the

City of London and to certain municipalities in the County of Middlesex; second reading of Bill 61, An Act respecting Algonquin and Ward's Islands and respecting the Stewardship of the Residential Community on the Toronto Islands, and second reading of Bill 38, An Act to amend the Retail Business Holidays Act in respect of Sunday Shopping.

1800

NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Pursuant to standing order 33, the member for York Centre has given notice of his dissatisfaction with the answer to his question given by the Minister of the Environment concerning Bill 143. This matter is to be debated today at 6 o'clock. Such being the case, we are deemed to have adjourned. The House will resume on Monday next at 1:30 pm.

The member for York Centre has up to five minutes to make his presentation.

LANDFILL SITE

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): As some members are leaving the House, I simply want to say I appreciate that the minister has actually deigned to come and participate in what we describe as a late show.

If I can go back to, I guess it was yesterday, I posed a question to the Minister of the Environment that I've been posing over and over again in the Legislature. The reason I've asked that we now spend an extended period of time, that is, five minutes on this side and five minutes on the other side, is not just the grave dissatisfaction I've had with the answers that have come from the Minister of the Environment, but the grave dissatisfaction in York region concerning the answer she gives to what is really a seminal question when you talk about Bill 143 and the management of garbage in the greater Toronto area.

The question really comes down to this: Why did the Minister of the Environment, Ruth Grier, the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore, before she presented her bill, Bill 143, in this Legislature—it was almost a year ago that it was presented—in trying to solve the garbage crisis in Metropolitan Toronto, that is, to find a site for Metro's garbage, pick York region? We've never been able to figure that out.

Mr Speaker, if you just visit York region for a day or an afternoon, and you visit communities, you will see in every community throughout the region, through nine municipalities, a quality of anger that I have rarely seen in my own political life. My constituents and the rest of the people in York region pose that question to me over and over again: "Why is this happening to us? Why did she write a bill in which she fingers, points out and points to York region as the place she has decided should be the site for Metropolitan Toronto's garbage?" We have never been able to figure that out.

The whole history of environmental legislation and managing difficult, sensitive and important environmental issues is to put those decisions within a context in which you rely on science, on good environmental planning and on a hearing process that considers a variety of options before you make a decision.

In this case the only answer we've ever had from the Minister of the Environment is something about a historical relationship between Metro Toronto and York region, a contract of sorts, an agreement whereby Metro has had the right historically to dump its garbage in a variety of landfill sites in York region, the largest being the Keele Valley landfill site.

But you see that answer has never satisfied the people of York region, because that answer is simply another way of saying, "We've always done it that way so we're going to continue to do it that way." I want to put it to the Minister of the Environment that is unacceptable.

Now, sir, with the indulgence of the House, I want to cede the floor for the last minute and 30 seconds to my colleague, who also had part of the question the other day.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): What I want to know is, does 57 years of farming mean nothing to this government? They say they protect the farmers of this province. They've done absolutely zilcho for them. That minister, the Minister of the Environment, who's done nothing as an Environment minister, has the audacity to put the Doanes, who have farmed in my community for 57 years, at risk.

I say to you, minister, it flies in the face; it's total hypocrisy. It's hypocrisy that you've espoused; it's hypocrisy that the Premier, Bob Rae, has espoused, Bob Rae, the guy who stood on the stump and talked about saving farm land. You haven't saved farm land. You're about to put people who have farmed the land—farmers have a tough enough life as it is—for 57 years in my community—you have designated that as a spot where garbage will be.

I just wonder what will happen when people visit us about 100 years from now and dig up that land, class A agricultural land, and find refrigerators and landfill in there. They'll think the people of the day were lunatics. Certainly the government of the day will have been lunatics, and certainly the government of the day will not have fulfilled the promises that it made, that its Premier made.

Again, as my friend the member for Scarborough-Ellesmere says, it's a matter of trust. Can we trust this Premier? Can we trust this Minister of the Environment? Can people who have farmed for 57 years count on not having a landfill site in their community?

Minister, you've done nothing. You should be ashamed. I don't know how you can go home at night and look at yourself in the mirror. You have done absolutely nothing. You've flown in the face of every principle; you've thrown it right out the window.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member's time has expired. The minister has up to five minutes to respond.

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): Resolving the greater Toronto area's waste crisis has baffled two provincial governments and I think four regional governments for almost the last decade. When I became the minister, I realized that trying to resolve this problem was not going to be easy, nor was it likely to make me popular. But it's a problem that must be solved.

An urban region of four million people must plan to deal with its waste for the long term. For the sake of the environment and for the sake of the economy, it can't afford to continue to reel from crisis to crisis or to look for short-term quick fixes.

For this government, the underlying principle of dealing with that problem has been to reduce, reuse and recycle. Bill 143 gives my ministry the tools to ensure that businesses and individuals will do their part to reach the very ambitious target of 50% reduction in waste that's going to disposal by the year 2000, a target set by the previous government, but a target which it had set without putting in place the policies or the programs or the tools to enable us to get there.

We have built that target into our estimates of the requirements for landfill capacity we have given the Interim Waste Authority. We have assumed and we have put in place the programs to make sure we reach that target.

Nobody wants a landfill in his backyard, but we are all responsible for the waste we create and we must find the best place to put it and the best way of finding that place, and we must do it in an open and a fair way. That's what the Interim Waste Authority has been established to do.

Let's not forget that Metro has always had a special privilege. Metro has been allowed to expropriate land anywhere in the province for a waste disposal site. The previous government gave all the greater Toronto area regions an even greater privilege by allowing them to open new greenfield landfill sites in Whitevale and in Brampton under the Environmental Protection Act, a privilege not open to any other municipality in the province.

We rejected that approach. We said that the greater Toronto area and its municipalities must play by the same rules that apply to all the other over 800 municipalities in this province, that they must define a waste management master planning area and that they must then do the 3Rs, applying those to that area, and within that area find a

disposal site, and that they must find a disposal site that would last for 20 years. Bill 143 does that for the greater Toronto area.

Metro and York did that in 1983. That is when they signed an agreement that Metro would construct a landfill site in York, the one at Keele Valley, a landfill site that would serve both the regions until the year 2003.

I think it's worth remembering that this site filled up because there was no waste reduction being undertaken in those regions. It is also worth remembering that the suggestion that waste from the GTA be taken to an old mine in Boston township near Kirkland Lake was a proposal that was to deal with the waste of both Metro and York.

But transportation of waste to northern Ontario or all across this province is not a solution to waste management issues. It's not an environmental solution. Neither is the incineration of waste an environmental solution. It's merely a sleight of hand that does not remove the need for a landfill site. In fact, it establishes a need for a landfill site for hazardous waste, because that's what the ash usually becomes.

The only responsible solution to waste is a comprehensive approach that is based on the 3Rs, that looks at the regional municipalities and their traditional responsibilities, that joins together those that have historically been joined together in a mutual agreement to dispose of their waste jointly, and that submits the criteria under which a landfill has been selected, the process under which a landfill has been selected, and all of the arguments for and against that landfill to an Environmental Assessment Board. That's what we are doing. That's what will resolve the GTA's waste management problems.

The Speaker: There being no further matter to be debated, this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock Monday next.

The House adjourned at 1813.

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Sillipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber Etobicoke-Rexdale	Henderson, D. James Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	L ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest Fort William Fort York	Stockwell, Chris McLeod, Lyn Marchese, Rosario	PC L ND	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey Guelph	Murdoch, Bill Fletcher, Derek	PC ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre Halton North/-Nord	Sullivan, Barbara Duignan, Noel	L ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est Hamilton Mountain	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Miclash, Frank Wilson, Gary	L ND	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener Kitchener-Wilmot	Ferguson, Will Cooper, Mike	ND ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew Lawrence	Jordan, W. Leo Cordiano, Joseph	PC L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winner, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaître, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiles, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

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St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/ ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the provincial anti-drug strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue provinciale

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Kimble Sutherland
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Nº 46

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Second Session, 35th Parliament

Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 6 July 1992

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Lundi 6 juillet 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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Effective with the opening of the Second Session of the 35th Parliament, Hansard issues and pages are numbered according to session, rather than calendar year as before. Committee reports likewise are numbered from the first sitting of each committee in this parliamentary session.

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Table des matières

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Monday 6 July 1992

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

NATIVE LAND CLAIMS

Mr David Ramsay (Timiskaming): I'd like to bring to the attention of the House the ongoing land claim discussions between the government of Ontario and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai nation in the Temagami area.

As members will be well aware, since 1975 the Teme-Augama Anishnabai nation has had a land caution on most of the south part of the Timiskaming riding for all that time and because of that caution development has not been able to happen. We've not been able to have prospecting and development of new mines and other activity for the benefit of the economy in the north.

Discussions are going on and I'm receiving many letters from my constituents in regard to the slowness of these negotiations. I stand in my place today to plead to the government of Ontario and the Bear Island band to really get on with the discussions because the government has set a deadline of March 1993 and the people of Timiskaming want to see that deadline come to fruition.

We know there must be a settlement. We want to see a just settlement on all sides, but we must have a settlement so that the economic activity of Timiskaming can continue.

POLICE STAFFING

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): For the past five months I've been writing to the Solicitor General requesting a copy of the Ontario Provincial Police report on the province-wide review of service delivery and uniform staffing levels. I have received several replies from the Solicitor General each time denying my request for this information on the ground that senior officials within the ministry are reviewing the report.

I believe it is essential that each member in this House be provided with this vital information on OPP staffing levels across the province. The Solicitor General is merely increasing the concern of my constituents by hiding relevant information from the public on police staffing levels and service requirements.

In some parts of my riding of Wellington, burglaries have increased by as much as 48%. According to the June 3 issue of the *Erin Advocate*, within the 500-square-mile jurisdiction of the Guelph OPP detachment, there has been a significant increase in crime: 535 burglaries last year as compared to 361 in 1990.

Since 1986 the population of Wellington county has grown by 17%. In some municipalities the growth has been dramatic. The population of West Garafraxa, for instance, has grown by over 36%. With increases in population, there is a parallel need for the service infrastructure to support such growth.

To best represent the safety and security interests of my constituents, I must have access to the report which the Solicitor General has denied me. I would then be in a position to fully assess the precise extent of the OPP staffing shortfall in my riding relative to other areas of the province and to continue to bring the issue to this government's attention. I call upon the Solicitor General to end the secrecy and table the report on OPP staffing levels in Ontario, and he should do so today.

WASTE MANAGEMENT

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): I rise today to inform the House of yet another group of citizens who are opposed to the proposal of the Ontario Waste Management Corp to build a waste treatment facility in my riding.

The Concerned Citizens are a group of Lincoln activists who have taken it upon themselves to help keep the public informed of the ongoing environmental assessment hearings that are currently considering the OWMC proposal. These people have sacrificed hundreds of hours of their time to drive to the hearings in Oakville to represent the public. They are relentless writers of letters to the editor of all of Niagara's newspapers in order to let everyone know what is happening in Oakville. Much of the time they are the only people present who are not engineers or lawyers, yet they are as knowledgeable as anyone at the hearings.

Many of these people are farmers who must perform their daily farm chores before and after attending the hearings. In addition, they read report after report on toxic waste technology and are right up to date on the evidence being presented at the hearings. These people are not looking for recognition. The only thing they want is that this outdated, ill-conceived proposal be denied.

HURON LODGE

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I wish to bring to members' attention the plight of 34 elderly residents who are concerned about their home because the Ministry of Community and Social Services has denied an emergency request for \$52,000.

Elliot Lake's Huron Lodge, which is in my riding of Algoma-Manitoulin, has been walking a tightrope since the welfare-burdened Algoma district social services board announced that it cannot fund this lodge beyond June 30 of this year. Four area municipalities served by the lodge have agreed to fund \$45,000 of the shortfall, and the city of Elliot Lake has now pledged the remaining amount of money, but we have 34 elderly residents who are uncertain about their future. They are uncertain whether they will be able to remain in their home after this fiscal year ends.

Elliot Lake has had 2,000 new residents come for its retirement living program. Elliot Lake needs a commitment to the seniors' campus, which this government continues to drag its feet on. In the interim, I would urge the Ministry of Community and Social Services to pledge the

money necessary to keep the people at Huron Lodge in their home.

BOATING SAFETY

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): My statement concerns the fact that lower speed limits, stricter law enforcement, boater education and the licensing of boat operators were among the 22 recommendations made by a coroner's jury examining the deaths of a King City man and a Waterloo woman who were killed in a 1990 Labour Day boating accident on Lake Joseph in Muskoka.

Not only is the idea of licensing boat operators on the waterways long overdue, but the recommendation to make education for boaters mandatory is an issue that must be addressed.

An editorial in the June 22 edition of the Orillia Daily Packet and Times under the headline "Jury Was Right On As Inquest Concludes" says:

"It's interesting to note the stringent rules that apply to driving an automobile in the province, such as enforced seatbelt laws, speed limits, types of automobiles, and how they're driven.

"But on the public's waterways, which are also transportation routes, there appears to be a degree of anarchy."

I urge the provincial government and my colleagues here in the Legislature to give second reading to my private member's Bill 17, An Act to provide for the Licensing of Motor Boat Operators, coming this Thursday morning, so we can send it to a standing committee for public hearings, where it could be amended to meet any concerns that might be raised.

When we look at the statistics, we see the grim problem we're having here. It has supplied all the necessary stats required to rationalize implementation of such a very important bill.

1340

WELLAND HISTORICAL MUSEUM

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): I appreciate the opportunity to tell members what I did on Saturday just past. I had the opportunity to meet Bas Degroot, his wife and his three kids.

Mr Degroot, who is well known in Holland or the Netherlands for his artistic endeavours, is now living in Wainfleet down in Shirley Coppen's riding, Niagara South. His art work is on display at the Welland Historical Museum.

Mac Swackhammer, the curator of that museum, never fails to amaze me. Once again, he's done it. He's put on a first-class display. He had a first-class opening. I was so pleased to meet young Dagmar Degroot, the youngest child of Degroot, whose painting of the boy is one of the paintings on display.

The Welland Historical Museum, with a modest budget and excellent staff under the leadership of Mac Swackhammer, who came from out west but now lives in Welland, has carried on the tradition that it's established of outstanding displays. Along with the Degroot art display, which everybody should make it down there to see, is also a display of old maps and photos of the city

of Welland, and indeed of Crowland in the south end of the community.

On July 16 the dinosaurs are coming to the Welland Historical Museum. No, not some of the older members of this Legislature, but real dinosaurs that are going to be on display to the amazement and thrill of youngsters and oldsters alike.

I welcome all of my colleagues here down to the Welland Historical Museum to see Mac Swackhammer and his staff's great work.

DRIVER EXAMINATIONS

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): It's well known to all members of this Legislature that young people are having a particularly difficult time as they face summer employment in 1992. I want to raise once again in this chamber a concern I've raised—I know my colleague from Trenton has raised it—and that is the ongoing difficulty that a lot of young people, and in some cases people who are not so young, have in trying to get a driver's test in a timely fashion.

People in my constituency in eastern Ontario, in communities like Deep River, are being told now that they are going to have to wait up to three months to be tested. I know my friend the member for St Catharines was reporting earlier today that he had a constituent who was in his office over the weekend saying that he was not able to hire a young person because that person could not be tested for the needed driver examination in a timely fashion.

A number of members, myself included, have told the Minister of Transportation that the difficulties his department is having in providing timely driver examinations are simply causing all kinds of difficulty for people, particularly young people. I say again that a three-month delay or waiting period for anyone, but most especially a young person who might need that driver's licence to get a job, is simply not acceptable.

I say again that if the government cannot provide a more timely and sensitive service, it should get out of the business and turn the driver examination service over to someone who can run it more efficiently in the interest of at least helping young people get licences and jobs.

LONG-TERM CARE

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): Last Friday the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance for Long-Term Care Reform released a report regarding the lack of planning by the NDP in the management of health care of the vulnerable and frail elderly in Ontario.

The report expressed concerns about the many seniors whose lives would be jeopardized as a result of the implementation of an ill-conceived plan of deinstitutionalization of the frail elderly before the necessary community support programs were planned, funded and in place.

Jane Leitch, the chair of the alliance, pointed to the fact that less costly chronic beds are being shut down in Ontario hospitals while chronic patients occupy beds in acute care hospitals. She also opposed the NDP plan to create more bureaucracy in terms of 40 "service coordination

centres in Ontario when existing health councils can do the job."

Ontario seniors are rightly suspicious of what the NDP has in store for their long-term health care needs when the recommendations of several reports, studies and extensive consultation remain unaddressed by this government, such as the chronic care hospital study, the report of the Advisory Committee on Rest Homes, countless reports by the Ontario Advisory Council on Senior Citizens, the Weistaubb and Lightman reports and this recent study entitled Rural Roots: Aging in Small and Rural Communities in Ontario.

Seniors will not be conned by any government offering simplistic solutions. Ontario seniors deserve adequate long-term care planning, not platitudes, and they deserve services sensitive to their care needs, not insensitive socialist rhetoric.

DURHAM EAST NEWSPAPERS

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): My riding of Durham East is served by a number of community newspapers which each week keep their readers informed of local events. I want to refer to those people who take the time to write a weekly column about events in the villages. This effort takes time and a good deal of effort and I want to make sure it doesn't go unnoticed.

I want to thank Betty Wright for providing "Happenings in Enniskillen," Edna Barrowclough for "News from Wesleyville," Jack and Hazel Cragco for their report from the village of Newcastle, Isabelle Chalice for the "Report from Orono," Edna Thickson for "News of Elizabethville," Peter Sun for "The Courtice Connection," Harvey Malcolm with "News from Yelverton," school reporter Coby Veenstra from Durham Christian High School, the "Blackstock News" from Joyce Kelly, "Happenings in Hampton" from Michelle Balson and Audrey Johnson for the Courtice news.

All these volunteer weekly columnists help me keep in touch with the things going on in the riding of Durham East. I appreciate their efforts in making this community news available not only to myself but to all the citizens I represent in the Legislature and I thank them for that.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE FUNDING FONDS D'AIDE TRANSITOIRE

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Colleges and Universities): When the Treasurer announced transfer payments to the broader public sector last January, he set aside a sum of \$160 million for transitional assistance. This money was to provide limited additional support to our transfer partners to help them to adjust their service delivery methods and cost structures to maintain the quality and accessibility of services in a time of declining government revenues.

We called on our college and university stakeholders to work together with each other in this same direction. We asked them to explore and develop restructuring proposals that would maintain access and quality with the level of funding that was available.

We received over 400 proposals representing a tremendous amount of cooperative effort between faculty, students, administrators and staff within our colleges and universities.

Nous avons reçu plus de 400 propositions de projets, ce qui témoigne d'un effort coopératif colossal de la part des enseignants, étudiants et administrateurs, ainsi que du personnel des collèges et universités.

Because of the excellence of these proposals, I was able to announce in April that our post-secondary system would receive nearly \$40 million in transitional assistance. I indicated at that time that the colleges would receive \$17.4 million as their part of the transitional assistance. This money is not top-up of regular base level funding. It is money for projects that will help our post-secondary institutions in their efforts to restructure.

Ce montant ne vient pas s'ajouter au financement de base accordé aux collèges. Il s'agit de fonds destinés à des projets qui aideront les établissements d'enseignement postsecondaire dans leurs efforts de restructuration.

Today I want to tell you how the largest part of the \$17.4 million going to our colleges will in fact be used. Over the last few days my colleagues and I have announced that \$12 million will be used to fund nearly 100 projects at 23 colleges of applied arts and technology. They look at ways to rationalize programs within and between colleges and propose measures to promote closer ties between colleges and high schools.

The projects also look at ways to make college programming more accessible to a greater number of students by using methods such as distance education, computer-based learning, and cooperative and offsite training. There are as well a number of projects concerned with lifelong learning, keeping people from dropping out, improving accessibility for underrepresented groups and helping people who have gaps in their pre-college education.

These proposals respond to very real challenges within the college system, including the retraining and redeployment of staff affected by restructuring.

1350

Ces projets veulent répondre à des défis bien réels au sein du réseau collégial, dont le perfectionnement professionnel et la réaffectation du personnel touché par la restructuration.

I truly believe that these projects represent the beginning of real change in our college system. I know the long-term restructuring steering committee for the colleges, which is now beginning its work, will consider very carefully the work of its predecessor, the short-term transition assistance task force, which worked with the government to review the excellent projects I'm announcing for funding today.

The close collaboration between students, faculty, administrators and staff in the college system in developing these projects is precisely the type of cooperation that is needed as we move to meet the longer-term challenges facing the college system. It shows to us all that shared decision-making by employers, employees and clients can lead to the development of a more effective and efficient

way of delivering services to the public, as well as promoting cooperation in the workplaces themselves.

Il semble clair que la prise de décisions partagée entre employeurs, employés et clients peut mener à l'élaboration de modes de prestation de services au public qui soient plus efficaces, en plus d'encourager la collaboration en milieu de travail.

In the coming weeks, I will be making further announcements relating to the restructuring of our post-secondary system, involving partnerships between our colleges and universities, human resource initiatives within the college sector and projects dealing with the restructuring of the university system as well.

Today I want to congratulate our colleges. We expect the best from them, and, once again, they delivered it.

RESPONSES

TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE FUNDING FONDS D'AIDE TRANSITOIRE

Mr Hans Daigeler (Nepean): Let me start by saying, frankly, that I don't like always being negative and critical, so I will begin by saying that any additional money that is going—

Interjection: It's not additional.

Mr Daigeler: It's not really additional money, but any—

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Rediscovered.

Mr Daigeler: —rediscovered money that is going to the colleges or to the universities these days is certainly good news, so I don't want to denigrate the fact that there is some money going into the colleges.

Nevertheless I think we should remember where this money is coming from. It's announced under the transition program that was put in place when the Treasurer said he was limiting the transfer increases to colleges, universities, hospitals and schools to 1% and 2% the year after. He had reserved what I can only term a slush fund of some \$40 million for the colleges and for the universities. Why do I say "slush fund"? Because essentially the minister said, "If you universities come up with some programs and some initiatives that fit into our NDP priorities and in our program, then we will give you this additional or this extra money that we've put aside that really belongs to you, but we give it to you only if you follow our viewpoint and our ideology."

Frankly I've been surprised how uncritical the university and college community has been about this effort, because what we're seeing very clearly here is targeted money. The universities up to now, and certainly the colleges as well, have been very insistent on their independence, and rightfully so, because I think there has to be a certain distance between the system of higher education and the government of the day. In the pursuit of knowledge, it is very important that they can maintain their integrity and their independence somewhat from the government of the day. This step that the minister is so proud of—targeted funding, the \$40 million for the whole higher education system—I think leads the universities and the colleges in a direction which in my opinion is very dangerous.

I should perhaps indicate at this point that while I appreciate the fact that there was some money set aside in terms of transition, making it easier for the system of higher education to adjust to the limited transfer payments, there was nothing, for example, for the Art Gallery of Ontario, for example. Where was this transitional funding for them, even though they have to struggle just as much with this adjustment to a new financial reality? Why is it the AGO has to close? Why is that? Is it because they are not good friends with the NDP government?

Il y avait 400 projets qui ont été soumis au ministre. Je me demande si c'était une utilisation vraiment efficace du temps des personnes pour préparer des projets et se soumettre à toutes sortes de réunions, de commissions et de comités afin de recevoir seulement 17 millions de dollars. Je me demande vraiment si c'était un effort efficace et valable pour les professeurs et les administrateurs dans le système des collèges.

The minister is so proud that this initiative has come forward at this point. It took him half a year to evaluate these 400 projects. Now he says he has a long-term restructuring committee that he announced well before Christmas as well. He's saying now it's just getting off the ground. If it has taken him half a year just to decide on the results of his short-term restructuring committee, which is the transition funding committee, how long is it going to take him to really approach the key issues in our colleges and universities, taking an in-depth look, as he says and I agree with him there, at the way we provide higher education in this province?

I certainly hope this long-term restructuring committee, which is a very important one, and which unfortunately is just getting off the ground at this point, will be much more effective and will be able to work much faster than the short-term restructuring committee of which the minister is announcing the results today.

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): I would like to respond to the announcement today by my colleague and neighbour the member for Hamilton West, the Minister of Colleges and Universities.

First of all, this is apparently the third time this announcement has been made. One would suspect that the initial response from the media was poor and therefore it required a second run up the flagpole. Then the second response from the faculty and community colleges and their students has now necessitated a third attempt at running this up the flagpole to see if someone is going to salute it as some sort of meaningful contribution to the context in which our community colleges and universities are struggling.

I know my Liberal colleagues won't appreciate hearing this but I'd like the House to cast its mind back to 1982-83 when we had our last severe recession. It was at that time, with the exception of the obvious impact on social assistance payments required of any government of the day, that the largest single increase by the then PC government of Ontario was made to colleges and universities in double digits in recognition of the fact that in recessionary times the worst thing to do is to block students' access to post-secondary education—whether it is for their regular ongoing

academic needs or because of job layoffs in the economy—to go to a post-secondary institution and to receive the necessary training and upgrading and additional skills so that their re-entry into the job market can be meaningful and helpful not only to themselves but to a productive society.

What is disturbing is that today we have an announcement of \$17 million. Yet on October 2 of last year, the Treasurer gave my friend and colleague the member for Hamilton West the bad news that he was cutting \$13 million out of his operating budget. One might even cynically take the view, as I know the Ontario Federation of Students has, that these kinds of announcements that we're hearing today for the third time in this House are very much paid for on the backs of the students and the faculty in these very institutions that saw \$13 million taken away last fall.

It's very clear that if this government saw the context in which our students require these necessary upgrades in this economy, it would be re-evaluating some of its most recent announcements, like \$100 million from the same fund for it to continue its ideological race against the private sector in day care services in this province.

How much more productive could this province be if that money had gone to our colleges and universities to assist—I'm told by the Council of Ontario Universities—some 15,000 students who will make application this year and be denied access to a university or a community college in our province? Yet this government and this Treasurer and this Premier have \$100 million to continue their offensive fight—and that's what it amounts to—against the private sector providing day care services in this province.

Those are the kinds of priorities that cause many people to ask questions. Undoubtedly, as these questions continue to be unanswered, this government will probably rise again in the next couple of weeks and announce for the fourth time that it's spending this money on its transition programs in community colleges in Ontario.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): When you talk about recycling, this minister really seems to have taken a lesson from the Minister of the Environment in recycling and recycling old announcements. At least the Honourable Ruth Grier is getting through to one of her ministers with recycling, and I have to commend the Minister of the Environment. There's nothing new, as we've just heard from the member for Burlington South; it's just over and over again. At least you're good at that and we commend you for that.

1400

MEMBERS' SAFETY

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): I rise on a point of privilege, Mr Speaker. I want to present to you and to the House an issue for consideration which affects the privileges, I believe, of all members of the House. That issue is physical threats or threats of violence against members.

The particular nuance of the issue takes us beyond the physical geography of the precinct, and as a consequence, according to modern interpretation of parliamentary privilege, may be seen to be problematical in terms of a Speaker's ruling. None the less, this may be an issue on

which our Legislature itself should speak and that is why I present it through you.

First I want to put to you two isolated incidents, one recent and one from four years ago. One of those affects one of our colleagues in this Parliament; the other affected me directly in a previous Parliament.

Just about a week ago, the Minister of the Environment, in her capacity as minister of the crown but also as a member of this Legislature, attended an event in Georgetown, Ontario. In that place, her automobile was rocked and, according to press reports, she was physically molested on her way to attend an event. The minister indicated to the press that to her the incident was "threatening." The justification from the crowd was that their futures were threatened by a potential siting of a landfill.

I spoke to others about that particular situation, because it seemed to me more than the usual shouting down of the minister or member from people opposing a government action or a legislator's point of view. There was a very real potential of physical injury to the minister simply because the member was doing her job.

In one of the conversations that struck me as particularly troublesome, somebody said that the minister should have known not to drive her own car. I had to conclude that what that person was saying was that members of the Legislature, in whatever capacity, in the course of their activities must have, on a routine basis, protection against physical threats by the very people they are to represent and that members should therefore plan for the potential of physical violence as a routine part of their work.

I cannot accept that and I don't believe that members of this place should be placid in their acceptance of that view. It is an expected obligation of elected members to attend events as part of their duties as legislators and to take into account the sometimes vociferous reaction of the electors to government and legislative actions, but there's no obligation on the part of a member, or a Legislature, to accept willingly physical threats against a person who happens to be a member of this House. These are not revolutionary times, and nothing justifies that.

Under the last government, as parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Labour, I participated in and led for the government the standing committee on resources development hearings into changes to the Workers' Compensation Act. The now Treasurer was Chairman of that committee, and my view is that he provided a model of fairness and resolve during those hearings.

None the less, in a particular northern town, a group of well-organized union officials chose to select me—because of my particular responsibility—and my car to rock. As it happened to be a taxi with a young driver who was very frightened, I can tell you that it was a situation where violence—which is the way we saw it from the enclosed space of the cab, which was surrounded by hundreds—could have begotten violence, and many people could have been injured with one heavy or panicked foot on the accelerator. The clerk of that committee, who was also a passenger in that taxi, can corroborate the tension of that time.

I recall talking at that time to people who served on the committee about that incident. They included the now Minister of Labour and the now minister of northern affairs. The response was a singular and, to me, puzzling acceptance of the incident. But from then on, the Ontario Provincial Police was assigned to protect members who were involved in those legislative hearings.

Erskine May, in the British parliamentary tradition, tells us, "It is a breach of privilege to molest a member of either House while attending such House or when going to or from it." The work of legislative hearings traditionally is an extension of the work of the House, and there was a clear breach of parliamentary privilege in the instance in which I was involved, although it was not brought before the House for resolve.

Erskine May, however, in the same edition, the 20th edition, also tells us, "To attempt to influence members in their conduct by threats is also a breach of privilege." The citations surrounding that directive tend to those relating to publishing of statements impugning the conduct of members or sending letters threatening action if a member does not vote in a particular way.

To my mind, the threat of physical violence, such as what was experienced by the Minister of the Environment recently, is equally, and in the same context, a breach of her privileges as a member of this House. But that breach is equally a breach of the privileges of every member of the House, and any silence from the House on this or like instances condones that breach of privilege and the physical violence or threats of violence that brought that breach of privilege to the fore.

As a member of this House sitting in loyal opposition, I do not favour many of the actions and decisions of the member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore in her capacity as minister. I do not relish, however, any thought that she should be silenced in her actions or decisions by violent threats directed against her personally.

I believe, Mr Speaker, that the House should speak on this issue and that the Speaker, yourself, should take a lead in formulating with all of the parties in this place a public response to incidents of this nature. That response should be a simple one: that we do not condone or tolerate physical violence against any one of our members or any minister of the crown. If this Speaker and this House choose not to make a statement, then it will be seen to be accepting of a method of opposition that has no place in this province, that is, physical threats of violence against members of the Legislature.

In presenting this issue to you, Mr Speaker, I do not speak for the Minister of the Environment, but rather as a member of the chamber who is convinced that violence against any member of the Legislature is violence against us all, and that to be silent is to condone and encourage. Thank you.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): May I say first to the member for Halton Centre that I deeply appreciate her bringing this matter before the House. While I am not precisely sure of what help your Speaker can be to you, I say most sincerely that I will take this matter under serious consideration, and if there is any way at all in which your

Speaker can be of assistance in trying to ensure that all members of the House will never have to operate under any form of coercion or intimidation then indeed I will do whatever I am able to do within the confines of my responsibilities. Again, I appreciate both the member having brought it to my attention and the manner in which she has done it. It's a matter which obviously she's given some serious thought to and I for one appreciate the approach she's taken.

It is time for oral questions, and the Leader of the Opposition.

1410

ORAL QUESTIONS

TAXATION

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My question is for the Treasurer. When the Treasurer delivered his budget in April, we did question the credibility of a Treasurer who, as we saw it, would do just about anything to bring in his budget under the astronomical deficit figure of \$10 billion. The Treasurer was prepared, as we all recall, to reschedule pension payments, to include fiscal stabilization payments from the federal government when it was far from certain they'd arrive, and he created a phantom Ontario Land Corp.

Even though we had reason to question the Treasurer at that time and even though we had reason to have some concern about the Treasurer's record on his budget figures from the previous year, we did decide this year to give him the benefit of the doubt when it came to estimating his revenues. We assumed that after last year's record he'd be a little bit more careful this time and he'd give the Ontario public some figures that would be more reliable. But we were obviously far too trusting. It seems we gave the Treasurer credit on this particular measure where none was warranted.

Today we're being told that the Treasurer's budget projections are off by hundreds of millions of dollars. In fact, it would seem this Treasurer may be preparing to take at least \$300 million more out of the hands of Ontario taxpayers than he told us just two months ago. Will the Treasurer confirm that his revenue projections are way off base and that he is preparing to take at least \$300 million more out of the Ontario economy?

Hon Floyd Laughren (Deputy Premier, Treasurer and Minister of Economics): First of all, there's a certain amount of contradiction in what the Leader of the Opposition says. If I were attempting to come in under the \$10-billion deficit and moving heaven and earth to do that, I would not have underestimated the amount of revenues coming in from income tax and other sources, I would have inflated them; whereas the report to which the Leader of the Opposition refers states that we are underestimating our revenues.

Now that I've had a chance to look at the report and at some of the assumptions built into that report, and looking at the model that was used to extrapolate numbers from a 1986 base through to 1993, I have to say to the Leader of the Opposition that no, I'm not prepared to concede that

we're going to get \$300 million more than was in the budget or that the numbers in the budget are wrong. I really believe that the numbers in the budget are as accurate as it is possible to be, given the fact that we are working with more recent information and a total database, whereas Mr Grady was working on a sample, some but not all of which is based in Ontario.

Mrs McLeod: The Treasurer is right when he raises the question of how the opposition can possibly know what are the right figures and who to believe. We're not sure how we can have confidence in the Treasurer's figures. We're not sure on what basis he would question the validity of a study that is based on a model that has been developed by Statistics Canada.

But I do share the Treasurer's seeming concern that the economy may not recover as one would hope and that the revenue figures will not be, therefore, as projected or hoped. We've been reminding this Treasurer since he brought in his budget that every dollar he takes out of the province in higher taxes is one more dollar that consumers don't have to help us get out of the recession. Statistics Canada is now reporting that for every new dollar individuals have earned during the recession, Ottawa and the provinces are taxing back 61.5 cents. Until consumers, who are responsible for 60% of all spending, get a few more dollars into their hands so they can start spending, Ontario's jobless rate is going to continue to grow and businesses will continue to close.

I wonder then how the Treasurer can explain how he expects the budget, which today is being referred to as "the largest package of tax increases in Ontario since Confederation," will spur consumer spending and help get the economy back on track. Will his tax increases in fact not stop that recovery dead in its tracks?

Hon Mr Laughren: I hope not. Just to set the record straight, the tax increases in this budget on a full year for 1993, which is the year Mr Grady is talking about, are a little over \$1 billion. The previous government in 1989 raised taxes by \$1.33 billion, so I don't think it's fair to say this is the largest tax increase since Confederation when 1989 was indeed the appropriate year about which to make that kind of statement.

I did want to set the record straight, if you would allow me, Mr Speaker, on some of the numbers that were used in Mr Grady's report and to which the Leader of the Opposition refers. If \$300 million were to be taken out of the economy and the impact on the average family is as Mr Grady says, I believe it would make you think twice about what he used as an average family.

According to our analysis since this report came out, Mr Grady's average family is a married, self-employed senior with 0.3 kids, paying Ontario surtax at the same time and receiving the Ontario tax reduction program. I don't know how you get the Ontario tax reduction, which is for low-income people, and at the same time pay the surtax. As well, this person drinks 145 bottles of wine a year, 290 bottles of spirits, 29 cases of beer, and pays \$15,000 in property tax, and I really do not believe that

bears much resemblance to the average family in the province of Ontario.

Mrs McLeod: I appreciate the fact that the Treasurer wanted to answer the question that he had an answer to, but that was not my question. My question was about the impact of this Treasurer's tax policies, his tax grab, his tax measures on the economy, and the Treasurer says, "I hope not." Surely hope is not enough for this province to run on.

We have been consistently asking this Treasurer to tell us what impact his tax measures are going to have on our economic recovery, what studies he's done to tell us what kind of an impact his tax measures will have, and we never get an answer to that question. I wonder how the people of this province can have faith in a Treasurer who has to keep adding his figures up again and again in order to be able to defend them publicly.

If this Treasurer does find that indeed he has underestimated his revenues, if there is to be additional tax revenue from the tax measures that he has put in place, I wonder if the Treasurer would then consider rolling back some of those tax measures. If he would look at the impact on the economy and see if a certain rollback of taxes might have a benefit in the economy and in job creation, would he, for example, now look at rolling back the gas tax for the summer months?

Hon Mr Laughren: I don't think that's really a supplementary to my answer, but we won't dwell on that.

The leader of the official opposition implies that we're revising our numbers. I haven't revised our numbers. Mr Grady has stated that he thinks our numbers are wrong, and he says we're on the low side. I would remind you that within the last two years, using federal government projections largely—which is what the Ontario government does because of the way the income tax is collected and analysed by the federal government—the overestimation on PIT revenues has been \$1 billion each year, so you'll forgive me if I'm just a little cautious and even sceptical about those forecasters who say we're underprojecting revenues from provincial income tax. If we are, we are, but no, I would not consider rolling back taxes if that's the case.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): Mr Speaker, we do wish the Treasurer had reason to be more optimistic about Ontario's economic future, but we can appreciate why he's concerned, and with that I'll address my second question to the Minister of Labour.

Today a new poll was released on the government's proposed changes to the Labour Relations Act, and there was probably no surprise in the results of that poll. Most Ontarians who were surveyed opposed the proposed changes. More than two thirds of those who were surveyed, including union members and New Democratic Party supporters, say these changes will cost jobs, which has been the essence of the concern that we have been consistently raising on our side of the House.

Mr Speaker, 78% of the people surveyed believe that the government must carry out a proper study of the economic

impact of this legislation. We have been calling for this kind of impact study ever since the government introduced the legislation, but the minister has ignored our questions and has ignored the concerns that this kind of economic impact be studied.

I would ask whether or not the minister will continue to ignore the overwhelming majority of Ontarians who have voiced their concerns through this survey and who want this government to do a proper economic impact study. Will this minister undertake to conduct such a study before simply plowing ahead with his legislation?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): As I've said on a good number of occasions, I don't know another issue that has been studied as much or had as much consultation as the Ontario Labour Relations Act reform, and I'm really wondering if the leader of the official opposition also accepts the recent survey she's talking about, where I think some 53% of the people said they were aware of the OLRA recommendations and 46% said they had no knowledge of them at all, yet they went on to ask the questions from that point of all of the people, including those who knew nothing about the OLRA changes.

1420

Mrs McLeod: I wonder if the minister, having just told us, as he has claimed on so many occasions, that no issue has been more widely studied, has had a broader consultation, if that is indeed the case, does not find it a little bit strange that only 53% of Ontarians were aware of the legislative changes.

This Premier of this government created an independent committee that was composed of both business and labour representatives and it supposedly has the mandate to examine labour relations in this province. The minister could easily delay this bill and give his Premier's special committee the task of examining the legislation and undertaking that proper economic analysis of the impact of the legislative changes. It seemed to us when the Premier established the group that's what it was intended to do in the first place.

The Premier's committee has enough labour and business representatives to satisfy both sides that this would be a fair process, and it seems to us to be a reasonable option for everyone concerned. I would ask the minister if he would not drop the rhetoric and commit to making this very easy and very sensible move. Will he refer his legislative proposals to his own government's select committee to carry out the economic impact studies?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I'm sure the leader of the official opposition is aware that the Premier's committee was set up and both management and labour people agreed to serve on it to be able to provide advice to the government of Ontario in terms of how we improve and better labour relations in this province. It was not intended to deal with the subject we've already had on the table for better than a year and have gone through extensive consultations on.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Final supplementary.

Mrs McLeod: Mr Speaker, I don't even know how to begin a supplementary in response to what the minister has

just said. He said to us that this committee was established—and I think I wrote it down as he said it—to look at how we can improve and better labour relations in this province, yet that it had not been given the mandate to look at what he himself has described as the most significant piece of labour legislation intended to improve labour relations in this province. How is it possible that this same minister could make both those statements?

No wonder we are sceptical on this side of the House about his government's commitment to real and to open public consultations. We look at the consultation process which took place leading up to these changes, and what we see is an 11-day sham consultation across this province. This government has consistently ignored the concerns of both business and ordinary Ontarians about the effect the changes could have on our economic situation and therefore on jobs in this province.

According to the media, Gord Wilson knows the truth when he says, "We know we're going to get a substantial package of labour reforms," and to us it looks like a fait accompli. I would ask the minister whether this labour bill is not in fact already etched in stone, as Gord Wilson seems to suggest it is. Will his government permit substantial changes as a result of an honest and open consultation, and what assurances do we have that his government will in fact provide for open consultations with the people of Ontario? Will these hearings even be held at a time when concerned citizens can make their representations to the committee?

This is indeed major legislation affecting labour relations in this province and it deserves time and thoughtful consideration, not just a jammed-in, summertime, sham consultation.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: Mr Speaker, you'll forgive me if I just don't accept the "jammed-in, summertime consultation." It seems to me that's the same kind of comment the leader of the official opposition was making after the original leaked documents. After we have now gone through almost one and a half years on this particular topic, if we did turn it around overnight, what would they be saying? "Why have you wasted a year and a half?" That's utterly ridiculous.

The Speaker: New question, the leader of the third party.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I'd like to go back to the Minister of Labour on the absence of any job impact studies done by you, your ministry and this government and see if we can get to the reason why you continue to ignore the most important thing on the minds of people today, and that is jobs.

When the discussion paper was originally released, Mr Minister, Ernst and Young did a study that said some 450,000 jobs were at risk. You pooh-poohed that study. You said: "No, that study's no good. That's based on the consultation paper. Wait till you see the legislation. Wait till you see the changes that come in." Ernst and Young have done another study based upon the changes you brought in and now say that at risk are 295,000 jobs and nearly \$9 billion in investment over the next five years.

Minister, do you have one shred of evidence to suggest that this study is incorrect and that in fact some 295,000 jobs and \$9 billion of investment are not at risk? Do you have one shred of study done by your own ministry, your own government, that disputes or refutes this evidence?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I think some of the evidence is the fact that the original studies being used by some of the groups being referred to had us losing 480,000 jobs. Subsequent studies by these groups—if you can call them studies; they really weren't studies—had it down to 280,000 jobs. We dispute that entirely. What's happened in terms of job losses is without any changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. We happen to think that if we can change the atmosphere between business and labour we can show a plus, not a negative.

Mr Harris: Minister, we hear your criticism, pulled out of the air, of studies that others are doing, but they are at least doing studies on the issue that is on most Ontarians' minds: jobs, the fear of losing the job they have, the desire to create new jobs, the desire to get this economy moving again. The only people doing studies seem to be those whom, when the results are released, you criticize.

Minister, we find out today in a survey done by the Council of Ontario Construction Associations, that 78% of Ontarians believe it is your job, the government's job, to do the impact studies on jobs, yet you've given us nothing; that 70% of NDP supporters think it's your job to do the economic impact studies; that 73% of union members say it is your job to do the economic impact studies. You flip-flopped on Sunday shopping when 65% came across in the polls, and you publicly said the reason was that the public has changed. Now you've got over 70% of union members, NDP members, saying it is your job to do the job economic impact studies. Have you done that? If not, why not, and when can we see the results of those studies?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: When it comes to flip-flopping on a position, I can recall at least four different positions on Sunday shopping from the Conservative Party. But I also want to tell him very clearly that when he refers to the COCA study, the COCA figures he was using, that's one of the groups that first told us there would be 480,000 jobs lost. Then they said they made a mistake and reduced that to 295,000 jobs. This is the same group that has put up some of the most laughable billboards I've seen in the province of Ontario, and you now want me to accept this latest survey of theirs? I'm sorry, I just don't buy it.

Mr Harris: All you do is slander other studies. Here, right in this House, you slander Environics. Why won't you do a study of your own? Are you afraid of the results? Do you not realize that, again according to the Environics survey, the impression you're leaving is exactly this: 60% of those aware of the legislation—not the others who aren't—believe that you, the Rae government, care more about union leaders than you do about workers' jobs?

Minister, do you not realize that every day you refuse to carry out job studies for the average worker, union worker or non-union worker, every day you refuse to do that, you leave the impression more and more entrenched

with more and more people—and quite frankly, it's the impression you leave with me—that you care more about union leaders than you do about jobs in this province? Do you not realize that? Do you not realize that your legislation is doomed to failure, no matter what it is, as long as this is the motivation?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: Very briefly, I've been around this place long enough to know that you wouldn't rely on 500 or even 1,000 union leaders. So I think the question from the leader of the third party is absolutely ridiculous.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): New question.

Mr Harris: I guess it's silly to want to know the impact on jobs before you proceed. If that is silly, I'm guilty, because I do want to know how many jobs will be created or lost before we proceed with legislation.

1430

TAXATION

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): My second question is to the Treasurer, concerning the study that was talked about today by the Liberal Party. The Fraser Institute released a study which says you'll be getting an extra \$300 million from Ontario taxpayers.

Minister, today in the House you've indicated you're not sure that study is accurate. You want to wait and see, perhaps, or you're analysing that study to see if it's correct or not. But I suggest to you, Minister, if that study is correct, and I appreciate you want some time to take a look at it, that's \$300 million you hadn't counted on, \$300 million you didn't budget on.

Treasurer, I suggest to you that if that study is correct, it's not your money; you didn't know you had it. What plans do you have for this \$300 million, should in fact those figures be true? What plans do you have for any windfall revenues that may come your way as a result of your budget? Could you tell us that today?

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): You'll forgive me, Mr Speaker, if—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Mr Laughren: And we haven't even reached the dog days of summer yet, Mr Speaker. What I started to say was that you'll forgive me if I haven't put in place a lot of contingency plans that take into consideration windfalls in revenue, given what's happened to the province in the last couple of years.

Directly to the leader of the third party, I would remind him that Mr Grady's study deals with the taxation year 1993, so it really wouldn't have much of an impact on this fiscal year in which we now find ourselves, 1992-93, and as you know, there's a lag in collection of income tax from the federal government in its settlement with the province. So even if Mr Grady is correct—and there really are some anomalies and some errors in Mr Grady's study, even from a superficial look at the report—I don't think there's going to be the windfall Mr Grady seems to think there will be.

Mr Harris: To the Treasurer, I understand that the projections may not come true exactly, as is his suggestion.

But the fact is that you and the Liberals have reached into the pockets of Ontario taxpayers 55 times. That doesn't include the hidden taxes and that doesn't include the levies; that's just the upfront taxes. Your budget tax hikes of \$1.3 billion were bad enough without grabbing an extra \$300 million, if that is the amount.

Treasurer, when the Liberals got the windfall revenues—and I understand you haven't had them the last couple of years—they spent them so lickety-fast they never even knew they had them. The money was gone, money that belonged to the taxpayers of Ontario. What I am asking of you is that you do something different from the Liberals. If this \$300 million comes to fruition or other windfall revenues come to pass, will you agree with me that money belongs to the taxpayers and should be given back to the taxpayers through some form of tax cut or refund?

Hon Mr Laughren: I don't want to be provocative but I did want to say to the leader of the third party that we're the government now; stop kicking the Liberals when they're down.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Treasurer.

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): Remember the summer of 1985, Floyd.

Hon Mr Laughren: Yes, I do.

If I could treat this serious question in a serious way, the leader of the third party asked a most legitimate question. If there is a windfall, what will we do with it? I hope you'll give me some time to reflect on that question before making a firm determination or commitment here in the Legislature, because I can tell you that the study by Mr Grady really does have some inaccuracies in it. I'm not casting aspersions on Mr Grady. I just think there are some inaccuracies and some very fundamental flaws in the model he's used and I wouldn't want to speculate on whether or not we'll achieve those revenues.

Mr Harris: I think I have the Treasurer saying he will reflect and would like to think about what to do with the windfall revenues. Might I, by way of final supplementary, give him a couple of suggestions, and first of all, that he not follow the path the Liberals followed, and that was to spend that windfall money into new programs or into new areas that weren't there at budget time. Would he look at New Directions, a document we released almost a year ago? We called at that time for cuts to the gasoline tax. Instead you increased them on January 1.

Might I suggest—not just for the summer; I don't know what that does, quite frankly—that if it's \$300 million, as is suggested, the Treasurer look at a 3-cent-a-litre gas tax cut not just for the summer but permanently so we can create jobs, so we can get tourism back on track and so we can help the border communities compete with their US counterparts. Will he consider that direct gas tax cut as a way of giving back to the taxpayers that which belongs to them?

Hon Mr Laughren: I would reiterate that Mr Grady's numbers deal with 1993, so it would be really premature to make an assumption. I'm sure the leader of the third party wouldn't want us to make the assumption that we're going

to get that \$300 million, reduce the taxes and increase the deficit accordingly as a result of that action.

My final point is that if the leader of the third party does not want us to spend any potential windfall on new programs, I hope he'll reign in his cabinet colleagues who have made an enormous list of suggestions to us that would certainly wipe out any conceivable windfall as envisioned by Mr Grady.

ENVIRONMENTAL OFFENCES

Mr Carman McClelland (Brampton North): I have a question for the Minister of the Environment. My question concerns the minister's brave promises, but quite frankly barren performance with respect to the issue of establishing environmental rights for the citizens of this province. All we need to do is witness what's happening with Bill 143, which belies your previous promises, Minister.

Minister, on June 11 of this year you, along with your colleague in cabinet the Attorney General, made an announcement about your 30% increase in convictions with respect to environmental offences for the 1991 period. You took some credit for that. At the time you stated, "We hope that this report will act as a further deterrent to polluters and help promote an environmental consciousness in boardrooms across Ontario," yet, Minister, in the past you have spoken passionately about granting legal rights to Ontario citizens to sue these same polluters in court for the pollution they emit into Ontario's environment.

You, Minister, used to believe that the way to promote an environmental consciousness in many ways was to allow boardrooms in Ontario to look at the risk of suits being brought on by individuals to have those polluters brought to court. Obviously, in the absence of any clear leadership in terms of air and quality regulations, that kind of vehicle for the citizens of Ontario is certainly necessary.

Minister, I'm wondering if you're prepared to confirm that the announcement you will be making, probably tomorrow, in releasing your draft environmental bill of rights for Ontario will substantially, if not totally, abandon your earlier conviction in terms of the right to sue and will not include a right for the individual citizens and citizens groups in Ontario to sue polluters.

1440

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): I'm very pleased to be able to say to the member that indeed the task force I appointed last October, comprised of environmentalists and business representatives, to establish and draft an environmental bill of rights has reached a consensus and that I will shortly be able to release its work. I'm not prepared at this point to announce to the Legislature precisely what that task force has concluded.

Mr McClelland: I can only draw from that answer that in all probability the right of the citizens of Ontario to sue, as you promised and spoke so passionately about in the past, will not be included in your announcement tomorrow.

Equally important in the past to you, Minister—I notice, in so many of our questions as we talk about the past and the present, what a tremendous change there has been in you personally and your leadership in terms of the environment—when you were a member of the opposition,

you used to talk about and hold in some esteem the concept of the public trust doctrine. In essence, and very simplistically stated, that legal doctrine holds the government accountable in court for actions that any of its ministers, ministries, agencies, boards or commissions might take which cause damage to the environment.

The question is this, by way of supplementary: Can the minister confirm that her announcement tomorrow will not establish—and I remind her, contrary to what she said previously in her private member's bill—an obligation and a duty for the government to hold the natural resources of this province in trust for the benefit of present and future generations? Can you confirm that what you will introduce tomorrow will be a complete sellout to the citizens of this province who have waited so long to see the fulfilment of your promise for an environmental bill of rights that would hold up the doctrine of public trust and the right to sue?

Hon Mrs Grier: I have two disappointments for the member. First of all, I can't confirm that I will in fact be making an announcement and releasing the draft bill of rights tomorrow.

Second, I cannot indeed confirm the abrogation of principles that he describes. I'm very pleased to be able to tell him that the task force took the principles that I had outlined and that were part of earlier private member's bills of rights—the principle that people have a right to a healthy environment, a right to improved access to the courts, a right to public participation, a right to government accountability and a right to blow the whistle if their employer is polluting the environment—and has crafted a bill of rights in which I hope he will share the pride that I know I'm going to feel in it.

LANDFILL SITES

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): My question is for the Minister of the Environment. It's hard to believe the Minister of the Environment has upset so many people. Residents in York, Durham and Peel are genuinely angry, and what has especially offended them is the way you have put them down. You have accused them of crying NIMBY—not in my backyard. This is a massive put-down of the people with the serious problem of having a 40-million-tonne landfill site in their communities.

Why do you and your public utterances continue to say that they just don't want to have sites in their own backyard?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): I'm not sure this is what I have ever said. What I have said is that waste has to be managed as close as possible to the source of its generation. That means that the greater Toronto area, as municipalities around the province are doing, has to have a plan that deals with its waste within its own boundaries.

What I have put in place is a process that is more open and more fair and that gives those people more opportunities to both determine the criteria upon which a landfill will be chosen and to participate in the selection and in the approval process before the Environmental Assessment Board. In fact, under this government, the people of the greater Toronto area have a far greater role to play in solving

the waste management problems of the area than they had in any process outlined by previous governments.

Mr Cousens: I'd just remind the honourable minister that at a recent presentation she did make the statement, and it was taken very seriously by the people when she just said in very simple terms, "They don't want the landfills in their own backyards."

That in itself is a massive put-down to the very people whose property values have gone down since one of the 57 proposed sites is located near them. Properties now cannot be sold near the proposed landfill sites unless there's a conditional clause that allows people an escape in case it is near one of the proposed sites. Properties are not selling near the proposed sites. Land values are going down. People who own century-old farmsteads are genuinely worried. You have, with your 57 sites, jeopardized environmentally sensitive green spaces. You have disrupted community life.

Major concerns have arisen, and when you said in your statement that people just don't want it in their own backyards, that really was a banal accusation that has offended people. Why have you accused people, saying they just don't want it in their own backyards? Do you not care about the other issues that are at stake with regard to these proposed landfill sites?

Hon Ruth A. Grier: If I offended people, I certainly did not intend to do that. But I was certainly under the impression, from the people with whom I've met and from the announcements and questions in this House by the honourable member, that it was the overwhelming preference of the people with whom he has been talking and with whom I've been talking that in fact the waste go to Boston township in Kirkland Lake's backyard. If what the member is saying today is that in fact there is an acceptance that the waste must be managed within the greater Toronto area, then that's good news and I'm very pleased about that.

With respect to the uncertainty, let me say to the member that I certainly recognize that that is a very unfortunate side-effect of any choice and selection process that is under way anywhere. It is for precisely that reason that the Interim Waste Authority has the direction and the authority to move far more quickly than previous waste management planning process from the announcement of the long list of sites, to the short list, to the preferred site. The powers that this member I think has said were far-reaching were designed to do precisely that: reduce the time frame in which people's property would be under a cloud. I indeed intend to see that that is what happens.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): New question; the member for Kitchener.

Interjections.

Mr Will Ferguson (Kitchener): My question is to the Minister of Education.

The Speaker: Order. Would the member take his seat, please.

Interjections.

The Speaker: The member for Kitchener.

ACADEMIC STREAMING

Mr Will Ferguson (Kitchener): Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. My question is to the Minister of Education. The minister will know that a number of teachers, not only in my riding but in other ridings as well, have expressed some concern over the whole question of destreaming. The concern I get in my constituency office, as well as from the telephone calls I've received from teachers, is not the question of destreaming itself but the process and the time lines that are currently being followed. Some teachers out there, of course, are of the opinion that we don't have enough time in place at this point in order to positively effect the outcome of destreaming for September 1993. I wonder if the minister could outline, for the benefit of the teachers in my riding and the benefit of the members of the House, the time lines that are in place and give us assurance that in fact those time lines can be met.

Hon Tony Silipo (Minister of Education): I appreciate the question. As I think I've indicated on other occasions in the House, the question of destreaming is one we believe to be important and one we've therefore resolved to proceed on with respect to 1993. It's something we're quite happy to proceed with; it is an initiative that was begun even by the previous government.

First of all, I know the issue itself continues to generate a lot of discussion and interest and obviously is one that is particularly important among teachers. What we believe is that it's important to push at least one more year the decision point at which we begin to formally stream students into various levels of ability programs; at least to the end of grade 9. We recognize that there has to be a lot of work done to prepare teachers to teach adequately in that kind of program.

I have said that 1993, while it's the beginning of the implementation, is the beginning of a three-year process of implementation of the new policy. We are making available this fall curriculum documents that teachers will have. We will also be doing a lot of work on serious in-service programs for teachers so that they will in fact be prepared to teach properly in this new system.

Mr Ferguson: The teachers of course are concerned about in-service programs and training that would be provided. I'm wondering if the minister could tell the house, first, the amount of dollars that will be allocated to training and in-service training for teachers and, second, the amount of time school boards will be expected to devote to in-service training for educators in the field.

Hon Mr Silipo: We have allocated an initial amount of some \$2.7 million that will be available to school boards to apply for in-service programs. In addition to that we are just now discussing with the Ontario Teachers' Federation a proposal it has submitted to us, which we have in fact approved in principle and are now having discussions with them for some additional programs. We believe it's important for the teachers, through their federations and locally in their own schools, to be very much involved in designing the kind of in-service programs they will need, because they obviously are in the best position to tell us the kind of in-service work and support they will need. I

think that will also result in some additional dollars we will be spending, and we will be happy to do that because it will go towards assisting teachers to teach properly in this new grade 9 system.

1450

WAGE PROTECTION

Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North): I have a question for the Minister of Labour. The subject matter is the wage protection fund, which as you know compensates workers for wages, vacation pay, severance pay and termination pay when the company they have been working for goes bankrupt. The issue is that 50 people have been hired to administer the plan, yet continuing delay and indecision has the impact that decisions that should have been made in one month are taking at least six months. What are you doing about it?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): I think the member for the official opposition is well aware that there's been a tremendous demand on the plan. I think he should also be aware that we've paid out more than \$20 million, and I think we're responding to the demand as quickly as we can.

Mr Offer: There has not been a tremendous demand, because of the indecision and delay. The issue, as an example, is Pascal Furniture in my riding, bankrupt in February or March of this year; 100 employees, and there's been no compensation, there's been no decision. What do I tell those employees about your mismanagement of the plan?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: In the individual case he's raised, I will get back to the member and tell him what I can about that. But I repeat what I've been saying: We've had a tremendous demand on it. We have been sending out the cheques to people. It's one of the most successful programs we've undertaken, with a very good response to it, and I can also say that our approach is not to hire more bureaucrats.

EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): My question is for the Minister of Citizenship. In your public statements regarding employment equity, you have maintained that you do not intend to establish a system in which the government will impose quotas on employers. If I understand you correctly, you have maintained that your bill will require employers to establish their own plans in conjunction with the Employment Equity Commission. However, after carefully reviewing your bill, I find there is a clause which reads as follows: "A regulation governing the content of employment equity plans may require plans to contain numerical goals determined in a manner prescribed by the regulation. It may provide that the goals shall be determined with reference to percentages approved by the commission...." This clause gives the Employment Equity Commission the power to externally impose numerical goals into employment equity plans. Would you please tell us what the difference is between a numerical goal and a quota?

Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship): I think you've asked three questions in one, but I will try in

a short space of time to answer that question. If we talk about quotas that have happened in other jurisdictions similar to the United States, they mean that an external body tells an employer it must hire X number of people in a set time frame. What we're asking employers to do is to look at the region they're located in and then to apply employment equity practices within the time frame in which they are going to be hiring, whether it's through people being laid off or quitting and whether they're going to be expanding.

You talked about the employment equity commissioner going to be able to put in force a certain compliance. This is if an employer, after several times, has not come up with his own employment equity plan and if there has been a complaint against an employer; such that the employer, having had a complaint laid against him, the employment equity commissioner might then ask the employer to, in a certain time frame, come up with his employment equity plan. This is what they have to comply with.

Mrs Witmer: Well, Minister, I have to tell you there is concern out there. As I indicated last week, we have to make sure that we do allay the fears of people, and people are interpreting this as numerical goals that are going to be determined by the commission.

You know that the briefs you received during your consultation process stated that a numbers-driven quota system wouldn't work. It would reduce business flexibility and could lead to an ugly backlash and resentment among employees. Quotas obviously are going to make employees feel they're not being treated fairly. It's going to make it more difficult for people to work together in the workplace.

The clause in your bill which I'm speaking about is subsection 50(2). It clearly gives the government the power to create regulations which would impose quotas. You can call them numerical goals, you can call them whatever you want, but they are in reality quotas. I guess I ask you, Minister, do you support the imposition of quotas to achieve employment equity, and if not, can you explain to all of us why your bill gives you the power to do so?

Hon Ms Ziemba: I want first of all to thank the member opposite for saying that yes, there have been some fears raised and that we have to make sure that people feel comfortable with this bill. I'm glad you raised this particular question, because that is one of the reasons we set up a technical advisory group: to make sure that people from business, labour and the equity-seeking groups sat down with us as we went through the legislation.

However, as the very last resort—as I would like to say—when the Employment Equity Commission or the tribunal, after several methods of getting employers to come to the table to make sure they have their goals and timetables in place, have to have something the employer would have to comply with if it's broken the law several times. This is why that's put in: as a very last resort, not as a first objective.

What we hope is that with our technical advisory group staying in place as we develop our regulations and as we move into second reading, with our regulations in one hand and our bill in the other hand, we will have a package that does make sure employers are given the assistance

they need. They don't have to go to outside consultants. The employment equity commissioner will be there—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Could the minister conclude her response, please.

Hon Ms Ziemba: —to assist employers as we're moving through the whole process. I think this is extremely important, that we build that relationship between employer and employees and equity-seeking groups.

I'm sorry, Mr Speaker, but this is a very important issue and I think the member has raised a very important question.

The Speaker: I appreciate that. The member for Durham East.

TRAFFIC SIGNALS

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): Thank you very much, Mr Speaker.

Interjections.

Mr Mills: I'm on the floor.

My question, a very important question in my constituency, is to the Minister of Transportation. It concerns traffic lights at the intersection of Courtice and Prestonvale roads in Courtice. There have been a number of accidents there, Mr Minister. I sent you some clippings from the newspaper. Can you tell me when we can expect the traffic lights to be installed at the intersection of Prestonvale and Courtice roads?

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): What we are doing as we speak at present is we are checking which properties need to be identified. Then we will proceed to expropriation and then we will widen Highway 2. It's a fairly massive project, but more important perhaps, the intent, the spirit, the decision has been made on what is a safety hazard. We recognize this. We are most cognizant and very anxious to get it addressed in short order.

1500

DECORUM IN CHAMBER

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): My question is to the Minister of Municipal Affairs in his capacity as the government House leader. Members may know that on the last Thursday extended evening sitting of the House I rose on a point of order. My point of order concerned the fact that the member for Guelph was showing total disrespect for this House by walking around the chamber without his shoes and socks.

The Speaker responded to my point of order in part by saying: "If the member's description is at all accurate, it certainly would be something that I think is not acceptable, but I caution that the Speaker has no particular authority in this matter as there is no dress code."

Mr Minister, as the government House leader, could you tell the House your opinion as to the appropriateness of the member for Guelph appearing in this Legislature in his bare feet?

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): I think the member might be more appropriately asking

questions about lights in his riding than this type of question. I don't enforce any dress code in this place and I don't think the member would expect me to, so I'm not going to express a judgement. Any of those kinds of discussions that take place take place within our caucus, just as they would within yours.

Mr Kwinter: The minister will know that politicians, now more than ever, are viewed by some members of the community with cynicism and disfavour. If anything, members of this House should be acting in a manner that will enhance our reputations rather than diminish the perception of the role and dedication of elected members.

Can the minister tell us what actions he will take to ensure that his caucus members will not assume that, if it is permissible for the member for Guelph to walk around this Legislature in his bare feet, there is no limit to what other articles of clothing they may shed without drawing the wrath of the Speaker or you as the leader of the official government?

Hon Mr Cooke: I think there are many factors that contribute to why people are feeling cynical about the process and politicians in this province and elsewhere. I don't think it has much to do with the fact that the member for Guelph was walking around without his shoes on late at night because he had an infected foot. He might want to check with the member before he makes those kinds of criticisms.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): New question. Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Would the member take his seat for a moment.

Mr Kwinter: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I think the leader of the government in the House has an obligation to tell the members what that infection was, because we were in here and he was walking around in his bare feet.

The Speaker: The member does not have a point of order.

INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): My question is to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. I have here his newsletter, News and Information from Ed Philip, MPP, Etobicoke-Rexdale. In it he says, "The economy in Ontario has taken a hammering." He says, "I'm trying to encourage new investment," and he goes on to say that he will be announcing a strategy later in the year. There is nothing else in here that talks about what you've been doing as Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology or what you will be doing in the future.

I have in my hand some recommendations from the Ontario Chamber of Commerce and from the Canadian Federation of Independent Business and what they believe should be done to get investment back in the province of Ontario. Could you tell me specifically today what initiatives from those two groups will be implemented in your industrial strategy?

Hon Ed Philip (Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology): I think the budget outlined some of the initiatives we are taking. In fact we have provided some new

initiatives, as the Treasurer has done, to small business. We've provided initiatives for a sector partnership fund that for the first time will encourage groups of companies that have like interests to join together for research and development. The Treasurer has also announced a number of new initiatives that will encourage more investment. I'm happy to take the ideas of the various groups. I'm meeting with them on a regular basis and I think you'll find those ideas found their way into the sectoral policy we are announcing.

Mr Carr: Unfortunately, during the pre-budget hearings, one of the things that all the economists said would hurt the economy more than anything else is tax increases. And what did your Treasurer do? He introduced the most massive tax increases in this province's history. So unfortunately at the table you're losing the debate, I'm afraid.

I want to read what the Canadian Federation of Independent Business said about your Bill 150 initiative. They said, "This program is not an appropriate vehicle for encouraging modernization, growth and restructuring in small and medium businesses." They said: "Thank you very much, but if you're going to spend \$250 million"—which your minister and the treasury officials said is going to be spent—"we would rather have you reduce the employee health payroll tax. That would do more to help us, if you're going to spend the \$250 million."

My question is this. Will you listen to some of the business groups that are saying if you're going to spend the money, do it by reducing some of the taxes and specifically, will you ask the Treasurer to reduce the employee health payroll tax for small and medium businesses in the province of Ontario?

Hon Mr Philip: What the hearings on the budget—and I was with the Treasurer, along with other cabinet ministers. They were concerned about government spending and this Treasurer introduced the smallest increase in government spending of any government in 39 years and I say to you that no Tory government was able to do that.

You want to talk about what businesses are saying? I can tell you what businesses are saying. Bill Etherington, the president—

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Breathe, Ed. Your head is inflating.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order, the member for Etobicoke West.

Hon Mr Philip: I'm sorry the member for Etobicoke West doesn't want to allow an answer to go through to his colleague, who has asked what seems to be a reasonable question.

Bill Etherington, the president and chief executive officer of IBM Canada, in announcing the largest new construction project in the greater Toronto area since the SkyDome said, and I quote, "I hope that the people will see the opening of this facility as a ringing vote of confidence in Ontario." That's what private enterprise is saying to this government, and we have been listening. It's reflected in the budget, it's reflected in the new initiatives and, as I go around the province talking to the various businesses, we're seeing it over and over and over again.

NON-PROFIT HOUSING

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): My question is to the Minister of Housing, if I could ask her to stay for a moment. Mr Speaker, I don't know if I'll get an opportunity for a supplementary following the answer; I would hope you would grant that.

I've received some information from the Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp, Minister, which, as you well know, is one of the finest housing corporations in the country, which is used as an example by the former government and I think by your ministry for other people around the province as to how they should administer and run non-profit housing.

They're quite upset in Peel, because with over 8,000—I think 8,300—individuals on their waiting list, they were simply bypassed when you announced allocations of some 6,500 allocations for non-profit housing corporations. Minister, how is it that you could totally ignore a housing corporation with over 8,000 people on a waiting list and how is it that you can simply tell it that it's not going to be able to build any houses this year?

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): We have not told Peel non-profit or any other municipal non-profit that they're not going to be able to get allocations for further construction this year, far from it. But what we did do was take a look over the 40,000-plus units which have been allocated over the past four years and try to make sure that there was some balance among the allocations that went to municipal non-profit organizations, such as Peel non-profit, to private non-profit organizations with a community base and also to co-ops with a community base in the regions of Ontario.

In this last allocation we did indeed ask the regional offices to look at the list of projects that were being applied for and see which among them that were co-ops could get an allocation and move forward as good projects. That has meant that in the wrapup of 40,000-plus units over the last four to five years, organizations such as Peel non-profit, which have indeed been producing a lot of housing over the last several years, have received fewer allocations than they might have expected; that's true.

1510

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The time for oral questions has expired. Motions?

Mr Callahan: On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: When I asked unanimous consent of the House to do a supplementary, I was upstaged by the foot. I'd like to ask a supplementary on a very important issue. I'd like to ask for unanimous consent of the House.

The Speaker: Does the member have unanimous consent to ask a question?

Interjections.

The Speaker: No? I'm afraid there is not unanimous consent.

PETITIONS

GAMBLING

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I'm pleased to table a petition signed by members of the congregation of Grace Lutheran Church in my riding of Oakville South which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government intends to legalize casinos and is considering other forms of gambling in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas studies have been done which indicate that where casinos are found, they are inseparable from organized criminal activities; and

"Whereas most forms of gambling end up being a tax on those least able to pay; and

"Whereas gambling produces in many people a terrible addiction; and

"Whereas it would be more appropriate for the government to cut expenditures than attempt to increase revenues through expanded lotteries,

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to stop looking to casinos as a 'quick-fix' solution to pay down the deficit."

PESTICIDES

Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot): I have a petition signed by several residents of Kitchener and Waterloo:

"To the Honourable Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, beg leave to petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"We feel that the urban cosmetic use of synthetic pesticides and fertilizers is unnecessary since viable alternatives exist. Pesticides are being registered, marketed and used with inadequate, incomplete, obsolete and invalid testing. No pesticide has been proven absolutely safe. Pesticides have been linked to a number of serious health problems in terms of both acute and chronic toxicity. Many people are vulnerable to these effects, including children, the elderly and the environmentally sensitive. Pesticides and fertilizers contaminate surface water and groundwater and have been linked to a number of serious adverse effects on the environment. The manufacturing of some pesticides and fertilizers contributes to global warming. Pesticides adversely affect a wide variety of non-target beneficial organisms. Insects, fungi and weeds are becoming increasingly resistant to pesticides.

"Therefore, we request that the House eliminate the use of synthetic pesticides for cosmetic reasons in urban areas of Ontario immediately or by 1993 at the very latest."

COURT RULING

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, in support of the mother of Debra Pauline Williams Ellul, draw to the attention of the House the following:

"That the right to appeal the decision made in Debra Williams Ellul murder acquitting Guy Ellul of all charges be granted based on the fact that the decision not to allow the appeal does not accurately reflect the public's abhorrence and unacceptability of the outcome of this trial."

I've affixed my name to this petition.

LAW AND ORDER

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I have a petition from Henry Freitag in Penetanguishene, Mr Speaker, and I'll leave it up to you to determine whether it's in order or not. It says:

"To the Parliament of Ontario:

"Whereas Canada is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law'....

"The rule of law, a fundamental principle of our Constitution, must mean at least two things. First, that the law is supreme over the officials of the government as well as private individuals, and thereby preclusive of the influence of arbitrary power.... Second, the rule of law requires the creation and maintenance of an actual order of positive laws which preserves and embodies the more general principle of normative order. Law and order are indispensable elements of civilized life."

"I, the undersigned, petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"To forthwith remove the Premier from office and enforce the law as it is written, then permit a vote in the Legislature on the removal of the Sunday closing law and this outcome should be enforced as instructed by our Constitution.

"Signed, Henry Freitag, Penetanguishene."

TRAILER PARK RESIDENTS

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly and signed by 211 Middlesex constituents who live in Twin Elms mobile park. These residents of Twin Elms are concerned because their landlord has at times interfered with tenants who wish to utilize an outside agent to sell their mobile homes, may refuse park residence to prospective buyers, has established a non-profit co-op without consulting the tenants, is currently in violation of a park management agreement between the landlord and tenants and has closed the tenants' clubhouse, seized chattels belonging to the tenants' association and has removed park amenities like benches and lighting.

These tenants ask the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to introduce legislation that will meet the specific needs of people who live in mobile home communities.

I have signed my name to this petition.

ABORTION CLINIC

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I have a petition signed by 35 residents of my community addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the government of Ontario has expressed its intention to use \$400,000 of taxpayers' money to increase the security at the private abortion clinic of Dr Henry Morgentaler and an additional \$200,000 of taxpayers' money to help rebuild this for-profit clinic;

"Whereas the Ontario deficit has risen to astronomical proportions, creating serious hardship for Ontario taxpayers at the same time that programs and services are being withdrawn, including crucial health care and social service programs;

"Whereas all other private Ontario businesses are expected to provide their own security and obtain business insurance to cover fire, vandalism and other such calamities;

"We, the undersigned, while abhorring the violent act which destroyed Dr Morgentaler's clinic, do petition the Legislature of Ontario to immediately recant its intention to inappropriately utilize Ontario tax dollars on this private clinic."

I've affixed my signature to it as well.

GAMBLING

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I have a petition signed by approximately 50 people from Kent county. It reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the abovementioned implementations;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a quick-fix solution to its fiscal problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I've affixed my signature to this petition as well.

METROPOLITAN TORONTO LICENSING COMMISSION

Ms Anne Swarbrick (Scarborough West): I have a petition signed by 84 people who are residents of a number of ridings, including my own. The people are concerned about certain legal irregularities that are alleged to have occurred within the Metropolitan Toronto Licensing Commission resulting in unwarranted financial losses and deep personal embarrassment to many people. The irregularities and the losses are documented in a brief authored by Mr John Beck of my riding and by others.

They collectively request in the petition:

"That the Lieutenant Governor in Council invoke his authority under...the Public Inquiries Act and cause a commission of inquiry to inquire into the conduct of the affairs of the Metropolitan Toronto Licensing Commission, in particular the handling of licence applications and related actions."

1520

PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I have petitions which are signed by residents of north Toronto in my riding of Eglinton.

It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas it is arbitrary and demonstrably unfair to use market value as a basis for property tax assessment in a volatile market such as Metro Toronto; and

"Whereas market value assessment bears no relation to the level of services provided by the municipality; and

"Whereas the implementation of such a measure would work undue hardship on the residents of north Toronto, on our long-term home owners, our senior citizens and our tenants; and

"Whereas Toronto businesses are already paying the highest property taxes in North America and will be devastated by increases of up to 50% more;

"We the undersigned petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario not to impose market value assessment on the city of Toronto against the wishes of the people of Toronto and to consider another method of property tax reform for Metro Toronto."

I concur with this and have affixed my signature.

STUDENT SAFETY

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I have a petition signed by approximately 650 people. It's addressed to the Lieutenant Governor. It's petitioning the Lieutenant Governor on behalf of Matthew, age 19, who died at York University because of a shard of glass that cut the brachial artery under his arm. The glass in the residents' door was not safety glass. The coroner of Metropolitan Toronto, despite letters and pleas, has refused an inquest. He stated that it was economically unsound to make universities replace the glass, despite the letter to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities recommending it consider replacing the glass.

The appeal is being made to this Legislature:

"We, the undersigned, believe an inquest into the death of Matthew Morten is necessary to save the lives of others."

I've signed it as well.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Mrs Irene Mathyssen (Middlesex): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario signed by 9,867 people from across Ontario, who petition the Parliament of Ontario as follows:

"The Ministry of Education has made evolutionism a compulsory core unit in senior OAC (previously grade 13) history and science. Since evolutionism and creationism are completed acts in the past, neither can be proven nor disproven. In fairness to all parents and students, equal time should be given in presenting the underlying assumptions of each. Through the two-model approach, the skills of critical thinking such as recognition of bias, awareness of society's influence on one's bias and the awareness of assumptions can allow students to examine their own belief system and better appreciate an opposing view. These skills should be incorporated into all textbooks, approved in circular 14, dealing with the question of origins."

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a petition signed by 50 residents of Middlesex county petitioning:

"That the Legislature reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendations of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

I have affixed my signature.

LAND-LEASED COMMUNITIES

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I've got a petition here that's been signed by a number of people in the Sutton-By-The-Lake community up in my riding. I'll read it.

"We, the residents of land-leased communities, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake felt the previous government set up a committee to report on land-leased communities but took no specific action to protect these communities; and

"Whereas the residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake feel it should be a priority of this government to release the report and take action to bring forward legislation on the following issues that surround land-leased communities; and

"Whereas the residents feel the government of Ontario should examine the problem of no protection against conversion to other uses which would result in the loss of home owners' equity; and

"Whereas the residents of these communities do not receive concise and clear information about their property tax bills; and

"Whereas there are often arbitrary rules set out by landlords and owners of land-leased communities which place unfair restrictions or collect commissions on resale of residents' homes; and

"Whereas there has been confusion resulting in the status of residents in long-term leases where they fall under the rent review legislation,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to follow through and to release the committee report on land-leased communities and propose legislation to give adequate protection to individuals living in land-leased communities."

I affix my name to this.

REAL ESTATE GAINS

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I have a petition signed by 31 residents of my community. It's addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the government of Ontario has promised to introduce a new tax on real estate gains; and

"Whereas there is simply no evidence to suggest that real estate gains taxes either contribute to lower land and housing prices or raise significant revenue for the government; and

"Whereas in some cases a new tax on real estate gains may even raise prices by reducing supply; and

"Whereas the tax as proposed in the NDP's Agenda for People will adversely affect the entire real estate market in our community; and

"Whereas real estate gains are already subject to heavy taxation from federal and provincial governments;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to urge the Honourable Floyd Laughren, Treasurer of Ontario, not to proceed with an additional tax on real estate gains."

I have affixed my signature to the petition.

LAND-LEASED COMMUNITIES

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I have a petition here signed by a dozen residents in Sutton-By-The-Lake community in the north part of my riding.

"We, the residents of land-leased communities petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake felt the previous government set up a committee to report on land-leased communities but took no specific action to protect these communities; and

"Whereas the residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake feel it should be a priority of this government to release the report and to take action to bring forward the legislation on the following issues surrounding land-leased communities; and

"Whereas the residents feel the government of Ontario should examine the problem of no protection against conversion to other uses which will result in loss of home owners' equity; and

"Whereas the residents of these communities do not receive concise and clear information about the property tax bills; and

"Whereas there are often arbitrary rules set out by landlords and owners of land-leased communities which place unfair restrictions or collect commissions on resale of residents' homes; and

"Whereas there has been confusion resulting in the status of residents in long-term leases where they fall under the rent review legislation;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislation Assembly of Ontario to follow through with a report and release the committee's report on land-leased communities and propose legislation to give adequate protection to individuals living in these land-leased communities."

It has been signed by the Dodds, the Leadbeaters, the Berrys, the Walkers. I have signed my name to it.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

LABOUR RELATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI A TRAIT AUX RELATIONS DE TRAVAIL ET À L'EMPLOI

Mr Mackenzie moved second reading of Bill 40, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Collective Bargaining and Employment / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui a trait à la négociation collective et à l'emploi.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): Mr Speaker, on a point of privilege: I wish to draw to the attention of members of the House a point of privilege. This debate will begin the utilization of the new rules in the Legislative Assembly which will severely restrict the members of this

Legislature and the opposition to carry out their role and responsibility appropriately.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): This is not a point of privilege. Minister.

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): On June 4 I introduced legislation to bring positive reform and renewal to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. The driving force behind this legislation, now known as Bill 40, is our government's commitment to promoting better workplaces through more involved workforces. Nothing less will do as we all work together to meet the economic challenges of the 1990s.

I think it's important to remember that Bill 40 is proceeding in tandem with several other significant economic and social initiatives the government has recently unveiled. These initiatives, such as the Jobs Ontario Training fund and Jobs Ontario Capital fund, extending pay equity, establishing the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board and allowing for greater worker ownership, reaffirm our desire to give thousands of workers and their families a greater chance at prosperity and a more fulfilling working life and working environment. It's not an either/or situation. Reform of the Labour Relations Act will help ensure that economic renewal takes place within a framework of social justice and I'd like to turn to that now.

The act sets out the rules under which employees can form unions, prohibits unfair practices by both unions and employers, establishes the rules for bargaining contracts and creates procedures for handling disagreements between unions and employers. This tremendously important piece of legislation has not been significantly updated in more than 15 years. In that time, the composition of Ontario's workforce and the workplace itself have changed dramatically. The need for labour and management to work together in a spirit of cooperation, involvement and trust is greater now than at any time in Ontario's history.

1530

We are not alone in saying that. The Premier's council has concluded that meaningful worker involvement in their companies is the key to Ontario's economic renewal, productivity and competitiveness. Ontario has an educated, skilled and motivated workforce standing ready to take on this new role. These amendments are designed to promote real exchange between labour and management on any and all workplace issues.

Our reform package will also update the act to take account of the growing number of women, workers of ethnic diversity and part-time workers in our economy, whose numbers alone have doubled in the last 15 years in largely low-skill service sector jobs. Right now these workers face many obstacles to organizing and effective bargaining, because the act is designed for an earlier and now largely fading era of large smokestack industries employing predominantly male workforces.

Finally, with Bill 40, we hope to usher in a new era of peace and non-confrontation in labour disputes. We intend to introduce a number of measures to promote the smooth operation of the collective bargaining process and to offer

protection for the jobs of workers involved in labour disputes.

Our proposals have been the subject of an unprecedented amount of consultation in the form of public and private meetings with representatives of business, labour and community groups. As a result of these consultations, a significant number of our original proposals, almost half, have been changed or withdrawn altogether.

Emerging from this process is, our government believes, a package of progressive and fair amendments that will create better workplaces by recognizing the new workforces and workplaces that define Ontario in the 1990s, encouraging more participation and cooperation between labour and management, reducing the level of industrial conflict and streamlining the process of collective bargaining.

The first of these categories deals with opening up the act by recognizing the new workforces and workplaces that define Ontario in the 1990s. For example, the type and amount of part-time work is increasing dramatically in our economy, and this is an area where the act has clearly failed to keep pace. As a result, built-in obstructions that served to discourage part-time workers from becoming unionized will be removed.

In addition, the board will be granted the discretion to combine bargaining units. This is particularly important for existing and future full or part-time units and for smaller bargaining units in the retail, service and financial sectors. However, in response to concerns raised by large manufacturers, the board's power in this area will be subject to specific criteria.

Security guards will also be allowed to join the union of their choice rather than be restricted to guards-only unions, as is the case now. In response to concerns raised during the consultation process, however, guards who monitor other employees will be placed in a separate unit in order to avoid conflicts of interest.

The second major category of amendments supports our desire for more participation and cooperation by management and labour on a range of workplace issues. Amendments have been drafted to increase labour-management cooperation and harmony in workplaces facing major changes in work organization, technology and skill requirements.

We are also proposing the creation of a new work organization and partnership development service to assist labour and management in workplaces facing major restructuring. New amendments would also extend the duty to bargain in good faith to the negotiation of a labour adjustment plan in cases of closures or mass layoffs of more than 50 employees.

Finally, all collective agreements in the province will be required to contain a provision obliging the parties to engage in regular and ongoing consultation on workplace issues. Our goal here is to promote more dialogue, discussion and problem-solving between labour and management above and beyond the traditional cycle of collective bargaining. Ontario will be very much in the vanguard of this sort of cooperation once these proposals become law.

The third major objective of these amendments is to reduce the level of industrial conflict in the province. We want to remove the flashpoints and obstacles that serve only to frustrate effective labour-management relations.

We intend to change an all-too-familiar pattern of confrontation during the certification period and replace it with procedures that quickly get to the real heart of the issue—whether a union has the necessary support to be certified. As such, anti-union petitions submitted after application for certification and the \$1 membership fee will be eliminated. The support required for a vote on unionization will be lowered to 40%, but the level of membership support required for certification will remain at 55%.

First-contract arbitration will become automatic 30 days after a legal strike or lockout date is past. This will eliminate a major roadblock for weak and vulnerable unions at that critical stage of the development of a stable collective bargaining relationship.

Similar objectives underlie the government's decision to introduce protection against the use of replacement workers during a strike or lockout. The replacement worker provision is intended to make the right to strike meaningful and to encourage both parties to work harder for a negotiated settlement.

No one takes lightly the decision to go on strike, but this government believes that, once such a decision is made, workers deserve to know that their jobs will be protected. That sense of protection is imperilled by the use of some types of replacement workers during some labour disputes.

The Labour ministry's research also reveals that the most confrontational strikes last year in Ontario all involved situations where replacement workers were used. Earlier this month, the use of replacement workers at a gold mine in the Northwest Territories sparked violent confrontations. We have seen similar clashes on a lesser scale during the current labour dispute at the Toronto Star. These incidents are vivid illustrations of the kind of conflict and bitterness our labour relations system can no longer afford.

It is clear that the use of some replacement workers prolongs labour disputes, uses up costly police resources, creates an air of conflict and all too often leaves a legacy of bitterness. We are therefore proposing to prohibit the performance of work of striking and locked-out employees by everyone except managers and other non-bargaining unit employees working at the same location. A similar provision has had a significant role in the new era of industrial peace that Quebec is now enjoying.

Measures to protect our network of health, social services and correctional facilities and the essential services they provide and to meet concerns over serious property or environmental damage or deterioration in the event of strikes and lockouts have also been incorporated into the bill.

The fourth and final goal of this legislation is to streamline and simplify certain procedures before the Ontario Labour Relations Board and before arbitrators. New measures for both the board and arbitrators will allow for fairer, quicker and more effective settlement and resolution of disputes, which is something everyone has been asking for.

Bill 40 is the end result of a process stretching back almost to our earliest days in office. It will translate into better working conditions for hundreds of thousands of Ontario workers and more involved, committed workplaces, from which we will all benefit.

The people of Ontario have always placed a premium on preserving and extending basic human rights and freedoms. Surely the right to organize, bargain collectively and be involved in workplace decisions is central to that belief and basic to the spirit of the Labour Relations Act since its establishment in the 1940s.

The people of Ontario have also indicated their deep desire for business, labour and government to work towards a new era of prosperity, and that, Mr Speaker, is exactly the spirit in which these amendments are offered today for second reading. I urge all members to give them serious consideration and to join with us in recognizing that the strength of the workforce in the province of Ontario, its education, its commitment, is one of the most valuable resources that we have and one that we have most underutilized in the province of Ontario.

1540

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions or comments? The member for York Centre.

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): Thank you, Mr Speaker. This is tentatively to the opening comments of the Minister of Labour introducing the trade union bill, a very important piece of legislation, I assume, given that the rule changes and the muzzle order that were brought into Parliament on the same day that the minister introduced this bill bore some sort of relation to the government's desire to have this bill passed expeditiously.

I'm going to have an opportunity later on to say a word or two about Bill 40. I don't think the bill is all bad. The Legislature is going to have an opportunity, I would hope, particularly during committee hearings and clause-by-clause, to analyse both the strengths and the weaknesses of the bill.

I regretfully have to say to the minister, Mr Speaker, that I was rather disappointed that, with his long history of working for the trade union movement and being the critic on labour issues in this Legislature, he chose to read a speech prepared for him by an official in the Ministry of Labour rather than speaking openly and frankly from his own experience as to the contents of the bill.

What we've heard from him today is the regular fare, the production material, the PR work that has come out of the government in connection with the trade union bill, and he has not addressed some of the real issues that have arisen since the time this bill was introduced and indeed since the document was released, was leaked almost six or seven months ago.

What concerns me, sir, is the very close relationship between the trade union movement and the New Democratic Party; it leaves me with very serious cause for concern as to what has motivated this bill and I hope that will be addressed during the course of this debate.

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Any further questions or comments? The member for Cochrane South.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I just want to comment very briefly, because I know members want to have the opportunity to comment on this very important piece of legislation.

I just want to commend the minister because I think what most people would recognize is that this legislation has been a long, long time coming here in the province of Ontario, and I dare say also probably a long time coming in other areas as well. I truly believe that this legislation in the long term, as people begin to understand and come to grips with what the legislation does, will allow the employer and the employee to build those partnerships that are necessary within the workplace which allow us to make the transition that we're finding today in the economy much smoother, not only for the employee but I think also for the employer. I think—

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr Bisson: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I think the central point is that it's extremely—

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr Bisson: He's pretty good anyway. In closing, Mr Speaker, I just wanted to take a couple of minutes to say that—

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order. The member for Cochrane South has the floor.

Mr Bisson: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. It's very interesting in this Legislature as we allow the opposition to make their comments for two minutes and we listen attentively, we would only hope that they would offer the government members the same respect in giving us an opportunity to have our say as well.

I just want to say in closing, it is very important that this legislation be understood in the long term by the people of the province so that we can move on with the rest of the business of Ontario to make sure that we're better able to position ourselves with the recovery that's going to happen here in the province of Ontario.

I dare say that this piece of legislation probably offers more towards the economic renewal of the province in the long term than a lot of other things, because it's very important that we find ways of melding both the employees and the employers together in some fashion that they're better able to work together to take advantage of that recovery.

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you. The member for York Mills.

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): I'm disappointed once again to note that the minister absolutely ignores, both in question period today and in his opening comments, the fact that there has been no impact study whatsoever done by the government as to how many jobs this legislation is going to cost the province—none whatsoever. They absolutely pooh-poo the findings of Ernst and Young and Environics, two companies considered to be the leading people in this province in doing such studies.

The government has changed its mind many, many times, but it won't change its mind on this. They won't do an impact study because they know the simple facts bear out what we have said, that is, that there will be job losses.

It's interesting that at the same time they're prepared to spend \$160,000 of taxpayers' money on a study by Wally Majesky, an ex-union leader, and his son, on an untendered contract to do a study which the Ministry of Transportation said was not needed. They'll spend \$160,000 on an unneeded study, yet they won't spend a single penny on a study of the impact of job losses with respect to this bill.

This is a government which will stick its head in the sands until it's no longer in office, and then the Conservative Party will get rid of this legislation and put in sensible legislation. The government is on notice. They know where we stand, but we're saying that you won't do it with any facts. When we act, we will do it with studies; not wastes of taxpayers' money, but money spent well. Only 1% of Ontarians think this is necessary; 5% of Ontarians think Elvis still lives.

The Deputy Speaker: Questions and comments? The member for Durham-York.

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): It's a pleasure to stand here to comment on what—

Mr Sorbara: On a point of order, Mr Speaker, on the matter of rotations and questions and comments from speakers: My understanding in this House is that you move from party to party. I began the questions and comments. Thereafter the Conservatives did not take a turn. Thereafter my friend the member for Cochrane South spoke. Thereafter, sir, two members of our caucus stood and you chose to recognize the Conservative Party and then move to the government party as well. It seems to me that you should continue in the normal course and provide for the normal rotation, and after the last speaker you ought to have recognized a member from our party.

The Deputy Speaker: The Chair has made a decision. The member for Durham-York has the floor.

Mr O'Connor: Thank you, Mr Speaker. On June 4 of this year, the Minister of Labour stood in this House and introduced a bill, Bill 40, the labour legislation changes, and then we saw a lot of filibustering, carrying on, bills being read and delay taking place.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order.

Interjection.

The Deputy Speaker: Minister, order, please.

Mr O'Connor: We saw a lot of delays take place, and subsequently there were changes to the rules. Frankly I'm looking forward to those changes taking place, because now perhaps we'll have a little fairer rotation in this discussion around it, and 30 minutes I think is an adequate time to respond.

I want to compliment the minister on the way he introduced this legislation. After going around the province several times, the first draft of the legislation was leaked out and many people commented on it and said it was draconian. The minister listened and he changed it. Then

he took it around the province in the winter of this past year and consulted some more, and over 200 business groups had a chance to have some input into that. The government listened and the minister listened and made some changes, substantial changes.

I think this shows that there is a change. We need to get out of this confrontational mode the province has been in for so many years, and maybe get on to the real job we have before us in trying to build this province into a better province than what we came into it as. I think the minister came into this House being realistic, after consulting with so many people, and brought forward a bill that's going to be really positive. I compliment him on bringing it in here today.

1550

The Deputy Speaker: Minister, you have two minutes to reply.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: My comments will be brief. I want to respond to the original comment by the member for York Centre, who said that the bill wasn't all bad, that he had some disagreement with it, but he somehow or other thought the minister had created some kind of injustice by reading off a statement that was put together by people in the ministry. I want him and everybody in this chamber to know that there was a lot of work together on the statement that was made, by both my own personal political staff as well as the ministry people. I want him to know also that there was absolutely nothing in the statement that I didn't agree with and could very well have been in the statement I would have made if I'd made it myself in this Legislature.

I want also to respond briefly my concern to the comments made by the member for York Mills, because he didn't indicate in his comments that they would take a clear look at what was put in place in legislation and whether over the next couple of years it works, as I think it will be shown to work. He simply said that if the Tories took office again, they would immediately get rid of the legislation. I think that's a clear message to workers across the province of Ontario that they'd better be very careful that that's not what happens in the future in the province.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? I just want to remind the member that with the new proceedings you have up to 90 minutes.

Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North): Thank you, Mr Speaker. I'm mindful of the clock, which has started at 30 minutes and is rapidly ticking down. I'm wondering if the new—

The Deputy Speaker: It will be fixed.

Mr Offer: It will be fixed? Thank you very much, Mr Speaker, and thank you for reminding me and all members of the Legislature that this is the first bill that finds itself operating under the new set of rules the government House leader unilaterally imposed in this Legislature. Some might think, how appropriate is it to speak to the new rules? How appropriate is it for us to discuss the new rules when we are talking about Bill 40 and our very severe and substantial concerns with many of the aspects under that bill? I think that in the time allotted it is quite appropriate

to make a comment or two not only on Bill 40, but also on why we have these new rules which were unilaterally imposed by the NDP government House leader.

I'd like to remind all the members of the Legislature—and I'm pleased that some members of the government side have chosen to stay—that this bill was introduced by the Minister of Labour on the June 4 at approximately 3:30 in the afternoon. I think Hansard will bear that out. What is curious is that the government House leader on that same day, within 90 minutes of the tabling of this legislation, without any notice, tabled new rules of procedure in this Legislature that have no other impact but to limit and stifle debate on issues and bills that come before this Legislature.

For those people who are watching the proceedings of this Legislature, it will be interesting for them to question their members, if they happen to be government members, as to how curious it is that whether one is for or against Bill 40—and no one will deny it is of a controversial nature—how curious it is that on June 4, 1992, at 3:30 in the afternoon, the Minister of Labour tabled a controversial piece of legislation that has taken the attention and the focus of business and labour and a whole variety of other people across this province for a number of months, and within an hour and a half the government House leader tables new rules of procedure the impact of which is without doubt to stifle debate. So I have some serious concerns about the process the government has utilized.

The member for Cochrane South, who so often stands in his place lecturing other members as to what is and is not appropriate, does not feel in his esteemed opinion that the comments I make dealing with the new rules and the limitation and the stifling of the debate and how close the tabling of those new rules has been to the introduction of this legislation are in fact relevant. To the member for Cochrane South, who I know has been here for all of under two years, make no mistake about it, sir: This is very important because it does impact on what we have been elected to do. We have been elected to bring concerns, to bring opinions and to bring suggestions on pieces of legislation, and when debate is stifled, so is our role.

You sit there, sir, eating peanuts, I note, debating and commenting on what is or is not appropriate—I'm glad you've put them away—in your opinion on how these things are to be debated. I can tell you, as many other members have done, that we in my party and I have travelled the province listening to the opinions, suggestions and, yes, concerns of a variety of people who feel very strongly that the way in which they are going to be impacted by this bill is something which the government does not yet know, has not yet listened to, continues to refuse to listen and fails to conduct any case dealing with an economic impact about what this bill means to this province, to jobs, to their creation and in fact to their continuation.

There are people across this province who have voiced these concerns to me and to my colleagues and, I would dare say, even to members of the government side if they would choose to admit to it, and who have said day in and day out that this bill will affect the way we do business in this province, that this bill will have an impact on investment, that this bill will have an impact on whether people

will choose to set up a business here, choose to expand an existing business here or look to other jurisdictions; and that the government has a responsibility at the very least to say, without even agreeing, "We will conduct an analysis, an examination, as to whether your concerns are in fact ones we should be concerned with." The government has not conducted any such economic impact analysis.

I'm going to be dealing with some of those areas in the next while, but I thought it is important at the outset to comment that we stand here today where members of the Legislature's right and ability and freedom to debate have been seriously curtailed by the new rules unilaterally imposed by the government 90 minutes after a controversial piece of legislation, this legislation, was introduced.

The members of the government I hope will take advantage of commenting as to whether they see any difficulty in being able to represent their constituents' interests and the interests, I'm sure, of others broader than their own constituency, in this Legislature under these new rules, because we do have those concerns. We were very concerned in our debate on the legislation and what it means for us as members in terms of the things that are important to us, to bring those points before this Legislature. So at the outset, we have concerns dealing with the legislation and the rules that were introduced, which are without question as a result of this legislation.

1600

In the next while I will deal on a more substantive basis with our concerns with respect to this legislation, but in essence I think we all recognize that one of the underlying, fundamental, principle concerns of this legislation is that it does destroy the balance that has historically been found in the Labour Relations Act. In the past, a balance has been achieved under the Labour Relations Act, a balance by which people, whether labour or management, have a certain assurance that this striving for a balance, striving to maintain both types of interest, can be and has been achieved under the Labour Relations Act. These changes clearly alter the balance which has historically been found in the Labour Relations Act.

It is not that the Labour Relations Act has been a perfect piece of legislation. It is not that the Labour Relations Act should not and cannot be altered in some form or another. These changes do not do that. These changes fundamentally restructure the Labour Relations Act from one where there has always been, in the past, an attempt to balance countervailing interest to one, under this legislation, clearly tilted towards organized labour. We will and I will be looking at and dealing with some of the substantive aspects as to where that happens to be found in Bill 40.

But I think we have to recognize that when you do alter the balance in this legislation, when you do shift one interest in favour of another, when you do put words in a piece of legislation which direct that shifting of balance to take place, then you do not enhance cooperation. You do not increase the potential for discussion. What you do is exactly the opposite. I can tell the minister that during the public debates and hearings, we will be continuously bringing forward the need to bring back the balance in the

Labour Relations Act which you and these amendments have taken away.

I have heard the minister, as well as some of his members, speak about the drastic need for this overhaul of legislation. I have heard the minister speak at length of the historical inequity that has existed that requires these changes to take place. So I took a look at this document called *An Agenda for People*. Now some might forget what this was, but it was the election platform of the New Democratic Party when it was knocking on doors, going to the people of the province saying: "Vote for us. This is what we stand for."

I read this agenda—I have read it a number of times—and I think about what the minister has said today. I think about what other members have said about this incredible inequity under the Labour Relations Act that has to be changed. I am sure I will find this in the *Agenda for People*, because if there was such an inequity during an election, I am sure the New Democratic Party would have taken this issue to the people, if it is as they say it was.

The *Agenda for People* is about 11 pages in length. It has a number of subheadings: "Minimum Corporate Tax"—should we not forget that; "Succession Duties on Estates"—they've promised something of this nature; "Interest Rate Relief"—there was a promise for that; "Driver-Owned Insurance"—I don't think we'll forget that promise they made to the people. I'm looking and looking and where is "Changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act"? Where is it in the *Agenda for People* that this incredible inequity, this injustice which has existed for years is to be found?

Isn't it strange, because nowhere in the NDP *Agenda for People* of August 18, 1990, is there any mention of changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act so that the injustice, the inequity, the imbalance which the Minister of Labour, which members of the government side say exists, is found?

Many people in this province, not just business people, have I think rightly said: "Why the change? Why is the government intent on changing, reworking, rebalancing the Labour Relations Act in favour of organized labour when it does not even appear in its *Agenda for People*?" I think the people of this province have asked that question and there has yet to be a response by the government side.

There has yet to be a response as to why the need for the overhaul of the Ontario Labour Relations Act, why the need for changes which re-bias the Labour Relations Act in favour of organized labour when the NDP *Agenda for People*, speaking about many issues which you haven't done, is silent on this which you are intent on doing, and intent on doing through new rule changes designed to ram this legislation through this House, designed to be rammed through the public hearing process and designed to be the law of the province.

I can tell the minister that the people of this province have been asking that question for a year and a half as to why this need. For a year and a half they have been coming to you, either personally or by letter. For a year and a half they have been contacting your members and asking that question. They have not yet received a response.

Mr Minister, we will have the opportunity in this debate, I hope, for you to come forward and state categorically why the need for this change, why the need when your own *Agenda for People* did not speak to this; why when your agenda does not speak to this, you, less than six months after taking office, state that there is a tremendous injustice in the Labour Relations Act. We have to ask that question and we will continue to ask the question. Mr Minister, there is tremendous suspicion that surrounds you and your government on this very issue. We want to give you the opportunity to dispel that suspicion.

I was listening to the member for York Centre speak in response to your opening comments. One of the things I heard the Minister of Transportation say was that he and we are merchants of fear. How wrong and how incredibly ridiculous and insensitive that this type of a comment would be made, because this bill is not just labour on one side and management or business on the other.

The government, I'm sure, would want to characterize the bill as being just that: If you are against this bill you are against organized labour; if you are against this bill you are against working men and women in this province, and if you are in favour of this bill you are in favour of organized labour and working men and women in this province. That is exactly how the government and the minister would want to characterize this debate.

1610

I brought forward the comment by the Minister of Transportation because the comment manifested the type of action the government has taken, because it is wrong. To be against this bill and to be concerned with the provisions of this bill is certainly not to be against organized labour or labour in general.

The minister sort of shrugs and smirks at this point in time, but the fact of the matter is that this just does not happen to be the case. The world is not made up of two camps of individuals, those from labour and the other from management. There's a whole group of people who care very genuinely about the direction your government is taking and the direction these rules and the Labour Relations Act dictate.

They are concerned about what this means for them and for their ability to compete in this province, for their ability to create jobs in this province and for their ability to look at this province as a place to expand and to live and enjoy. They have concerns about that, and it's just not big business; that's just not the case. It's a whole group of people who care very deeply that this province will continue to be a province for them, for their children and for their children's children to prosper in. They have concerns that this bill flies in the face of the dreams and hopes of a great many people in this province.

We will want to deal with those issues as this bill proceeds through the Legislature. Why do they have these concerns? They have these concerns because the provisions in this legislation, Bill 40, are found nowhere in any jurisdiction in all of North America. The minister has, on a timely basis, indicated that these provisions are found in other jurisdictions, and though I take some issue with that, because I believe there are provisions in this bill that are

not found anywhere in any jurisdiction, in North America or elsewhere, clearly there is not a jurisdiction in all of North America that contains all of these provisions.

I invite the Minister of Labour, because he will have the opportunity after I wind up, to use his two minutes to indicate to this Legislature and to the people who are watching as to what jurisdiction in North America contains all the provisions found within Bill 40. You have indicated before that there are. Now you have the opportunity to say to us in this Legislature and to those who are watching what jurisdiction in Canada or in the United States, provincially, federally or state-wide, contains all of these provisions. I suggest there is not such a jurisdiction, and I ask the minister to correct me and to name the jurisdiction so that we can get on with the debate, and you will have that opportunity.

We have a series of concerns dealing with different aspects of the bill, but before I get to those, in the limited time available to me, I want to deal with three general areas: first, the process the minister and the government have undertaken that finds us here today; second, impact, what this bill means, and third, some of the more substantive provisions.

Dealing with the process, the minister and his colleagues continually stand and say that this bill has gone through some in-depth consultation and that they have spoken to some 300 groups in the last year and a half about the bill. It is interesting. I have just recently finished travelling the province with my colleagues. We've spoken in many different cities. We've listened to people who have some interest in the bill. The world the minister paints is one that is much different from that of those writing to me.

I have hundreds and thousands of letters of concern from people. What are their concerns? First, their question, almost universally posed, as to the reason for these changes, has never been answered. Second, they have not been part of this so-called process of consultation. They have indicated to me that this consultation process the minister embarked upon, visiting some cities, was stage-managed. It was not consultation. It was, for some, an invitation to appear for five or 10 minutes, to say their piece and to leave. It excluded a great many individuals, associations and groups that wanted to be heard before this legislation came to this stage, before it became part of the legislative process.

They wanted to share with you what these changes would and could mean to them. They wanted, without being dramatically opposed, to share with you what, for instance, the prohibition on replacement workers means to them, to the tourism industry, to the automotive supply industry, to the local hydro utilities, to a variety of services that exist in this province. They wanted to share that with you and they weren't able to.

I have, for instance, a letter from the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies. They weren't able to be part of that process of consultation. They didn't know that process of consultation was even going on. They shared a letter with me. They state:

"Recently, it has come to our attention that the Ministry of Labour is concerned about the lack of response from the

non-profit sector. The fact is, Mr Mackenzie, that hundreds of organizations"—I'm not reading from big business; I'm not reading from the manufacturing sector; I'm reading a letter from the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies—"did not know about the proposed changes. It is particularly unfortunate that your ministry did not distribute the discussion paper to the provincial associations and advocacy groups that represent these organizations."

They have concerns. They have indicated their concern as to the process of consultation. They were not part. The minister might say, "The concerns of the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies have been met in the legislation." That we will debate. But the fact of the matter is that this is not a letter by individuals from a big business, a big manufacturing company; this is a letter from the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies. They're saying to you that they did not know of your consultation process. They did not know where to comment and what the changes mean to their clientele. Their clientele are children. That's who they are there to serve. They had concerns about these changes and what they mean to those children, and your so-called consultation excluded them.

I have letters from a variety of other groups and associations, all on the same area: exclusion, no consultation. Those who were given an invitation to appear were given but an invitation to appear, not true consultation.

1620

This speaks to how this process has been flawed right from the very beginning. If there was this tremendous need for change, if there was this inequity and injustice that permeated labour relations in this province that, no matter how great a need, did not find its way into the Agenda for People, then if the minister was to make changes, as is the right of the Minister of Labour—and I would not state that it is not for a moment—then surely if one is going to do it in a truly consultative, meaningful way, one invites labour representatives, government officials and representatives of business to sit around the table without anything on the table and say: "We want to take a look at the Labour Relations Act. We want to ask the question, 'Is there a need for change?' and if there is, 'Where?' and after that, 'How?' and after that, 'What's the impact?'"

That, Mr Minister, is true consultation, and that is why many people across this province have been excluded, because you have refused to conduct this examination, this analysis, in this way. You have shut them out, you have shut the door, and there is no amount of speechwriting, speechmaking, householder mailing, column writing in newspapers, that will save what has been a flawed process of consultation, what has been from the beginning stage-managed and what has brought on this incredible opposition to these changes.

When I have spoken about this issue, people have said, "Well, why are you surprised about this process of consultation?" They remind me of a few letters that were written by Jill Marzetti, the provincial secretary of the New Democratic Party, one of which, I must say, went to my wife, a letter which stated on page 3 last fall—and this is from the provincial secretary of the New Democratic Party—"But let's not fool ourselves; politics is about power."

A second letter just recently, again by Jill Marzetti, the provincial secretary. What is in the letter? It says, "Some big-business lobbies are trying to take our province away from us." I guess she is including the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies.

She talks about "using money," "high-priced consultants," "time that we send these big-business lobbyists a message." And who is she referring to? She is referring to three business groups: the All Business Coalition, the More Jobs Coalition and Project Economic Growth.

Let me talk about those three groups. I have had occasion to meet with them a number of times and they've brought forward some of their concerns. We've had occasion to meet, and I must say they are saying they're not opposed to the legislation. They never say, "No change at all to the Labour Relations Act." That's not been their position at all. In fact, their position has been: "Let us look at the areas where change should occur. Let us look at it together. Let us devise ways in which we can collectively reach our goal and deal with the purpose at hand."

They have not been, as has been characterized by the New Democratic Party, intent on bringing down the walls and halls of this government and province on the current government. They are people who want to work with the government. They have day in and day out indicated that they want to talk, that they want to consult, that they want you to listen to them as you have asked them to listen to you, but they haven't been able to get their message through to you.

We have to ask the question again: Why are they put in this light? These are people who hire, people who invest, people who create jobs, people who create wealth, people who give this province the strength it has. These are people who are saying that if there is to be change to the Labour Relations Act, let's sit down and talk about it, but you have not listened to them.

Is it fair for me just to comment on something that deals with party policy as the New Democratic Party? I think, though it's relevant, we also have to recognize that there is not only the party wing, but there's a government wing. So I refer to the cabinet submission. Maybe we will get a clearer picture. Maybe the words of the Jill Marzettis and the New Democrats in their party are not really the words from the Minister of Labour and those who have been elected to serve. So I look at a cabinet submission. There is no higher or more confidential document than a cabinet submission. Someone felt it was necessary for the people of Ontario to see this type of submission and to see the words contained within it.

I read from that cabinet submission, and what does the Minister of Labour say about business, talking about concerns on changes to the Labour Relations Act? "The concerns expressed have been confined to the narrow focus of business and the media have been a willing audience," in a cabinet submission from a minister of the province of Ontario. "The concerns expressed have been confined to the narrow focus of business and the media have been a willing audience." It's a sad day when a government, a minister of the crown or his or her colleagues feel that business has a certain narrow focus to which the media are a willing audience.

Does it stop there? No. Again, from the same cabinet submission, "There will be special effort to neutralize opposition from the business community," a special effort made to neutralize opposition. The minister and his colleagues wonder why people have concerns about their so-called process of consultation when we hear the words from their party, when we hear the words from their own cabinet submission: "neutralizing opposition," "narrow focus of business," "media being a willing audience."

In some ways, though I disapprove of the legislation and I certainly disapprove of the rules that are designed to ram this legislation through without sufficient debate, it's interesting that we were given an opportunity here to read these statements on Hansard because I think many people in this province, whether they are for or against this legislation, would certainly not agree with words such as "neutralizing opposition," "narrow focus of business," "media being a willing audience," the words of the provincial secretary of the NDP. I think a lot of people don't like that. I think they feel uncomfortable with that. I think they start to understand why many people are so concerned not only about the rule changes but also about the way in which this process of consultation has been stage-managed.

1630

I speak as the Labour critic for the opposition party. I speak opposed to this legislation, certainly on the issue of process. I also speak as a member of a party which doesn't have to apologize for its record in the area of labour. I certainly—

Interjections.

Mr Offer: I see members on the government side tittering at this point. I see and hear members saying, "My goodness gracious, could this be true?" and laughing when a member of a party stands in this Legislature proud of what his party stands for in the area of labour legislation: changes to the Employment Standards Act; the introduction of occupational health and safety; changes with respect to workers' compensation and the establishment of the worker adviser; changes dealing with compensation benefits; changes dealing with workplace hazardous information systems; changes dealing with termination and severance pay; changes dealing with enhancing assistance to displaced workers; changes dealing with the area of pay equity, and changes dealing with a variety of enhancements, appeal process, under workers' compensation.

Now the members of the government side have quieted. All of a sudden there just doesn't seem to be that tittering, there don't seem to be those mindless comments that come across the floor, because there is a great deal that has been accomplished in labour legislation.

Members of the government—I always like this argument—say there has not been any change in the labour relations legislation for the last 15 years. The only thing is that when you take a look at the statutes, if you look under the Labour Relations Act, you see amendments, you see changes, you see—

Interjections: Minor.

Mr Offer: Oh, members of the government now call first contract legislation "minor." It is interesting that

labour relations changes that took place in the previous government are now minor: first contract legislation and a variety of other changes. Members of the government seem to look only to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. The interesting thing is that the Ontario Labour Relations Act, though an important piece of legislation, applies basically to the issue of unionization, collective bargaining. It is an important piece of legislation for certain, but it's also important to recognize that approximately 70% of the workforce in this province is not unionized.

When one talks to labour legislation, let me remind members of the government—and I recognize from whence you came. I recognize that your Agenda for People did not speak to the Labour Relations Act and changes. I recognize the words of Jill Marzetti and I recognize the words of your own cabinet submission. Please recognize that 70% of the men and women who work in this province are not unionized; that to them labour legislation is not just Ontario's Labour Relations Act.

It is equally important that there be changes to the Employment Standards Act, for which the previous government instituted changes. It is important to them that there be changes to health in the workplace, to which the previous government introduced changes: occupational health and safety and further, enhanced information systems dealing with the workplace. It is important to them that there be changes in minimum wage, in termination, in severance. The workplace is not just the unionized workplace. It is a whole range of men and women, 70% of whom are not.

So when we talk about changes to labour legislation, let us not forget that labour legislation is not just the Ontario Labour Relations Act.

And if there are to be changes to that act, as well as any other act, then let it be done in a process of consultation where business, labour and government sit down, discuss and implement. This has not been the case in this area. There is not a person in this Legislature, government members included, who would not agree that there is great concern throughout the province—in their own ridings—as to the process that has been undertaken by the government. We are going to have to deal with that, because you have fundamentally flawed this process, and there is nothing you will be able to do or say that will bring back that lost confidence.

I'm going to leave the process for a moment, because I want to deal with the impact.

Mr Bisson: The what?

Mr Offer: The member for Cochrane South, as usual, says, "The what?"

What we are talking about, member for Cochrane South—let me put it in this way: Will this legislation cause job loss? That's what we sort of mean when we talk about impact. Now, what do we mean—

Mr Len Wood (Cochrane North): What impact?

Mr Offer: Another member, for Cochrane North, says, "What impact?"

I notice, Mr Speaker, that you are asking me to direct my comments to you. I shall, Mr Speaker, because of the fact that it is an important area of our concern. Our party,

but not just our party, the third party, but not just the third party—people across this province have for a year been asking the government to conduct an impact analysis on these changes.

They are not saying, "We are opposed." They are not even stating their position one way or the other. What they are saying is that before you introduce this type of legislation, before you deal with a piece of legislation with almost half a million people are now out of work, some for the very first time in their lives, where we have suffered a recession, as has been said by many people, like not since the 1930s, it is the responsibility of government to understand what this legislation means in the area of job creation, in the area of investment.

That does not mean to say that you necessarily have to be opposed to the legislation or in fact that you have to be for the legislation, but it does mean to say that it is the responsible—and the only—approach, not by the Minister of Labour but by the Premier of this province, to make certain that those types of studies are done on a sector-by-sector basis.

What does this mean to the agricultural sector? What does this mean to small business? What does this mean to the service area? What does this mean to tourism and recreation? What does this mean to municipalities? What does this legislation mean to job creation in this province? What does a piece of legislation mean when it contains provisions found nowhere else in North America? Will this have an impact on investment?

1640

It seems to be a fairly responsible request: Before you jump in the water, let's know how deep it is. It seems to be a fairly responsible requirement. You don't have to take a position for or against. Let's just know what this actually means.

On June 4 the Minister of Labour introduced this bill, as I said earlier, about 3:30 in the afternoon. Again, as I remind everybody, within 90 minutes the government House leader had to introduce unilaterally new rule changes which would limit debate.

I now move to June 5. I have here, "For Immediate Release from the Office of the Premier":

"Premier Bob Rae today announced the appointment of the Premier's labour-management advisory committee. The committee, which has been asked to report to the Premier in one year's time, will examine ways in which management and labour can work together to enhance the social and economic wellbeing of the province. It has a number of business and community leaders as well as labour leaders."

You know what our response was to this? Our response was: "Good, it's something that we've been calling for for a year. It's something that business associations and organizations have been calling for. Good, you've finally shown some listening to what people have been calling for."

That was done on the 5th, which was a Friday. We thought, "This seems to be the approach that they're going to be taking," meaning the government. "They are going to obviously give to this committee, which the Premier of this province, Bob Rae, has set up, this legislation to do

that type of analysis and examination as to the impact that everyone has been calling for."

On the following Monday my leader, Lyn McLeod, asked a question to the Premier on this point. The answer was no, this committee would not be given this bill which has become the focus of attention for so many in this province. So we question, why the committee, why this committee if you are not giving to the committee the single biggest focus between labour and management for the last year?

We're not saying not to proceed with second reading. You could stop second reading and have it recommence in the fall, knowing what the bill means. You could even have a parallel process: Have second reading, as we are doing now, while also giving to this committee the legislation to report on to the Legislature and the people of the province in the fall. The response? No.

Any reason why people feel that this is a stage-managed approach, why the government is intent on ramrodding this bill through the Legislature with a minimum amount of debate, making certain that the bill—and it will probably go out for public hearing debates of a minimal nature, getting back here without our ever knowing what this bill actually means and has as its impact.

Why in this province at this time, with so many people out of work, with so many businesses closing up, with so many bankruptcies happening on a day-by-day basis, with investment and capital at its fluid best running out of this province, why won't you conduct this type of examination and analysis before we pass this bill into law? Because the concern by many around here is that they just sort of count up the members in the Legislature and they see what is happening on the government side.

The orders have been given: vote in favour of rule changes; put aside your personal preference, your personal beliefs on the importance of debate in this Legislature; put aside the concerns you've heard from the Association of Large School Boards in Ontario, from the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies, from a myriad of other businesses in your riding; put that all aside. Let's get this bill in, out and into law, and let us not know what this bill actually means. That, Mr Speaker, is concerning.

On June 5, the same day as the Premier's press release, I happened to have another press release. It's a press release from Project Economic Growth, the More Jobs Coalition and the All Business Coalition. They're responding to the Premier's setting up of this committee. They say for the past eight months the business community has been advocating that the government bring the workplace partners to the table for a meaningful consultation.

"We acknowledge the establishment of this group"—and that's the Premier's group—"while recognizing that it would be impossible to fulfil the mandate the Premier has set unless the committee is given the opportunity to deal with the labour relations revisions." That is what they want. They want and wanted this bill to go to the Premier's committee.

Now let's remember who these groups are. They are: Project Economic Growth, the More Jobs Coalition and the All Business Coalition. Who are these groups? These are the groups that were referred to in the Jill Marzetti

New Democratic Party letter. These are the groups that, in the words of Jill Marzetti, "want to stop all positive changes dead." Reading from her letter: "All Business Coalition, notorious for hostility to working people. More Jobs Coalition, lobbyists for 85 corporate giants. Project Economic Growth, the biggest lobby of them all." These are the groups as characterized by Jill Marzetti.

The characterization is false. These are the groups who want to work with government. This is the group that says, "We want to deal with the Premier's committee and council and we want this bill to go to that committee." These are the groups that the minister has shut the door on. He has said to them: "Your concerns are no concern of mine. The issue of impact is no concern of mine. You will have to live with this law." That's what the Minister of Labour has said.

I could read the names of these companies: Coca-Cola, the city of Kanata, American Express, Brewers Retail, Goodyear, Ford, IBM, McDonald's, Shoppers Drug Mart, Sears Canada, hundreds of groups and businesses who want to sit down with government. They're darned concerned. They're concerned about the impact of the bill and they're concerned that the government steadfastly refuses to listen to what this impact may be and is adamant on ramming this legislation through. They're going to have to use new rules to do so, but they will try to do so. They will stifle debate. You have already passed that.

The member for Cochrane South, the wise member for Cochrane South, the professor of parliamentary affairs, has said to his constituents, "I don't have to speak about your interests as much as you think is necessary. Now the member seems moved to rise—

Mr Bisson: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: It is very clear that you cannot impute motives on the part of any other member when they debate, and I would ask the member to withdraw that.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Thank you. It is not a point of order; it's a point of view.

1650

Mr Offer: It took a while but the member for Cochrane South has just made my point. The fact of the matter is that we are elected to represent, to debate, to bring forward our concerns in opposition, if that be the case, on legislation and to use this time to indicate what those concerns are and why. I have done so in the area of process. I have done so in the area of impact. Now we move to the area of substantive aspects.

I spoke earlier of the change in balance. When I said that earlier, there was a little tittering from the government side. The fact of the matter is that the Labour Relations Act has always tried to achieve a balance between labour and management. It has attempted to do so within the provisions. These changes tip that balance.

I think it's important for me to indicate, certainly to those who are watching, where that happens. For the first time in legislation, it is stated; it is mandated. This is the mandate of the Labour Relations Act and of the board, which I will deal with. I read section 2.1, "To encourage the process of collective bargaining," to make certain—

I'm paraphrasing at this point—to “join and be represented by a trade union of their choice and to participate in the lawful activities of the trade union.”

To be against this is not to be against unionization. What this does is direct the arbiter, the referee, the Ontario Labour Relations Board, which is the referee for the provisions under the Labour Relations Act, that in any question that comes before the board, it must decide with this direction. It must make its decisions with the direction of the Legislature, which is to encourage the process of collective bargaining, to make certain that employees “choose, join and be represented by a trade union.”

That tips the balance. That changes the Ontario Labour Relations Board from what it was and had always been striving to be, an impartial arbiter, a referee of the provisions under the act, to one which must be tilted in favour of collective bargaining. That is a fundamental flaw of these changes, because when you change the referee, when you change the decision-maker in any conflict under the Labour Relations Act from one which is impartial to something else, you have fundamentally changed the act. You have not enhanced cooperation. What you've done is bring suspicion to the legislation that any decision must and will be tilted in favour of the union.

I think that is a difficulty. It has nothing to do with whether one should or could or can or won't be unionized. That's not the issue. The issue on this point is what is to be accomplished when the decision-maker has been moved from a decision-maker to an enforcer for unionization. That doesn't enhance cooperation under the legislation. That breeds suspicion. That detracts and erodes cooperation. We will be discussing this “purposes” clause as we deal with the bill in the upcoming weeks and months ahead.

I'm mindful of the time, and for those who are watching, the time allotted to myself as the leadoff speaker for our party is 90 minutes. There will also be 90 minutes for the leadoff speaker for the third party, and thereafter there will only be 30 minutes allotted per member.

Mr Bisson: Sixty minutes too long.

Mr Offer: As I indicated the rules that were brought forward unilaterally by the government, members of the government side said, “That 90 minutes is 60 minutes too long.” It is interesting indeed when debate is stifled in this Legislature. I would rather my constituents decided if I have or have not spoken too long. I don't want any member of the government to make that decision. I am accountable to my constituents.

We have travelled the province and listened to a great number of people who view this as an opportunity for their concerns to be heard. It's a strange definition of democracy when it comes with a time limit, and that's something that's going to have to rest on the government side. They will be reminded of this as we proceed not only with this debate but with future debates.

I speak to this “purposes” clause and how it changes the Ontario Labour Relations Board from an impartial arbiter to one which must, directed by the law, favour collective bargaining. One must question, whether one is in favour of or opposed to collective bargaining, whether one doesn't

have an opinion on it, whether one feels comfortable in mandating a referee—a decision-maker—that he or she must favour one side or the other.

Could one only imagine the response by government members, by NDP members, if any government in this land brought forward a “purposes” clause which stated “not to encourage the process of collective bargaining”? Could one imagine the hue and cry from the labour parties across this province and across this country as to what they would be saying if the tilt went the other way?

The fact of the matter is that they would be right in the criticism. The object of the Labour Relations Act and the object in enhancing cooperation is that there isn't a tilt, but this bill in fact attempts, through this legislation, to create that type of tilt.

I would like to deal—I think it's important—with the issue of replacement workers. The Minister of Labour spoke to that earlier on. I refer to the actual legislation, and I am paraphrasing, which says the employer shall not use any of the following persons to perform the work at a place of operations in respect of which the strike or lockout is taking place.

What this clearly says is that there's no replacement worker. In fairness, there are some exemptions. I think the exemptions are curiously worded and provide for some major difficulties but we'll deal with them later on. We don't have the time to deal with that very important aspect of the legislation at this time. But what does this provision mean? The minister, in his opening comments, alluded to this.

We have to go back to the impact. What does it mean to the auto suppliers in this province? There are what are called just-in-time suppliers. In the economy of today, there is no longer the opportunity for large inventories. Automobile suppliers cannot afford to keep a large inventory of door handles, for instance. The economics do not permit it. They supply those parts on a just-in-time basis.

1700

One asks the question, what happens if there is a strike? We're not talking about whether one is in favour of or against a strike, because there are rules and laws and when there's a labour disruption there is the right to strike. What we are talking about is what happens to that company. That company can no longer use individuals to continue to provide that supply, hence we now look at impact. If the door handle to a car cannot be supplied, the question validly posed is, can one build a car? Can one build a car where any one part is missing? The answer is clear: no.

The automobile suppliers across this province have been trying to impress upon the government what this provision means to them: If a supplier is shut down and there is not the opportunity to bring in replacement workers, the car manufacturer will be shut down.

Members of the government side might say, well, that's really taking it to an extreme. Just read the newspapers of last week where there was a strike in the United States over some railway mechanics that stopped the trains. The trains carried supplies to the automobile assembly plants in Ontario. Within a day there was a thought that if the strike were not settled in one day, those plants and those workers were going to be laid off. We're not talking hypothetically,

we're talking about real life here. Now we're seeing that this will all be found in Ontario. No other jurisdiction in North America contains these provisions.

So what happens? Maybe, as the Automotive Parts Manufacturers' Association has made plain in its brief, those suppliers don't locate in this province. Maybe those jobs aren't found in Ontario any more because the car companies need the assurance of parts delivery on a just-in-time basis. This bill, this provision, will affect that directly.

What do we say to that? Does the government say that we should look to an impact statement? That's what business and a lot of other people are saying: "We want to take a look and see what that means in terms of jobs. We want to take a look to see if that has an impact on job creation in this province."

The government turns away. The Premier's esteemed council will not look at that issue, will not look at that while the competition in this province is at a new era. No longer is your competitor located around the corner; now your competitor is over the horizon. If our laws do not allow our companies to compete, then our companies just may not be here. I don't want you to think about it only in terms of companies. Think about it in terms of jobs: men, women, people who want to work.

The member for Cochrane South was again interjecting, asking what this means with—what were you talking about?

Mr Bisson: I said what a weak argument.

Mr Offer: He talked about a weak argument. Is it any wonder, members of the Legislature, that there are communities of individuals convinced that the government does not want to listen to their concerns?

A weak argument? Is there any question that the concerns are now well founded? This government, this labour government which did not see fit to talk about the need for change in its agenda for power—I'm sorry; Agenda for People—did not see fit to do that, now does not believe the automobile suppliers across this province when they talk about the impact these changes will have on them because of their just-in-time supply basis. I only hope that members of the government side will see fit to take a little time off and listen to some of the concerns about this legislation, see fit to look at some of the impacts of this legislation.

We've heard that the just-in-time suppliers, a fairly substantial employment force in this province, are deemed by the government side to be a weak argument. Many hundreds of thousands of people would take issue with that. But what about municipal hydro supplies, which are not exempt? What about telling the city of Mississauga and the city of Peterborough that the concerns they have on replacement workers and the destruction of hydro service are also a weak argument? Why don't you tell the school boards of Ontario, which look to the school bus drivers in so many of our jurisdictions, that if the school bus operators are on strike there can't be any replacement workers? That system is effectively, for many jurisdictions, closed down because the children can't get to school. That too, I am sure, is deemed by the government members to be a weak argument.

Why not the Ontario Hotel and Motel Association's concerns, the tourism industry? Their product is service. If they can't sell service, they're not in business. Why not ask them what this means, when a resort would have to be closed down? Why not ask them what it means when some people, who have scheduled a vacation for one or two weeks a year—those who still have a job and are still given a vacation period—go to a resort that is closed down because of labour disruption and the inability of that resort to have some sort of service? The impact is not only that people don't go to that resort; people don't come to the province. They want a guarantee of service.

Why not ask the Ontario Restaurant Association, working at a 1% or 2% profit margin, what it means? Why not ask the convention operators, the providers of jobs, the providers of revenue to a variety of municipalities, what this provision means to them? I am sure the answer to all of those people will be very much what I have heard today: "Another weak argument against labour relations, another weak argument posed by opposition members who really don't care."

The fact of the matter is that there is some real care when one speaks to the impact of this provision. This does have the potential of gutting the tourism sector, it has the potential of eroding a convention base, it has the potential of closing down automobile suppliers in this province, it has the potential of closing down school boards. The question we continually ask is, why does the government not look into these questions?

Why doesn't the government want to conduct any impact analysis, any examination of what these changes mean? What is it that when first announced last March 1991—so important were these changes that they were not found in their own Agenda for People. There are a lot of people who might read some suspicion into that.

I will leave that to others, and I will leave that to others who will also take a look at the question, why would this legislation be introduced Thursday, June 4, at approximately 3:30, and new rules designed to stifle debate in this Legislature be tabled without notice, unilaterally by the government, within 90 minutes after? Others will read a suspicion into that. I will leave that for others.

1710

I wanted to deal with the issue of third-party property and what is contained on page 9. Basically what this section speaks to is the availability of organizing and picketing on third-party property, private property. The minister has said, "Well, this really applies to malls—industrial malls, shopping malls—where access in any other way is not there." I sort of listened to that, and then I read the legislation.

The legislation says, "This section applies with respect to premises to which the public normally has access and from which a person occupying the premises would have a right to remove individuals." I will explain shortly that this means it is not limited to malls; it is limited to any firm to which the public normally has access. It could be a standalone firm for which there is visitor parking availability.

One has to ask, what is the impact of that? One has to ask, does this legislation, for instance, in this one provision, apply to—I think if we've gone through department stores,

we've seen licensees within those department stores. They may be photomat operations or cafeteria operations, operations contained within a larger department store.

This legislation would allow organizing and picketing within that kiosk located within a larger department store. One has to ask, what does that do? Do people want to shop in a store that's got picketing around, or organizing around, kiosks, licensee operations? The government again refuses to conduct any impact study about that, refuses to even acknowledge that it is an issue.

That sort of brings up another point, and that is that a lot of people who are making these points are saying that the government isn't listening to these issues, that these are matters that are real, these are matters you're going to see in department stores, these are matters you're going to see in standalone firms, and the government just refuses to acknowledge that these issues exist.

The legislation says that these are going to be allowed, and I want the members of the government side to not only acknowledge it but to deal with it, and if that's what your position is, to come out and say it, because there are a lot of people who are saying that's going to cut into the retail sector, that's going to cut into the service sector and the trade like you have never seen before.

The last point I want to deal with on these substantive issues is something I feel very strongly about. Right now, if there is an organizing drive, in essence there is the right of the individual, the worker, to change his or her mind one way or the other. They may have thought at the outset they did not want to join a union in an organizing drive and now wish to change their minds and be a part, or the opposite, that they do not want to be part. This legislation takes away the right of an individual to change his or her mind.

Members of the government side have said, "You just don't understand the legislation." The problem is, to members of the government side, and I'm reading from the legislation, that "The board"—meaning the Ontario Labour Relations Board. Let's remember what the object of the board is. They've now been tilted firmly in favour of unionization—"shall not consider evidence filed or presented after the certification application date that an employee who had become or had applied to become a member of a trade union,

"(a) has cancelled, revoked or resigned his or her membership..." or

"(b) has otherwise expressed a desire not to be represented by a trade union...."

I've not read clause 8(5)(c) of that section, but clearly this section takes away the right of an individual in an organizing drive to change his or her mind.

Why? What is it that government members are so concerned about in allowing individuals to change their minds? This is coming from a government which has changed its mind. Why is the Minister of Labour in his legislation taking away from a worker the right to change his or her mind about whether or not to join a union? Their own government allowed the Premier to change his mind on government-run insurance. They allowed the Premier and this government to change their minds on a common pause day. They allowed the government to change its

party policy on gambling in this province. Why would they not allow the workers of this province to have the same right, a right that is shared by people every day on a variety of issues—not just legislation but a variety of everyday issues—to change their minds? This legislation strips that right away from those workers.

I think that is something which is in a strange way most foreboding in this legislation because when you take away the rights of people, you take away something, certainly as we've just finished celebrating our Canada Day, which we heard loud and clear about.

We heard about how in this country we take for granted in many ways the right of expression, the right to voice our opinion, the right to a myriad of freedoms, and here when we speak about this legislation, it clearly takes away that right. I know we're going to have to deal with that so that we can make certain that the wishes of workers in any one establishment can be ascertained, are ascertainable and are in fact the final wishes of those workers. If it has to be by a vote, a secret ballot, something which we are all aware of, which we all got here on, then so be it, but don't take away the right of a person to change his or her mind.

I know time is short. There are so many other aspects of this legislation one has to speak to and should be able to speak to. I have not brought to this Legislature the letters and the petitions and the comments by people across this province. I have not been able, because of the government's stifling rules changes, to bring forward the concerns of many people across this province that they have not been heard, that this legislation and aspects of it will affect them, that they want to share that with government, that business groups across this province want to work with government.

1720

They are not, as Jill Marzetti and your own cabinet submission would have everyone believe, shortsighted. It is not just the business groups that have concerns with this legislation. We're going to have to take a look at what this legislation means in terms of hydro services in municipalities. We're going to have to take a look at what this legislation means in the area of social services, because we haven't even dealt with whether cheques can be written if there's a labour disruption.

This legislation is not about organizing. This legislation is not about workers' rights. The concern that people have in this province is that they don't know what this legislation is about. It wasn't important enough for you to put in your Agenda for People; it wasn't important enough for you to discuss until March 1991; it hasn't been important enough for you to listen to people about what the impact of this legislation will be, and people are darn concerned. They're suspicious. They're suspicious about rule changes which have been introduced, designed with this one bill in mind: designed to have me sit down in one minute and three seconds, designed for a limited form of debate, designed for this bill to be rammed through by the government.

Labour in this province, Mr Minister, as you chuckle, is not just unionized labour. There are many men and women across this province—70% of our workforce—

who are not unionized, and they are looking to you and this government to deal with their concerns. Have there been changes to the Employment Standards Act dealing with severance, termination? Have you made any statements on the issue of minimum wage, when you should have? Have you dealt with a myriad of issues? You have not.

Now the members of government look—they don't know. The fact of the matter is that you haven't. You've turned your back on a great many people in this province and you have refused to listen to many of the concerns that people have very much felt and wanted to share with you. We will be dealing with this and a variety of other matters as we deal with the bill in public hearings.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): The point that will be driven home, I'm certain, on a number of occasions with speakers speaking to this particular piece of legislation, is the concern expressed to me by quite a broad cross-section of society that this government and this minister have refused to participate in any public study at all with respect to the job losses from the impact of this government's labour legislation.

I think what is most important to understand is why this government will not deal with that. This piece of legislation will obviously not create any jobs. I don't even think anyone on the other side of the House would suggest it would. It's not going to create a single job. Having taken that as your high-water mark, then all this legislation can do is in fact cost jobs. So it seems pretty clear to me why this government doesn't want to do any impact studies. We know as a fact that it won't create work, so the only thing the study can tell you is how many jobs it will cost.

It's not really surprising to me or to too many other people who are reasonably well-versed on this subject as to why this government and this minister refuse to do any studies. As my leader said today, "He pooh-poohs every study that comes along, but he's not prepared to do one of his own." In my opinion, it's the act of a minister who is gutless, who isn't prepared to address the issues, who has stood in opposition and made some grandiose statements, who now has the lever of power and refuses to take advantage of it and produce studies that will outline the real economic impacts of this legislation.

So I say to the people listening today, "Whether you agree or disagree, be very wary when a member of the government won't do studies to support his position."

The Acting Speaker: Further questions or comments? The honourable member for Cochrane South.

Mr Bisson: Comments to the 90-minute opening statement on the part of the Liberal caucus: It really demonstrates a lack of understanding of the whole intent of the bill.

There are some interesting things he made in his comments. One of the things I really thought was amusing was when he talked about how the bill takes away the right of employees to choose not to join a union or to change their minds. If he would go back and really take a look at it seriously, he would find out that petitions are still allowed,

within the proposed legislation, up to the point of certification. That option is still there. But the point is that in the cases where the membership has clearly made the decision that they want to choose a union, that is their democratic right.

What I find really funny, on the part of all members in the opposition who are opposing this thing, is that you, sir, in the Liberal Party and other people in the Conservative Party have purported for years to be the people who protect democracy. The minute we want to give workers a little bit of democracy, a little bit of say in the workplace, you go hairy. That is really an insult to the workers of this province, because you really underestimate their ability and what they have to contribute to the workplace.

He talked about just-in-time delivery, about how this labour legislation is going to stop being able to operate with just-in-time delivery, about how there is no other place in this country where this kind of legislation is in place, that it would put the just-in-time delivery situation out.

The province of Quebec has had anti-scab legislation for the past 10 or 15 years. They too live in the same place called North America.

I see the member shaking his head. He clearly doesn't understand. This legislation is about giving people a little bit of equity within the workplace. It's clearly a real lack of understanding for the member of the opposition to get up for 90 minutes—60 minutes too long, I would say—in this place and speak on this bill the way he did.

Mr Bradley: I would like to deal, in my two minutes, strictly with the rule changes and how they affect legislation of this kind and question the member on that, because I think that basically is the issue.

I'm tired of the member for Cochrane South. You've been in this place for about 20 months, and you'd think you've been here for 20 years, the way you lecture the opposition. I'm here to speak to something I'm entitled to speak to. Your leader, the Premier, is trying to take it away from me. I'll tell you I'm going to speak as long as I want in this House.

To get back to the member who was previously speaking, my question to him is this: how this new rule that has been brought in by the Premier of this province, through the House leader, is going to affect legislation of this kind; how the member for Cochrane South says 30 minutes is enough time to debate under the time limits which have been placed, when over the years he has had members of his party debating legislation in this House for hours on end. The hypocrisy of that is so obvious. I ask him that particular question.

I ask him how the fact that this Legislature will sit fewer days of the year—not more days; fewer days—will affect the legislative agenda of the government and the opportunity of the opposition and all members of the House to deal with legislation of this kind.

I ask the member to deal with the issue, if he will, in his short response, of the fact that closure can be invoked at the behest of the government at any particular time to close off debate even though the province may not feel there has been enough debate.

I ask the member to deal with time allocation, where the minister promoting a bill now has the chance to come

into the Legislative Assembly and dictate the amount of time there will be to deal with that legislation. I ask the member to view that in view of the Premier's former record of defending the rights of the opposition and of defending democracy in the province of Ontario.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant. The member for York Mills.

Mr Turnbull: It is indeed strange to hear members of the governing party suggesting that we should have even less time to debate this very important bill.

If we were going to have some time spent on anything, it would be useful to have time to debate the private member's bill of my colleague the member for Waterloo North, where she suggested that there should be secret ballots for unionization, where there would be no intimidation. We know how much public ballots work. Just ask Jimmy Hoffa how public ballots work. Where is he now? We need to have secrecy, and not the intimidation and the force that is put on people to join a union. By the elimination of the \$1 signing fee and also of the availability of petitions after certification, we strike once again to the heart of this bill: The fact that this is a bill which is made especially for union bosses; not for the hard workers who happen to be members of unions in this province, but for the union bosses who are losing more and more favour because they are doing the economy of Ontario such a bad job. We know they have the availability of very fancy offices and large expense accounts, which they don't waive in times of strike.

This is payoff time for the NDP. What we should be talking about today is the availability of secret ballots so that people who don't want to join a union are not forced to expose themselves, and all of the intimidation that goes along with it.

1730

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Mississauga North has two minutes in response.

Mr Offer: In the short time allocated to me, I just want to indicate that certainly the point made by the members dealing with the lack of an impact study and not knowing what this will mean to the just-in-time suppliers, the auto suppliers, is one which we have brought forward many times. It's not just that area. It's the refusal of the government to take a look at the impact this bill will have in a variety of areas and what this bill will mean to a variety of jobs in this province, the creation of jobs.

I don't know that I can leave this two minutes without commenting on some of the aspects raised by the member for St Catharines, and certainly in response to the member for Cochrane South.

I think that anybody who watched this and heard the comments of the member for Cochrane South would realize that what this government has done is take away my right, as well as his right, as well as everyone's right, to comment on a bill in the manner which they feel is appropriate, to speak to the issue of a bill, to talk about what it means to them, to their constituents and to those people

who have spoken to them in their offices, at Queen's Park and in their constituency.

This is a bill that was introduced on June 4 at 3:30 in the afternoon, and 90 minutes later, without any notice, the government tabled new rules, rules designed to stop debate, to ram this legislation through, to erode the democratic process of participation which has been the hallmark of this House since its inception. That's how important this bill has been to the government: not to listen, not to conduct any impact studies, to turn their heads and their faces and their minds away from anybody who has a concern. That's what this legislation, this bill, is about, and we're going to continue to bring those concerns as we proceed.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate? The honourable member for Waterloo North, and I want to remind the honourable member that with the new rules, in her opening statement she has 90 minutes.

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): As the Ontario Progressive Conservative critic for Labour, it's with pleasure that I speak today, at long last, to Bill 40.

Ontario has the most comprehensive labour legislation in North America. It also has a labour relations climate that is the envy of most North American jurisdictions, and it has a legislative record that reflects a real effort to balance the interests of employees and employers alike.

I believe that we need to continue to have fairness, equity and security in the workplace. I believe that a balance has to be maintained between the often opposing perspectives of labour and management, and that any legislation has to be weighed and assessed as to whether it will jeopardize the growth of the economy, on which ultimately the wellbeing and the job of the worker depend.

Unfortunately, in Bill 40, the government has not weighed the legislation and taken a look at the balance to determine the economic impact on the worker or the job. This government has never answered three simple questions. First, what will be the cost to the Ontario economy of these changes? Second, how much investment, and therefore future job creation, has been and will be lost because of Bill 40? Third, why are these radical and sweeping changes needed at all?

The government has continually refused to deal with these questions in a meaningful and measurable way, and this province now is left to gamble on the assurances that are being given by the Labour minister that there will not be a negative impact on investment and jobs.

Why has this government not conducted an economic impact study, which has been asked for by thousands and thousands of employees and workers in this province? At a time when people are looking for economic leadership, at a time when people are looking for jobs in this province, this government has made labour law reform its number one priority, and it has refused to conduct that economic impact study to determine how many jobs and how much investment to create new jobs may be lost if it proceeds with these proposals.

Unfortunately other studies, because the government refuses to do any of its own, show us that these changes are going to have a detrimental impact on Ontario's

economy. Investment and job creation decision-makers are uniformly opposed to the proposals. The investment task force to the Premier's Council on Economic Renewal found that the proposed changes are a disincentive to business investment in Ontario and thus to the creation of any new jobs, which are so desperately needed for people in this province.

The 1992 Ernst and Young study showed that the government's reforms may cost Ontario about 300,000 jobs and \$8 billion in lost investment. These reforms, which presuppose that job security can only come through trade union representation, fail to recognize that you can only have job security from customer satisfaction.

I ask again, why does this government continue to put down and ridicule all other economic impact studies and not conduct one of its own to disprove what's being said? This government, at a time when workers and management need more than ever to set aside their differences and work together to compete in the global economy, has polarized labour and management in its attempt to introduce labour law reform. They have created a crisis on the labour front where there was not one. Instead of throwing business and workers a lifeline in this very uncertain economy, this government has thrown business and workers in this province an anchor. Instead of working constructively with labour and management to earn jobs, to earn investment for the province, they have introduced reforms which will lead to greater turmoil and conflict in the workplace.

The government has attempted to make us believe that picket-line violence is a daily occurrence and that the collective bargaining process needs a major overhaul, when in fact—and I think this is extremely important to note—the days lost to major strikes in Ontario fell to a 16-year low in 1991; only 153 work stoppages from lockouts and strikes in 1991, versus 218 in 1990.

This government claims that every proposed change in the labour reform package is already in place in some other jurisdiction. That is not so. These proposals have been cherry-picked from different jurisdictions, whether it's in North America or in Europe. Some less extreme elements of this package have been enacted in one Canadian province or another. However, this massively pro-union-leader package is not in place anywhere and I'm going to address that issue at a later date.

1740

This government has told us that these provisions will create labour harmony and prosperity. They tell us that they have in other jurisdictions. They're very fond of quoting Quebec, whereas in Quebec laws stopping employers from using replacement workers were enacted in 1978. Why? Because of horrible picket line violence, bloody picket line violence and threats by union leaders that they would only stop the violence when the government gave into their demands for the anti-scab law.

Did you know that since 1978 Quebec has lost nearly one million more days to strikes than Ontario despite a substantially lower population base? They have about two thirds of the Ontario population. They also have a smaller workforce. Since 1978 Quebec has suffered 20% more strikes than Ontario. In the past five years unemployment

rates in Quebec have been higher than Ontario's by over 50%. Investment in Quebec has also suffered compared to Ontario. In 1991 Ontario received approximately 75% more investment dollars than Quebec.

Moreover, what the NDP government in Ontario never mentions in regard to the Quebec labour law are the counterbalancing provisions. Unlike the Ontario proposal, Quebec's laws let supervisory workers from other plants replace strikers. Also, Quebec's laws require a vote from the workers before a strike can be called, unlike Ontario, where work can be stopped on a union leader's say-so. Yes, this government likes to quote Quebec and talk about harmony and great labour relations. However, it's obvious that they have lost more days than we have.

This government has claimed that changes are overdue, since the Ontario Labour Relations Act has not been amended in 15 years, when in fact several major amendments and many minor amendments have been made to the act since 1980. In 1983 professional strikebreakers were banned. In 1984 the provision on unlawful strikes was changed. In 1986 first-contract arbitration was introduced and the act was amended to bring it into line with the charter.

As well, such laws affecting labour relations as employment standards legislation, occupational health and safety legislation, workers' compensation, pay equity, wage protection fund, parental leave and human rights legislation have dramatically altered the climate in Ontario's workplaces over the past 15 years. Yes, many changes have been made to help workers since 1980.

Although the government claims there is a need for overhaul of the act, it has not been able to demonstrate that there is a need to reform the laws. As I said before, we already have the most progressive labour relations in North America. Two thirds of all applications for unionization are granted, unionizing an additional 23,000 employees a year, and 95% of collective agreements are reached without recourse to strikes.

No proper needs analysis uncovering problems with the existing act has ever been performed by this government. Why not? Why do they keep talking about the need for an overhaul but have not been able to demonstrate the reason why?

Public opinion polls show us that the overwhelming majority of people in this province do not want labour law reform. The push for reform is coming from the union leadership. Unfortunately, at no time has the government been able to identify verifiable labour problems that the bill is responding to. If you're going to draft good legislation, one of the principles you need to take into consideration is at the very least to be able to identify a verifiable problem and how you are responding to it. The government has not been able to do that at any time.

However, the polarization I talked about before and the adversarial atmosphere has been created because of the process the government used to introduce labour law reform. The minister spoke today about one of the objectives of the bill being to create peace and non-confrontation. Unfortunately, because of the process, we have only an adversarial atmosphere. It is that process that has created

an uncertain economic climate in this province. It's the process that has contributed to lost investment in jobs. We've lost over 500,000 in the last 18 months and these losses are going to continue.

Ontario, long considered the business capital and the industrial engine of Canada, is for the first time in its history gaining a reputation as an area that is increasingly hostile to private enterprise. We are hearing from the Swiss, the Germans, the Japanese and the Americans that they have no interest in investing in Canada. If you have no new investment in Ontario, you have no new jobs at a time when people in this province are desperate for a job, yet the process that has been used by this government is contributing to lost investment and more lost jobs.

Instead of consensus-building in the highly sensitive area of labour relations and establishing a tripartite task force composed of equal numbers of business, labour and government representatives, bringing them together, asking them to review Ontario's labour relations system, asking them to identify problems with the system and making recommendations for constructive changes, this whole agenda has been shaped by proposals that were drafted by the Labour minister on behalf of trade unions.

Throughout the entire process, since March 1991, only one agenda has been used and all the participants have been forced to respond to that union leaders' agenda—all the participants who participated in the so-called consultation process. The cooperative approach to establishing an agenda, to determining what needed to change within labour relations, all of this was sacrificed. There was no attempt for a cooperative approach to establishing an agenda. It was never used.

The creation of a task force would have allowed for a thorough economic impact analysis and, as I mentioned before, it's never been done. It would have improved the business climate in the province and it would have ensured that any reform stimulates investment and economic growth and therefore results in jobs; again jobs the taxpayers in this province are desperately seeking. Although the business community and individuals offered to work with the government in a trilateral consultation process with labour and develop changes to the OLRA, this government has been unwilling to bring the workplace partners together for any reasoned dialogue on this issue at all.

1750

Let's review the process that has contributed to the polarization between business and labour, the process that has contributed to the very adversarial atmosphere in this province and created such an uncertain economic climate. Let's take a look at the calendar of events.

We first heard in 1990, on November 20, in the throne speech that the government was committed to facilitating the right to organize. In 1991, on March 8, the labour law reform process began, in haste and in earnest, without any real consultation. It was at that time that the Minister of Labour appointed the labour law reform committee, unbeknownst to the opposition, chaired by Kevin Burkett, and it had three representatives of labour and three so-called representatives of business.

The committee was given the mandate to consider 30 changes that had been drafted by the Minister of Labour, 30 changes which were being considered to the Labour Relations Act. They were given only one month to report their findings. In April it was learned that the two sides could not come to an agreement on amending the act and they issued two separate reports. The business representatives argued that there was no need for change at this time. Labour of course endorsed the minister's 30-point wish list. In fact, they went beyond that. They proposed more than 60 other reforms. At this point the NDP government distanced itself from the document and suggested that more moderate proposals would follow.

What followed was the leaked cabinet submission. The leaked cabinet submission recommended 61 amendments to the act and outlined a communications strategy that had as its objective the "neutralizing of business opposition" to the proposed reforms. Again, what did the government do? They tried to distance themselves from the leaked cabinet document. They backpedalled and stated: "Well, the submission's not government policy. Consultation is going to take place on the discussion paper that has yet to be released. It's not going to be similar to this leaked document."

On November 7, the Minister of Labour released a discussion paper that included 41 preferred options for reform of the Labour Relations Act. Again they were basically the same 30 initiatives that had been drafted by the minister, plus the additional wish list he had received from the labour representatives.

On that same date, November 7, out of concern for individual workers, or if you want to call them employees, in this province I introduced a private member's bill, Bill 152, to amend the Labour Relations Act. It was going to require unions to hold secret ballot votes for certification of trade unions, ratification of collective agreements and the mandate to strike. This government was talking about fairness and preservation of basic human rights and freedoms, yet nowhere was it considering the right to a secret ballot vote.

In that same month, November, Project Economic Growth wrote the Premier and requested the establishment of a tripartite committee to examine the labour law proposals in the context of competitiveness. Do you know, to this day the Premier has never responded to the request of Project Economic Growth to establish a tripartite committee made up of government, labour and business.

Now let's look at 1992. We have the so-called consultation process. From January 8 to February 14, the Minister of Labour did go out. He went out on an 11-city tour of the province to consider and supposedly listen to public opinion on the preferred options paper. However, I have to tell you that many, many groups and individuals were excluded from the process.

I also want to tell you that the document we now have before us, Bill 40, does not include one proposal from the business community. We still have the union-driven agenda that we saw on March 8. I guess that's why I have concerns about the supposed five weeks of consultation that are going to take place this summer. If we go through this exercise again, which appears to me as a public relations

exercise, I hope that we will have true consultation, that we will incorporate and listen to the views of all people in this province, that the bill will be substantially amended and changed and that we will be responsive to people in this province.

I'm very concerned about the so-called consultation that has already taken place. On February 18, the NDP priority list was leaked. Labour law reform was listed as priority item 1. The commentary indicated "an urgency not to have debate on this item carry over into 1993." I guess they wanted to make sure that nobody would remember labour law reform come the next election.

On June 4 we had the introduction of Bill 40. We now know that we're going to have public hearings before a committee of the Legislature this summer. As I mentioned, we're probably going to have five weeks of hearings. I have to tell you again that I'm very concerned. If it's anything like the hearings on the wage protection fund—we had many excellent presentations, many balanced presentations from both labour and business, yet in the case of the wage protection fund there was not one substantive

change made to the legislation. There were a few cosmetic or housekeeping changes.

I really question the cost of travelling throughout this province, paying people to serve on committees, if you're not going to make any substantive changes to legislation. I hope the government will make some very substantive changes on Bill 40. I hope the government, before this process is ended, will conduct an economic impact study of this bill to determine whether or not there will be job loss and investment loss in this province.

We know there's going to be third reading debate in the fall. As I indicated, the government wants the law to be in place before the end of this year. This, then, is the chronology of events of labour law reform.

The Acting Speaker: I want to remind the honourable member for Waterloo North that when Bill 40 is next debated, she will have the floor and will be able to complete the time allotment. It now being 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until tomorrow at 1:30 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 1800.

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

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Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for the substance abuse strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Sillipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Phillip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaître, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St Andrew-St Patrick St Catharines St. Catharines-Brock	Akande, Zanana Bradley, James J. Haeck, Christel	ND L ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David Sarnia	Scott, Ian G. Huget, Bob	L ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Phillips, Gerry Owens, Stephen	L ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est Scarborough-Ellesmere Scarborough North/-Nord Scarborough West/-Ouest Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Frankford, Robert Warner, Hon/L'hon David Curling, Alvin Swarbrick, Anne Wessenger, Paul	ND ND L ND ND	Speaker/Président opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest Sudbury	Wilson, Jim Murdock, Sharon	PC ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming Victoria-Haliburton	Ramsay, David Drainville, Dennis	L ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord Welland-Thorold	Witmer, Elizabeth Kormos, Peter	PC ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington Wentworth East/-Est	Arnott, Ted Morrow, Mark	PC ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord Willowdale Wilson Heights Windsor-Riverside	Abel, Donald Harnick, Charles Kwinter, Monte Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND PC L ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement Minister of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/ ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Centre/-Centre York East/-Est	Sorbara, Gregory S. Malkowski, Gary	L ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
York Mills York North/-Nord	Turnbull, David Beer, Charles	PC L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the substance abuse strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue

**COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
COMITÉS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE**

STANDING COMMITTEES/COMITÉS PERMANENTS

Administration of justice/Administration de la justice

Chair/Président: Mike Cooper

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mark Morrow

Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Jenny Carter, Robert Chiarelli, Mike Cooper, Alvin Curling, Charles Harnick, Steven W. Mahoney, Gary Malkowski, Mark Morrow, Robert W. Runciman,

Paul Wessinger, David Winger

Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

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Finances et affaires économiques

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Kimble Sutherland

Members/Membres: Elinor Caplan, Gary Carr, David Christopherson, Norm Jamison, Monte Kwinter, Gerry Phillips, Norman W. Sterling, Brad Ward, Margery Ward, Jim Wiseman

Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

General government/Affaires gouvernementales

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Carman McClelland

Members/Membres: Ted Arnott, Will Ferguson, Derek Fletcher, Margaret H. Harrington, Randy R. Hope, George Mammoliti, Rosario Marchese, Bill Murdoch, Dianne Poole, John Sola

Clerk/Greffière: Deborah Deller

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Allan K. McLean

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Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Legislative Assembly/Assemblée législative

Chair/Président: Noel Duignan

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mike Farnan

Members/Membres: Mike Cooper, Paul R. Johnson, Margaret Marland, Irene Mathysen, Carman McClelland, Gord Mills, Gilles E. Morin, Stephen Owens, Barbara Sullivan, Noble Villeneuve

Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Ombudsman/Ombudsman

Chair/Président: Mark Morrow

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Christel Haeck

Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Dennis Drainville, Noel Duignan, D. James Henderson, Paul R. Johnson, Frank Miclash, Bill Murdoch,

Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay, Elizabeth Witmer

Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

Public accounts/Comptes publics

Chair/Président: Remo Mancini

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Joseph Cordiano

Members/Membres: Robert V. Callahan, W. Donald Cousens, Noel Duignan, Robert Frankford, Christel Haeck, Pat Hayes, Paul R. Johnson,

Lawrence O'Connor, David Tilson

Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

Regulations and private bills/

Règlements et projets de loi privés

Chair/Président: Drummond White

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Ellen MacKinnon

Members/Membres: George Dadamo, Ron Eddy, Mike Farnan, Ron Hansen, W. Leo Jordan, Gord Mills, Tony Ruprecht, John Sola, Kimble Sutherland, Jim Wilson

Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

Resources development/Développement des ressources

Chair/Président: Peter Kormos

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Daniel Waters

Members/Membres: Sean G. Conway, George Dadamo, Bob Huget, W. Leo Jordan, Paul Klopp, Dalton J.P. McGuinty, Sharon Murdoch, Steven Offer, David Turnbull, Len Wood

Clerk/Greffier: Harold Brown

Social development/Affaires sociales

Chair/Président: Charles Beer

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Hans Daigeler

Members/Membres: Dennis Drainville, Joan M. Fawcett, Tony Martin, Irene Mathysen, Yvonne O'Neill, Stephen Owens, Drummond White, Gary Wilson, Jim Wilson, Elizabeth Witmer

Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

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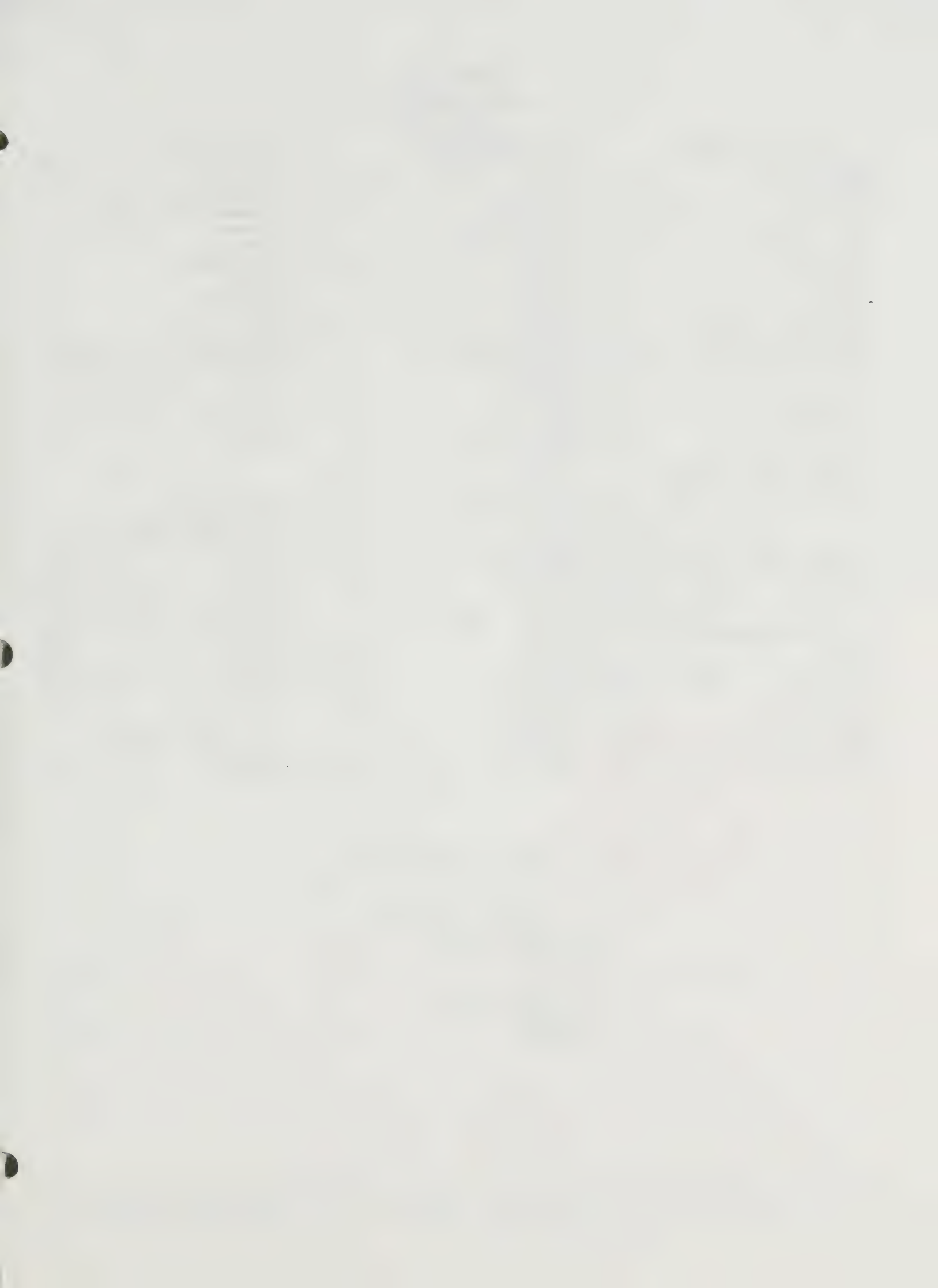
Parliamentary precinct/Enceinte parlementaire

Co-Chair/Coprésident: David Warner

Co-Chair/Coprésident: Noel Duignan

Members/Membres: Dianne Cunningham, Remo Mancini, Kimble Sutherland

Clerk/Greffier: Smirle Forsyth



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Tuesday 7 July 1992

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Mardi 7 juillet 1992

Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Tuesday 7 July 1992

The House met at 1332.

Prayers.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

ACCESS TO CHILDREN IN CUSTODY

Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall): The Attorney General will know that I have shared with him stories of a number of people from my riding who, despite being granted visitation rights by the courts, are still unable to access their children: people like George Lloyd who, despite having been accorded access rights, has not seen his daughter in five years.

The Attorney General has not taken a stand on the question of access for non-custodial parents. What he has done is set up some pilot projects which will allow the parents to visit their children in supervised facilities. These centres do absolutely nothing for the parents who do not know where their children are.

The simple fact is that the court orders for access are rarely, if ever, enforced. The Attorney General knows that when he came into office, Bill 124, An Act to amend the Children's Law Reform Act, had only to be proclaimed. It was passed by the Legislature and it would have meant greater access for parents like Mr George Lloyd and others.

It appears that the Attorney General does not care about assisting parents in accessing their children. When will he take some action to recognize parents' rights by addressing this injustice?

HIGHWAY WIDENING

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): Once again I would like to bring to the attention of the Minister of Transportation the critical situation that continues to exist on Highway 6 between Owen Sound and Guelph in my riding of Wellington.

As the minister is aware, this stretch of highway is heavily travelled, especially in the summer months when much of the cottage-bound traffic passes through. Highway 6 is also the main corridor to Highway 401 for most of Wellington county, so there is a high volume of commercial trucks utilizing the highway.

There is an urgent need for passing lanes on this section of Highway 6. This issue is an important one for my constituents, so important that it was the first issue which I raised in the House after my election. I made a statement on November 26, 1990, to emphasize to the minister the important safety considerations attached to the need for passing lanes on this particular section of Highway 6.

The construction of passing lanes would also encourage economic growth in our area, since all manufacturers which have expressed an interest in locating in Wellington county are particularly concerned about efficiently moving their products to the marketplace.

As a result of my request for action on Highway 6, the former minister wrote to me in January 1991 to advise me

that the passing lanes for Highway 6 would be included in the ministry's five-year construction program. This is not satisfactory to me or my constituents.

Safety and economic factors warrant immediate construction of passing lanes on this section of Highway 6 to help alleviate the traffic congestion and facilitate more efficient movement of vehicles. I urge the minister to announce a definite date for such construction as soon as possible.

WASTE MANAGEMENT

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): I rise today to inform my fellow elected representatives of a very special coalition of citizens groups, the Ontario Toxic Waste Research Coalition. The coalition is made up of seven separate groups: the Niagara North Federation of Agriculture, the Niagara Peninsula Fruit and Vegetable Growers, the Concerned Citizens, the Niagara Residents for Safe Toxic Waste Disposal, Citizens for Modern Waste Management, Preservation of Agricultural Lands Society and the Elcho Study Group.

These groups banded together as a coalition in January 1986 in order to collectively oppose a proposal by the Ontario Waste Management Corp to build a giant toxic waste facility in the township of West Lincoln, in my riding. In total, the coalition represents over 3,200 citizens in Ontario. Its mandate is simple: to stop the OWMC proposal. It believes that the technology being proposed is out of date and that such a facility should not be built anywhere in Ontario.

The coalition is a full participant in the ongoing environmental assessment hearing that is looking at the OWMC proposal and it represents the interests of the citizens without any political bias.

The coalition is a fine example of the general public banding together to fight for what is right. The member groups and the people who belong to them should be proud of the valuable contribution they are making to help improve our environment and to help ensure that Ontario does not make a mistake by allowing an outdated facility to be built.

COURT STAFFING

Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora): Mr Speaker, my statement today is directed to the offices of the Attorney General and the Solicitor General.

This is a government that tries to build its reputation on consultation, but it's just not happening. Last Friday the Kenora courthouse was without two judges. Both Judge Little and Judge Frazer refused to sit, the reason being a lack of security at the courthouse. Additional holding cells were added to the courthouse but they do not have direct access to the courtroom. As a result, prisoners must be escorted back and forth between the courtroom and the holding cells. Of course this requires additional staff.

These security problems and the need for the additional staff were never discussed with the local police commission, which as you would know is responsible for the staffing of the courthouse. Nor has the government provided further financing to the municipality to deal with the added security risk brought about by the new facility.

Kenora councillor Chuck Tyrrell, vice-chairman of the police services board and chairman of the town of Kenora finance committee, said the board knew about the cell changes but was never consulted; therefore no staffing increases were budgeted. The board recently voted to hold staffing to its present level at the courthouse.

This issue was brought to the attention of the offices of both the Solicitor General and the Attorney General last May. To date the commission has not received a response from either ministry.

NORTH YORK BOARD OF HEALTH

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): On November 28, 1991, I brought to the attention of this House the funding inequities faced by the North York board of health. You will recall that health units outside Metropolitan Toronto receive a provincial grant for 75% of their budgets. The North York board of health currently receives a provincial grant for only 40% of its budget. The province has yet to act upon this inequity.

Today I would like to bring forth another funding problem faced by the North York board of health. The board is faced with a financial crisis. To meet this crisis, the North York health department has already reduced its budget by nearly \$1 million through staff reductions and cuts to its immunization, AIDS awareness and family planning programs.

Mr Speaker, 20 North York schools are without an assigned public health nurse. Furthermore, assessments of children's immunization records, which is required under the mandatory program of vaccination for preventable diseases, will be restricted to 70% of the required total unless the board receives additional funding.

The provincial government has continued to spend at almost 5% the rate of inflation while it has asked organizations such as the North York board of health to limit their spending to a 1% increase. Certainly, demands such as these demonstrate this government's double standard.

1340

ONTARIO HYDRO RATES

Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls): Proposed hydro rate increases may severely impact the Niagara Falls economy. My constituent Michael Saxton, who is an hourly paid labourer at Norton Co and who has just purchased his first home, wrote to me:

"Since electricity is such a large part of our production costs, we work on off-shifts and weekends, when the rates are lower. Further increases in rates will only result in higher production costs, thus hurting our ability to compete. If we can't compete, we will close."

Yes, I know Ontario Hydro is helping industry to be efficient; yes, off-peak power rates are helpful; yes, Ontario Hydro has frozen executive salaries; yes, power supply is

reliable; and yes, I know this major rate increase is a result of ill-conceived, inefficient and reprehensible decisions by Tory and Liberal governments which led to outrageous cost overruns at Darlington.

All true, and yet this government faces the reality of today. Extraordinary times call for extraordinary and creative measures. Rate increases need to be examined now in the interest of jobs. I will do whatever I can to facilitate communication and cooperation between workers, industry, government and Hydro.

I thank the Minister of Energy and the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology for meeting with us over the past two months. Other governments would not act. If any government can make Ontario Hydro more efficient and responsive, it is this government.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): I rise today to share with the House a letter I received from Vazken Terzian, director-administrator of Servocraft Ltd, which is located in the riding of Oriole.

Mr Terzian asks me to "do everything in your power to get the NDP/union leadership to realize the harm they are doing to the construction industry through labour relations legislation." He says the NDP labour legislation is already having a negative effect on the construction industry. He goes on to say: "In May there were 79,000 unemployed construction workers with 25,000 in Metro Toronto alone. The Laughren budget chopped \$112 million in capital," and further the NDP rent legislation is costing more construction jobs.

Mr Terzian states that people in the construction industry understand the political pressure placed on the NDP caucus to bring in changes to the Labour Relations Act that are favourable to organized labour, but they don't understand why the NDP leaders have failed to see that the construction industry is already severely depressed and their proposed legislation will add to the ranks of unemployed construction workers and deepen the despair of their families.

Mr Terzian's letter is just one more example of thousands of concerned Ontarians. He wishes to "avoid any further devastation and unemployment," and I would like to quote him when he says, "Anyone voting for this legislation is no friend of the workers in construction" in Ontario.

MEDICAL LABORATORIES

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): My caucus colleagues and I are extremely concerned with the Minister of Health's treatment of private laboratories. The supplementary budget paper on health care resources indicated that the program review for laboratory services will focus on the promotion of public hospital and public health labs.

We find it inconceivable that these decisions have been made without any consultation with private laboratories and that this NDP administration has rejected offers of assistance in cutting costs from the association representing private medical laboratories. All indications are that the Minister of Health has predetermined the outcome of this review.

I fail to understand how the minister can expect service providers to believe in consultation and partnership when such glaring biases are evident. Sunnybrook Medical Centre's management information system has demonstrated that it is far more expensive for hospitals to do the tests rather than the commercial sector. This has been demonstrated in a number of tests, including complete blood count, fibrinogen, electrolytes, urea, urinalysis and differential.

The question looms, why is this NDP administration willing to promote a more expensive service provider instead of a less costly service provider where the quality of service is the same? I encourage the Minister of Health to take a close look at the Sunnybrook findings before proceeding against the private laboratory sector.

PAULINE JEWETT

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): I rise today to pay tribute to an outstanding figure in Canadian public life, Pauline Jewett. As members know, Ms Jewett passed away last Sunday after a three-year battle with cancer.

Pauline Jewett was a leading feminist, academic and politician. In many areas of her life she was a groundbreaker. In politics she was a role model for women who were interested, as she was, in participating in making public policy but who found many barriers to such participation. As an academic she was also a pioneer. In 1960 she was the only woman among the five faculty members in the political science department; the other faculty members recommended her to head the department. In 1974 she was made president of Simon Fraser University, the first woman to hold such a position in Canada.

In recognition of her outstanding contribution to our public life, Pauline Jewett was one of 22 distinguished Canadians who were named to the Privy Council of Canada on July 1 of this year.

She started her political life with the Liberal Party, running for the first time in 1962. With other female politicians of the time, she was a curiosity. When she approached Lester Pearson in 1965 about a cabinet appointment, she was told, apparently without a shred of irony, "I already have one woman in cabinet." In keeping with her earlier political sentiments, Pauline ran in 1972 as a New Democrat and from then on was a role model for other females in our party. She was a well-respected, well-loved member of the federal caucus and acted as a mentor to numerous up-and-coming politicians. This is only one part of her legacy.

For all of those men and women, especially women, to whom she was a role model, I say Pauline Jewett will be deeply and sadly missed.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

GUELPH CIVIC CULTURAL CENTRE

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): It is my pleasure to rise in the House today to announce that the Ministry of Culture and Communications will play a key role in the development of a dynamic new cultural centre in Guelph, Ontario.

Using an allocation to the ministry under the Jobs Ontario Capital fund, we will provide \$2 million over the next

three years towards the construction of the Guelph Civic Cultural Centre. The project will create 200 jobs.

The fund is part of this government's Jobs Ontario initiative, which was announced in our April budget, to help renew the economy. Under the capital fund, the Ontario government will spend \$2.3 billion on creating jobs over the next five years. The city of Guelph, local businesses and the federal government are also making substantial contributions to the centre.

The centre will provide vital facilities for performing arts organizations and for community groups. It will complement the Guelph Spring Festival, already one of Canada's most outstanding classical music events. It will attract new tourists and new businesses to Guelph and, in doing so, help revitalize the downtown core, and it will create new jobs in the community.

We wish to salute the people of Guelph, and in particular the Citizens' Committee for the Guelph Centre for the Performing Arts, for building the partnerships needed to get this project under way. We are delighted that the government of Ontario has helped the people of Guelph invest in their own community and in the province of Ontario.

Despite these tough times, this government is committed to renewing our economy through job creation and through investment in Ontario's culture. We understand the importance of a thriving arts sector to the social and economic wellbeing of the province. Today we are able to show that commitment through this \$2-million grant.

This is wonderful news for Guelph, for the cultural sector and for all Ontarians.

1350

RESPONSES

GUELPH CIVIC CULTURAL CENTRE

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): I'd like to respond to the statement in two areas.

One is in the general area where the minister makes the comment, "Despite these tough times, this government is committed to renewing our economy through job creation and through investment in Ontario's culture." I've said several times, when this government announced this Jobs Ontario strategy, that it's time to come clean with the people of Ontario.

The minister should have acknowledged that on page 86 of the budget, the Ministry of Culture and Communications capital budget, the money for these job creation programs, last year was \$31 million. This year it's \$15 million, cut in half. We're not saying spend more money. We're saying come clean with the people of Ontario. Stop saying one thing and doing another thing.

Again, I've said to the Treasurer on this capital area—he talks about job creation and the budget—that the facts of the matter are that there is less money in this year's budget on capital programs than there was in last year's budget. Don't try to fool the construction workers of this province by announcing that you are increasing spending. That is simply not the case. When this government came into power there were 343,000 people working in

construction in Ontario. At the end of May there were 249,000. Virtually a third of them are now unemployed.

Furthermore, in terms of this Jobs Ontario strategy, as I said last week and I'll say it again, the only new job that's being created with this is by recruiting a new advertising agency. When we're in tough economic times, why is the Treasurer allowing the government to go out and recruit a brand-new advertising agency to announce spending less money than you were spending last year? It is a fraud.

I saw in the *Globe and Mail* last week:

"The government of Ontario is seeking a full-service advertising agency to provide creative service for the public information activities associated with its Jobs Ontario economic initiatives. To handle this assignment, companies must demonstrate they have the personnel, technical and administrative resources in place to provide highly innovative and creative services to support this initiative."

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): What would you do?

Mr Phillips: I'll tell you what we would do. The Treasurer asked what would we do. We would go ahead and spend the capital money you have allocated, but we would not be doing a public relations exercise wasting the taxpayers' money. Every day we see one minister come in here and announce a capital program, wasting taxpayers' money. Get on and create the jobs, spend the money that's in the budget, but don't try to say something that isn't true.

You are trying to leave the impression with the constructions workers of this province that you're spending more money. The Minister of Culture and Communications cut literally half the money out of the capital budget and then dribbles back this sort of money and leaves the impression that this is a job creation program. We say to the government come clean with the people. Don't try to present something that is simply not the case. I hope the members of the caucus who aren't in cabinet will start demanding that of the cabinet ministers, that we not try to mislead the people of the province.

On the specific announcement, because I was talking generally about the jobs programs and raising the concerns we have, I hope—and the minister has made this announcement today—that this agency, this organization has some assurance from the minister that the operating funds necessary to keep this program going will be available. The worst thing you could do, Minister, is to provide the capital funds, raise expectations and then find that the operating funds are not there to operate this program. That is the worst thing you could do.

I hope that there's been a thorough study with the important local group and that it is assured the government will provide the necessary operating funds. If that's not the case, I hope the minister has some serious discussions with them so that they understand exactly what financial commitments the government's prepared to make.

The Art Gallery of Ontario, as we all know, closed its doors, I guess merely a week ago, shutting off one of the best tourist attractions in this province because it didn't have the operating funds. I hope that in this announcement the minister has looked at the operating funds and that we

aren't going to put this community group into the same jackpot that AGO has now found itself in.

Finally, I appreciate that the minister has said there is full support in the Guelph community for this program. I certainly hope that's the case. I understand there are at least some organizations there that want some more assurance on the program and I hope those assurances are forthcoming.

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I'm pleased to respond on behalf of the Progressive Conservative Party to the announcement by the Minister of Culture and Communications this afternoon that there's going to be \$2 million in funding towards the Guelph Civic Cultural Centre, creating about 200 jobs, as the minister has indicated. But this announcement has to be looked at beyond just looking at it in isolation, as the minister has indicated.

Yes, perhaps jobs will be created in the short term, but we must recognize that construction jobs that are created by government spending are inherently short-term jobs; they're not long-term jobs. The government is responding in this way of course because its anti-business rhetoric, its anti-business policies have destroyed job creation in the private sector in this province and it's forced to respond with taxpayer-generated jobs that are again short-term.

I think if you also look at this announcement and other announcements the people of Guelph and Wellington county would have been looking for today, they would have liked also to have seen an announcement on the hospital funding and assurance that the ground is going to be broken this summer with respect to the development of the new hospital. I think that's an important issue as well to the people of Guelph.

I know, representing the riding adjacent to the city of Guelph and all around it, the outstanding importance of the Guelph Spring Festival and many of the other cultural attractions the city of Guelph has, so this announcement is obviously concurrent with what they have to offer there, but we also have to look at the broader perspective across the province.

We look to the Art Gallery of Ontario, as has already been mentioned, and the \$2.6-million cut in funding to AGO, which has necessitated its closure this month until January 1993. Of course the Art Gallery of Ontario plays a very important role in community outreach and making programs available across the province, exhibition events and that sort of thing, to allow community galleries around the province to have new exhibitions in a timely way. We know if that gallery is closed, art galleries across the province, such as this civic cultural centre, will have a great deal of difficulty in bringing forward new exhibitions in ways that would attract people, so that is also a concern.

I don't want to take the full time with respect to my response to this announcement, but I must say that this appears to be another cynical attempt by the government to demonstrate that it is creating jobs when in fact we have seen thousands and thousands of jobs in Ontario that have taken flight and entrepreneurs who have fled this province because of the policies of this government. In the context of that climate today, we find this announcement is not good news and is most disappointing.

ORAL QUESTIONS

LANDFILL SITES

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): Mr Speaker, given the size of the demonstration outside our doors today, you will not be surprised, sir, that I have a question for the Minister of the Environment. I tell the minister that she is very quickly gaining the reputation of being the most stubborn, the most arbitrary and the most inaccessible minister in the province's socialist labour government. Her Bill 143, which makes her the czarina of all garbage in the greater Toronto area, which gives her the exclusive authority to tell the people of the greater Toronto area where Metropolitan Toronto's garbage is going to be dumped, has started the kind of political and citizen reaction we have rarely seen in this province.

I want to ask the minister, what is it going to take to get her to change her mind? Is it going to take another demonstration of 1,000 people on the lawns of Queen's Park? Is it going to take even more citizens' groups meeting by the thousands right throughout York region and the greater Toronto area? The editorialists not only in local papers but in regional papers and in papers all over the province have said that her policies in Bill 143 are wrong. The environmentalists say that she is wrong. No jurisdiction in the world is approaching the garbage problem in the way in which she has approached it.

I simply want to put it to the minister: What is it going to take to get you to change your mind, to withdraw Bill 143 and start us down a path which will really solve the problems we have in the disposition of garbage in the greater Toronto area? What is going to take?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): I regret the presumption in the member's question that large rallies of people—and I know that people rally and that people feel very strongly about this issue—are the way to change public policy.

I would remind the member that Bill 143 was introduced into this House, was debated in this House and was the subject of hearings before a committee across the province. When he says it was not supported by environmentalists, I'd ask him to go back and check the record on that debate, because that legislation which puts in place the mechanism to do serious waste reduction, reuse and recycling within the greater Toronto area, as well as spelling out how to find landfills, is very progressive legislation and is widely supported by people all across this province.

1400

Mr Sorbara: I reiterate my point about stubbornness. There is no question about the 3Rs; that is not the subject of this issue and this debate. The subject is Ruth Grier's determination, made privately and without consultation, to make York region the site and the only site for dumping garbage from Metropolitan Toronto, and she knows that full well.

If she will not repeal the bill, I simply say to the minister that there is an opportunity within Bill 143 to solve this problem. Bill 143 does not prohibit the Interim Waste Authority from considering other sites elsewhere in the province, and it does not prohibit the IWA from looking at

other solutions and other technologies. What this province needs is one word from Ruth Grier, the Minister of the Environment. She holds the key: One word from her, and the IWA will have the authority to pursue other sites and other technologies and really get at a solution. Will the minister simply utter that word and allow the Interim Waste Authority to look at a variety of solutions instead of picking on one region which is one neighbour of Metropolitan Toronto as the site to dump 40 million tonnes of garbage in the backyard of Metropolitan Toronto? That won't work. We need one word from you and we can start to solve this problem.

Hon Mrs Grier: In the first question, the member accused me of making a decision arbitrarily and behind closed doors. In the second question, he's asking me and attributing to me the power to arbitrarily and with one word change a piece of legislation. I can't do that, even if I felt it was in the best interests of the environment to do so.

Mr Sorbara: It's ironic that the minister has not even read her own piece of legislation. Look at the legislation, and you will see no prohibition. The legislation states clearly that the Interim Waste Authority is not required to look at other sites or other technologies, but the legislation clearly permits that and it's only a policy statement from the Minister of the Environment that is prohibiting that.

She makes light of this problem and says it is a crisis created by the previous government. I submit to you, Mr Speaker, that the only crisis we have on our hands is the policy that the Minister of the Environment is following. She says there is going to be a full environmental assessment once the one York region site is identified.

I want to ask the minister whether she still believes in a fair hearing process and what she plans to do once that hearing is completed and the citizens of this province win the hearing and the site is rejected by the board that is going to hear the application. What is the minister going to do under those circumstances, or has she already put the fix in to make sure that the board rules in her favour and against the people of York region?

Hon Mrs Grier: I'm glad the member acknowledges that the final decision will be made by an independent, objective board, the Environmental Assessment Board. Far be it for me today to prejudge what their decision will be.

Mr Charles Beer (York North): My question is to the Minister of the Environment as well. Minister, over the course of the last number of weeks, all of us in York region have been attending a variety of public meetings. We've had the second demonstration now. At demonstrations, people arrive with their hats, with their placards, seeking some way to get the attention of the government, to say, "We don't want you to use this particular approach."

The question that arises at every meeting, the question that arose at the demonstration today, Minister, is why: Why have you arbitrarily decided that the region of York shall take all the garbage from Metropolitan Toronto? What people in York region want to know, very simply, is why.

Hon Mrs Grier: I think I've answered this question innumerable times, but I know it is one that concerns the people in York. The fact is not that they don't know my

answer but that they don't like my answer, but let me try the answer again.

The answer is that waste management in this province has traditionally been the responsibility of municipalities. Municipalities seek solutions within their boundaries or make an agreement with an adjacent municipality, as have many and as do most, to resolve waste management issues together.

In 1983, Metro and York arrived at an agreement that a landfill site would be established in York to look after Metro's and York's waste. That site was filled to capacity much sooner than anybody had anticipated because there was no emphasis on waste reduction, reuse and recycling. What we have done is put that emphasis into our policies and continued the agreement between Metro and York.

Mr Beer: That answer is simply not acceptable. There is no agreement on the part of York. The question remains that in that legislation you arbitrarily decided that's where it should go, and people simply say, "No, that's not fair, it's not equitable and it makes no sense."

My second question to the minister is another one around "why." The minister likes to present herself as being a strong defender of the environment. Indeed, she says she refuses to look at other options and alternatives because she feels so strongly about the alternative. The question that comes from all of us in York region is, how is it environmentally sound, environmentally progressive, in the 1990s to suggest that we should be creating a dump not the size of Keele Valley but half again as big, a dump that will be 130 feet high, a dump that could take 80 SkyDomes? How on earth in the 1990s is the outhouse technology of a megadump environmentally sound and acceptable to this government?

Hon Mrs Grier: What is acceptable and what is environmentally sound is that we try to reduce the amount of waste going into that site as much as we possibly can. I was interested today to get from some of the people who were at the demonstration, I understand, Citizens for a Safe Environment, a press release being very hard on Metro and York for not having taken seriously the policy established by your government of trying to get to 50% reduction by the year 2000. That's what has to happen, and when that happens perhaps we won't need the size of landfill you're suggesting.

Mr Beer: Clearly the people in York region, the people who were out at that demonstration today, include some of the strongest environmentalists in this province. I could mention parts of the region, I could mention names, I could mention mayors and municipal councillors who have fought very hard and indeed urged us as a government to do more for the environment. They are outraged at the possibility that there will be a dump in York region.

My final question is to the minister. Will she, here and now, today in this place make a firm commitment that over the next two weeks she will find some real time to sit down with the representatives of all the different community groups and organizations that have grown up around these sites, to meet with them and have a full discussion,

where they can put their questions to her? Will the minister make that commitment here and now?

Hon Mrs Grier: I already made that commitment when I met with the groups a week or so ago. They indicated that they were coming together to form a coalition and would have a representative from each of the 57 groups, I think they described it, in one organization. I said when that had occurred and when the representatives had identified themselves and the leadership of the various groups emerged, I would be happy to sit down and have that discussion.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): New question, third party, the member for Markham.

1410

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): I have a question for the Minister of the Environment. The people of the greater Toronto area are angry; angry for a number of reasons at Bill 143, angry at the way this government is forcing dumps into the greater Toronto area but angry as well that this minister has not been prepared to meet with people in a way that would allow them to have dialogue.

I have instead for you today some of the slips that people have sent in from the Economist and the Sun where people are saying no to unacceptable dump sites in York-Durham. We have also a little present from students at Unionville public school to Mr Rae and yourself, along with some of the thinking of people in that area.

The concern they have, among many, many others, is that you and your government are not prepared to sit down and listen to the people. So instead of having it your way alone, I would like to extend an invitation to you to visit the 57 landfill sites in York, Durham and Peel so that you can see something of the problems that are going on there. What I will make sure will happen is that you will be treated with respect, as you should be, but the fact is that you will go out and see these environmentally sensitive areas, these farm lands, these areas that people are so concerned about. Will you accept this invitation to come and tour the sites?

Hon Mrs Grier: I regret to have to say to the member that I think he does nothing to help the situation by describing 57 landfill sites. There are 57 areas of the greater Toronto area which, after the development of environmental criteria and the application of those criteria to the area, have been identified as possible candidate sites. That number will be reduced to three by next year. It is important that people understand that there will not be 57 landfill sites throughout the greater Toronto area.

As I said in my response to the question from the member for York North, when the groups have been formed and have identified who they want to have as a representative, I've already agreed to meet with them.

Mr Cousens: That answer somehow goes in the face of the statement made by the member for Durham West when he was elected on September 6th and said, "We have a population that has asked for a credible government that will really listen to the people." He got elected on that issue, but now when the people want to have a chance to talk to the government they elected on September 6th it

would appear that they're not able to have that opportunity to have those get-togethers that were so common before you were elected.

The people are now saying to you, Mrs Grier, that they don't want anything to do with the way you're pushing these proposed landfill sites on York, Durham and Peel. They're saying no way to having the land that grows our food become a dump. They're saying no way to having the stinking smell of garbage permeating their homes. They're saying no way to having sensitive parks and green spaces becoming dumps. They're saying no way to having our drinking water contaminated.

Will you somehow look at the other option of looking at Kirkland Lake as a viable option? Will you say yes to the people of York, Durham and Peel and open the discussion on waste options?

Hon Mrs Grier: Mr Speaker, this member has called continuously for an application of the Environmental Assessment Act to the site selection process. I know the member is familiar with the act, and the act is a planning process that by a process of elimination allows one to arrive at the best site: a site that will not take up a river valley, a site that will not contaminate water, a site that will not harm the environment. You don't go through that process by saying, "Let's pick Kirkland Lake; it happens to be available" and make that the site. You have to look at all the alternative sites within the area of site search. If you're going to say that the entire province is a candidate site—

Mr Sorbara: Oh, Ruth, will you stop it? That's not the issue.

The Speaker: Order, member for York Centre.

Hon Mrs Grier: —for the waste from the greater Toronto area, then you look at every possible landfill throughout the entire province. The member knows that's not an acceptable way of dealing with the greater Toronto area's garbage.

The Speaker: Final supplementary.

Mr Cousens: That's not acceptable to this minister, but it's acceptable for you to go and break agreements between Metro and York region on Keele Valley; it's acceptable for you to break agreements on Britannia; it's acceptable if it's your way but it's not acceptable if it's what the people of the province of Ontario want. That's the issue.

I'll tell you, it's as close to a sense of the 1837 rebellion, where some 800 farmers from York and the areas north of Toronto came down and marched on Toronto, and they brought their sticks and they went and made a voice. Some of them were hanged, some of them went to the United States, some of them went elsewhere. I'll tell you this much, there were more people at the front of Queen's Park than there were involved in the rebellion of 1837.

We are responsible people. We are people who want to be listened to and who want to have another option and you're not giving us that option. We ask you, as Minister of the Environment and one who has fought for democratic rights, to look again at the option of a rail haul outside of Metropolitan Toronto. Will you at least look at that?

Hon Mrs Grier: The people of York region, as have been identified, are very concerned about this issue.

Interjections.

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): Go back to your apartment and take a rest.

Mr Cousens: Talk about sleaze. You're good at it, Gilles.

The Speaker: Would the minister take her seat. The member for Markham, that is not parliamentary. I would ask the member to withdraw the unparliamentary remark which he just uttered.

Mr Cousens: If I offended the honourable member and said something that is not in the character of this beautiful House, I withdraw it.

Hon Mrs Grier: As the member for York North and the member for Markham well know, there are very many people in York region who have indeed established themselves as environmentalists and are very much concerned about the issues we're debating here. I think the member does them a disservice by putting the debate in the framework of rebellion and 1837.

The opportunity that is provided by the Environmental Assessment Act is to bring to the debate all the environmental issues and all the debate about the merits of alternative sites that the member wishes and I know those people wish to engage in. That's the forum where the argument has to occur and that's the forum that will be most productive to an environmental solution to this issue.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): My question is to the Minister of Labour. For months we have been asking you to table an impact study into your labour legislation. To date you have refused. That leads us to believe one of two things: Either you haven't done a study, which I believe would then make you unfit to govern, or you've done one but you won't table it because you're afraid the impact study will confirm that the legislation will kill jobs.

Again to be clear, there are two options: Either you haven't done a study, or you've done one and you're afraid the legislation will kill the jobs. Minister, which one is it?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): In response to the member, I'd like to know how many impact studies we had from his government when it was in power.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Mr Carr: And we wonder why people are cynical about politicians and the political process when we hear an answer like that from the Minister of Labour in 1992. This legislation will only create more jobs in the United States. Every study that has been done has said it will kill jobs and kill investment. Mr Minister, either produce one shred of evidence which shows there will be no job losses or admit that the legislation will kill jobs. Which is it, Minister?

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Minister.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I'd like to ask the member to repeat the question. I couldn't hear it with all the noise from across the way.

The Speaker: Would the member repeat the question.

1420

Mr Carr: What I said in the question was that the legislation will only create more jobs in the United States. Every study that has been done said there will be job losses and investment will be killed as a direct result of your legislation. My question is this: Either produce one shred of evidence that proves there will not be any job losses or admit the legislation will kill jobs. What is it, Mr Minister?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: There have been a lot of polls. I wouldn't say there have been proper surveys. If I thought the legislation was going to kill jobs, I wouldn't be bringing it into the House.

Mr Carr: This government has \$160,000 for your friend Wally Majesky to do a study on prep schools for union bosses and you've got \$200,000 to study bike paths; yet the biggest piece of legislation the province will see from this destructive government and you refuse to do a study. It doesn't make any sense, Mr Minister. Why do you refuse to do a job impact study? Don't let the people believe us or you; do an impact study so the people will know very clearly what the job losses will be. My question is the same as the beginning: Are you afraid of what the results will be, Mr Minister?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I want to say I haven't had a question in the House yet that I'm afraid of. I may or may not be right on all the answers, but I certainly don't fear any of the questions. I would also like to say I think it's unfortunate that we see the day-after-day attack from certain members of this House on what they call union bosses, who do happen to have to get themselves elected, which is often not the case with some of the coalitions.

The Speaker: New question, the member for Eglinton.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Carr: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: That answer is totally unacceptable to the people of the province. I would like to go on the record as saying that I will be here at 6 o'clock, if it's acceptable to ask the question of the Minister of Labour again. It is totally unacceptable to the people of the province for a Minister of Labour on a piece of legislation—

The Speaker: Would the member take his seat. Briefly, as I have done on other occasions, I would ask members to please raise that particular point of order outside of the time allotted for oral questions. Of course the member must file the necessary paper at the table.

ROOMING HOUSES

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): My question is for the Minister of Housing. All members of this Legislature will remember the devastating tragedy of the fire that gutted

the Rupert Hotel in December 1989, killed 10 people and left many others homeless.

In January 1991, as part of its anti-recession fund, the NDP government announced it would spend \$3 million to upgrade privately owned rooming houses in Toronto so that they met fire, health and safety codes. Mr Speaker, I regret that I must bring before you today just the latest example of how the NDP government can take a perfectly fine idea and bungle it badly.

Eighteen months later, this renovation money, supposedly to come from last year's anti-recession funds, has not been spent, but even worse, the Minister of Housing has plunged the program into chaos. First there was no advertising so that rooming houses could apply. Instead the government sent representatives to selected private rooming houses and gave the owners a hard sell to enter the program.

Then the government misled the people with promises: promises that the program would be fast-tracked, promises that the renovations would be done quickly and in fact completed by March 31, promises that tenants would be able to remain in place while renovations took place. Instead the lives of these people have been disrupted and the renovations have still not occurred.

How can the minister justify making a shambles of a perfectly good idea?

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): I categorically reject that description of what has happened in our efforts to work with the Rupert Hotel Coalition, a community-based group which has worked in conjunction with the city of Toronto to try to develop a program which everyone knew was going to be hard to deliver. It has taken that coalition longer than it expected to be able to put a program in place. That coalition has in fact not been able to spend the money which was originally allocated through the anti-recession fund.

However, we have made a commitment at the Ministry of Housing that the moneys will be forthcoming through our regular programs and that the program can proceed as originally intended. If she has specific problems about a specific tenant or a specific rooming house, we would be glad to try to track down what the difficulty might have been, but the coalition has been working very hard on the project and to describe it as a shambles is I think most unfair to its work.

Ms Poole: It is totally unbecoming of the Minister of Housing to imply that I am casting aspersions on the Rupert Hotel Coalition. I am not. They are a fine group and doing fine work. It is your government that has bungled.

Let me give you an example, Madam Minister. Let me give you the example of Mrs X. Mrs X was approached by the government representatives in November of last year and given a very hard sell to apply and to enter the program. After she agreed to participate and when the plans were well along, she was told she would have to eject two tenants from the basement because one of the criteria was that there could not be tenants living in basements. She was told this would be temporary because the program was fast-tracked and because the renovation money was

forthcoming and the program would be completed by March 31.

We are now into July and Mrs X's renovations haven't even started. To add insult to injury, she has been personally paying for those two basement tenants to live elsewhere while they are waiting for the renovations to be completed. Because she's on line for the ministry's renovation program, she is being constantly harassed by building inspectors for building, safety and health codes, but she can't satisfy the requirements until the ministry does the renovations.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Could the member place her supplementary, please.

Ms Poole: Mr Speaker, this is my question. This woman is just representative of many who are in this catch-22 situation through no fault of their own. Minister, the program has fallen apart. What are you going to do about it?

Hon Ms Gigantes: I categorically reject the prejudgment of this member that the program has fallen apart. In fact the program development is being done by the Rupert Hotel Coalition in cooperation with the city of Toronto. If she would provide the so-called names of so-called ministry officials who have so-called harassed a so-called Mrs X, perhaps we could try to sort out her so-called information.

1430

WOMEN IN ADVERTISING

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): My question is to the Minister of Tourism and Recreation. Mr Minister, I have a copy of a London Free Press article dated July 4. According to this article, your ministry has published an ad for a Dolly Parton look-alike contest. It's in Fenelon Falls and I'm sure you know about it. Given the fact that this government has appropriately condemned sexism in advertising, can you explain why this ad appears in a government publication that has been funded by the Ontario taxpayers?

Hon Peter North (Minister of Tourism and Recreation): I can tell you that we were made quite aware of this problem in the ministry publication. I would like to apologize, first of all, to the women of Ontario, if they are offended by this and, second, say we will do our best to make sure it doesn't happen in one of our publications again.

Mrs Cunningham: I think perhaps a lot of us have learned things in this House, and that is that no one political party has a monopoly on the good things for Ontario explicitly for itself. I can say right now that many of us are personally disappointed that this did in fact appear, especially given that this government and the Premier expelled or suspended or got rid of the member for Welland-Thorold for appearing as a Sunshine Boy in one of the local newspapers, and now we see in this advertisement—and I know I'm being particularly tough on the minister because I feel that way today—this is what this ad says, it promises "Ladies' full bathing suit, bikini and bum contest."

Minister, will you publicly, on top of what you've already done, condemn this kind of contest in the province

of Ontario and, second, assure this House—or reassure this House in case I didn't hear you correctly—that this kind of advertising will never take place in a government advertisement again?

Hon Mr North: If I'm correct in saying so, there are about 1,700 listings of events in this particular publication, and there are about 20 publications in the ministry, so you can see that there is every opportunity for a mistake to be made. What has happened in this particular publication is a mistake, and again I would like to be the first to admit that it is a mistake and we will do our best to ensure that it doesn't happen again.

GAMBLING

Mr Wayne Lessard (Windsor-Walkerville): My question is to the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. On April 30 the Treasurer announced in his budget that casino gambling was going to be coming to Ontario. This is an announcement that was met with a great deal of excitement and anticipation in the city of Windsor. I have in my hand some of the letters I've been receiving from the people in Windsor and area in support of this initiative, and I say "some of the letters" because I've got about 1,500 to 2,000 letters supporting this initiative. I also have a copy of a resolution from the city of Windsor council unanimously supporting this idea. I also have a very detailed business plan prepared by the city's casino convention centre committee that proposes a single-site, government-operated facility. I also have in my hand a letter from the mayor and the committee of the city of Windsor expressing some concern about the minister's remarks that it may take up to a year to have casinos up and running here in the province. My question to the minister is, what can she explain to us as the reason for this delay?

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): I guess it's debatable whether or not it's seen as a delay. No decisions whatsoever have been made on the timing of casinos. I said at that time that it could take up to a year, speculating, just in terms of the work that needs to be done to prepare, as we've never before in Ontario gotten into the casino business.

We'll be working with and consulting with interested communities and other stakeholders, organizations such as the horse racing industry and the charitable organizations, other municipalities which have interests other than Windsor—there are some others out there—and making sure we address the kinds of issues that have been fact brought up by people in this House and in communities: issues around ownership, who's going to run it; issues around regulatory and enforcement processes. Those kinds of things, some of which are very complex, we need to look at carefully. I think the consultation process we have to put in place—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Could the minister conclude her response, please.

Hon Ms Churley: —as we promised people, is quite important.

Mr Lessard: I can understand that a number of those issues are important and that there is a consultation process that might need to take place, but I'd like to know what

specific steps the minister may be taking to expedite this matter.

Hon Ms Churley: We have recently set up a special project team. It should be up and running, I hope, by the middle to end of July. That project team will specifically be addressing the kinds of issues I briefly mentioned today. I should be making an announcement some time in the near future, some time later on in July, about that project team and some further details about where we're heading from here.

The Speaker: New question, the member for Lawrence.

Mr Joseph Cordiano (Lawrence): My question, too, is for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Once again, this is a topic that's uppermost in people's minds. Your member from the Windsor area is obviously very interested in seeing casino gambling move forward. That city has stated its real desire to see casino gambling in the city of Windsor.

I want to ask the minister—as she's announcing today that she's going to make an announcement about what specific plans she is going to put in place for consultation—who she's talking to today and what studies she has undertaken with respect to the impact of casino gambling in the various communities that have been proposed.

I asked her that question several months ago when this plan was introduced and I still have, as of this date, not received an answer with respect to specific studies she has undertaken for the very real question of impact on the communities that will be affected by this. Does she have an answer for me today?

Hon Ms Churley: As I said in response to the previous question, we have the project team, which will be up and running very soon, and that team will be looking at and doing the consulting on a number of the issues you have raised. As I said, I will be making an announcement on that soon.

There have been a number of consultations, formal and informal, that have taken place over the past few months with various components of the horse racing industry and some charitable organizations and other interested people. There are a lot of interested people here. They will be consulted further, but the project team will take over that responsibility once it's up and running.

Mr Cordiano: Why all the secrecy around who's heading this up? Why not just be clear about where it's going and who's going to head this up and who are the people who are being consulted? We still haven't got those answers. The people of Ontario are very interested in this. They want to know in what direction you're headed, what plans you're putting in place. With the vagueness of this answer, one would almost come to the conclusion that this government has no intention of moving forward with this and that in fact it might have had a change of heart. It's not inconceivable that this government might change its mind on another substantive issue. Could that be possible, that this minister and this government is leading down a path it has no intention of pursuing? Is that really what's going to happen here? Or give us some details, come up with some names.

Hon Ms Churley: Cabinet, as I've said, has already approved the project team. There's no secret about the project team. It will be reporting to my ministry. There will be a number of other ministries represented on this project team. As I said in earlier announcements, we are going about this in a very controlled and careful way. That is the process we have undertaken. We will be very shortly making another announcement as to the consultation process that we will be setting up soon.

1440

LONG-TERM CARE

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): My question is to the Minister of Health. Minister, in your speech yesterday to the Senior Citizens' Consumer Alliance for Long-Term Care Reform, you reconfirmed the NDP preference for the not-for-profit sector in the future delivery of long-term care services in this province. You also admitted that you do not have the money to reform the long-term care system in a major way within the next three years.

I want to avoid a repeat of what is happening in the child care sector, where your government is bound and determined to get rid of private operators regardless of the cost to taxpayers. In fact, in my area of the province, when we hear the NDP use the term "not for profit," we grab on to our wallets and duck for cover.

Private home care agencies employ over 18,000 people, provide over nine million hours of care annually and cover 41% of homemaking services in Ontario. Minister, if you do not have the money to reform the long-term care system, why are you even contemplating eliminating the private sector from the delivery of home care services?

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): Yesterday, and I'd be pleased to do it again today—I'd like to confirm our government's preference for not-for-profit delivery of services in the area of human services, particularly in the area of health care and particularly as we see a shift from hospital and insured services that have always been covered under the principle of universality under the Canada Health Act to a different kind of delivery of services that aren't currently covered under the Canada Health Act. We would like to see those principles carried out into that sector.

Perhaps I could correct one thing the member said, or clarify, because he is technically correct in saying that I indicated we can't spend the money in three years. The question that was put to me was whether we could spend the five-year, multi-year budget, and speed it up and get to the \$647 million by a three-year time frame. I said I didn't think that was possible given the fiscal outlook.

I did, however, have a very direct exchange in a question and answer period with an individual who put a question much like the member of the third party's with respect to this issue in which he wanted to know what it meant in practical terms. In practical terms right now, let me say that I'm not about to take decisions that are going to destabilize the delivery of services within this area. I do, however, think it's very important that we look, as we're planning for expansion in the future, to see how we

support our preference for the not-for-profit delivery of service.

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): Minister, you say you're not prepared to make decisions that will destabilize the situation. If you read the Consumers' Report on Long-Term Care Reform, presented by the senior citizens' consumer alliance, which represents one million senior citizens in this province, this report clearly says that your government's decisions are leading to a destabilized situation for seniors and health care services in Ontario.

The decisions by you, your Treasurer and the Minister of Community and Social Services have resulted in cuts to chronic care beds in chronic care hospitals; cuts to chronic care beds in acute care hospitals; cuts to homes for the aged through the Minister of Community and Social Services; cuts to nursing home beds.

Madam Minister, all these seniors have to live somewhere, the frail and elderly have to go somewhere, and when you tell a group that you're not going to have the funds necessary to have a smooth, sensitive transition for these seniors, and when you say you're going to continue to show your preference for the non-profit sector, thereby eliminating a whole host of support services that are provided economically in the community and in the home, the question that seniors asked you yesterday that you don't wish to raise today is this: Why is it that with all the cuts that seniors have experienced in health care over the last couple of years in the name of long-term care reform, they now have to listen to you say, "Sorry, seniors, we won't have the funds to make sure you're not out on the street from these health care services" that they've been promised—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Will the member complete his supplementary.

Mr Jackson: —by your government and the previous government to the millions of seniors and citizens who need extended health care services in this province?

Hon Ms Lankin: I know the member is genuine in his concern for the plight of senior citizens, but let me tell you that he does a disservice to the senior citizens' consumer coalition itself and its report and to the kind of dialogue that is going on between government and consumers of these services with some of the absolutely inaccurate statements that he made in that question.

Let me say and clarify yet again that I did not say to anyone that we did not have the money—

Mr Jackson: That's crap. You're not reading the report. Why would you lie about that?

Hon Ms Lankin: Mr Speaker, I'm not sure exactly what I heard across the floor.

Mr Jackson: You said the report was a lie. I quoted from the report.

Hon Ms Lankin: I think he simply said—

The Speaker: Order. This House stands recessed until the call of the Chair. I ask all members if they would quietly and quickly leave the chamber.

The House recessed at 1445.

1504

The Speaker: Had the Minister of Health completed her response?

Hon Ms Lankin: I wanted to say to the member, before we took the short recess, that a couple of his statements and assertions were incorrect. I ask him to look at those carefully because I think the conclusions they lead him to are erroneous conclusions, but I can understand how he gets to point B from point A when he starts off at the wrong point A.

Let me be clear around the statement I made around the budget for long-term care. I did not say that there was not enough money to implement our plans for long-term care, that the \$647 million wasn't there. That's a multi-year budget that's planned to be spent and to get up to those additional new moneys in five years. What I said in answer to a question is that I didn't think we could speed it up and get it there in three years.

Also, with respect to the chronic care hospitals, we haven't made cuts to chronic care hospitals and we're currently working with the Council of Chronic Care Hospitals of Ontario around problems a couple of hospitals face with deficits that have led them to propose closures of beds, but that's an issue that is ongoing.

Let me say in general with respect to the report from the senior citizens' consumer alliance that I think it is just a dynamic, comprehensive piece of work, and the thing that excites me about it is that there are ideas in there that neither the third party nor the official opposition nor the government ever came up with when we looked at the issues of developing a program for delivery of long-term care. The reason is that we have moved very directly to involve consumers in leading the consultation on the report.

The Speaker: Could the minister complete her response, please.

Hon Ms Lankin: They have come forward with a tremendous, far-reaching set of recommendations and we're giving them serious consideration. I said from the beginning that the really important thing was getting the answer right and that our report went out there to provoke debate. It has done that and we're really anxious to work with people on solutions.

INVESTMENT FUND

Mr Brad Ward (Brantford): My question is to the Treasurer and it deals with the Ontario investment fund. Our government released a discussion paper on April 14, 1992.

Subsequent to the release of this discussion paper, Mr Treasurer, I've received some calls from members of OMERS, which is the Ontario municipal employees retirement system—not so much the board but the members themselves. Apparently they've received what I perceive to be some misinformation about the intent of the OIF, particularly as it pertains to the voluntary aspect of contributing to this fund. Could the Treasurer perhaps clarify for myself and for my constituents who are members of OMERS who have these concerns?

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): "OMARS" is where Bob Rae has his rice pudding.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): This is a tough act to follow, Mr Speaker.

The member for Brantford is quite right. There's been some concern about the Ontario investment fund from some folks out there, particularly from the OMERS people, and I regret that very much.

We announced the Ontario investment fund and I guess in our very first throne speech indicated that because there were gaps in investment, and in particular gaps in expertise out there for more creative investments in high value added, knowledge-based kinds of industries, there was a need for this kind of fund, and indeed other jurisdictions have these kinds of funds as well.

There are some members of OMERS who have the mistaken impression that there's something compulsory about this program. It is totally voluntary. If the unions, public sector unions and others—it's not just coming from public sector funds; others as well—want to make a contribution to the health and the growth of this economy in Ontario, we encourage them to do so, but there's absolutely nothing about it that is compulsory.

Mr Ward: I guess the opposition isn't used to my Brantford accent.

We are in a period of, I believe, consultation as far as the fund is concerned. When will the fund become a reality? Is there some type of timetable?

Hon Mr Laughren: At the present time, an advisory committee has been struck from various sectors out there, including the financial community, and they are working now, through this advisory committee, to develop an implementation program for the fund in order to determine what model it will be, exactly what will be the shape of that investment fund.

We hope their work will be completed in the next few months and that we can get on with the establishment of the fund, because it really is the case that while the OMERS board has been somewhat difficult in this regard, it's a wise investment not only for the surplus funds, but also for Ontario. It will bring us into the 20th century when it comes to the establishment of funds and putting money, in a very strategic way, into the kinds of industries where right now there is a lack of funds. That is generally acknowledged to be the case, so we hope to have it up and running as soon as the advisory committee has completed its work.

1510

AMBULANCE SERVICES

Mr Hugh P. O'Neil (Quinte): My question is to the Minister of Health. Minister, I raise a question today that is of real concern to the people of Quinte and other parts of the province. As you will see, the matter concerns ambulance services. Effective June 11, 1992, the Ministry of Health ambulance services branch has ordered that as a cost-saving measure, call-back crews not be called in on duty when the first ambulance leaves on an emergency call.

In our area these new conditions mean that an ambulance responding to a life-threatening emergency like a car accident or heart attack could take from 14 to 18 minutes, rather than the regular four to eight minutes, to respond. I believe this significant increase in response time could have grave consequences. Minister, might I have your comments and possible reconsideration on this matter.

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): I'd be pleased to take some time to talk with the member in greater detail about the concerns particular to his region and the decisions on how it's affecting service in that direct region.

We certainly are facing a number of difficult decisions with respect to the amount of money we have available in the ministry's budget this year and the amount we have transferred of the 1% to our private operator transfer payment agencies out there. The management decisions that have been made in all cases have looked at what the record has been in terms of utilization of backup crews that have been called in to be on call, how frequent it is and what impact they think this kind of change in the organization of service and on-call services will have. I would like to have an opportunity to review the details of what you bring forward and to speak to you specifically on that.

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): I want to echo the member for Quinte's serious concern with ambulance service in this province. In my riding of Algoma-Manitoulin, there's been a decrease in the availability of ambulance services. The ambulance services located on Manitoulin and Espanola have had to cut their service on weekends considerably because of your government's policy.

We've lost a total of 10 shifts in the area. This means a drop in the backup ability of these services and a substantial decrease in the transferability of the trauma and testing facilities at the regional referral centre in Sudbury. In Elliot Lake, physicians have expressed their concern about the ambulance service arrangements. In addition, the backup service to my constituents and the primary service to the people of Sudbury, the Sudbury ambulance service, is also being cut, affecting not only Sudburians but also my constituents in other outlying areas.

I raised this issue with the minister by way of letter in early June. The minister would know that the unions have also expressed a concern and are awaiting a positive response. Minister, I just ask that you assure my constituents, the people of Sudbury region and all northerners that their lives and wellbeing are not being put in danger by these service cuts.

Hon Ms Lankin: I can certainly assure the member that we will work, wherever we can, to try and make sure that we continue the quality of services. I can obviously say that I will be able to increase the amount of money we're transferring to the private operators out there. We have transferred 1% We have to manage within that 1% for those agencies out there that we've transferred it to.

You will know that an ambulance services consumer report had been commissioned to look at the delivery of emergency services in Ontario that is being consulted on right now. We will be receiving it back very shortly. I

believe there are a number of recommendations in terms of better organization of services, ending the duplication of administration and trying to put those dollars into direct delivery of service. I will try and move very quickly on positive recommendations that have community consent and support through the consultation period, because I understand the kinds of concerns you raise on behalf of your constituents.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR POLICY

Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville): To the Minister of Labour, Minister, on a number of occasions you have refused to tell Ontario farm families if the recommendations of the Task Force on Agricultural Labour Relations will indeed occur. When the report was released, the government announcements said nothing about adopting the number one recommendation of the labour task force on agriculture. This recommendation was made by both farmers and union representatives. Minister, please confirm that this recommendation will be adopted by the government for separate legislation for agriculture, if indeed you are listening.

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): I have been listening, and as I indicated before, I've had a number of talks with the farm community. We are still looking at what the final draft will be in terms of the recommendations the committee seems to have agreed upon.

Mr Villeneuve: I have difficulty with that, because the report's been available for quite some time. Agriculture is very concerned about being included in the Ontario Labour Relations Act. Recognizing that agricultural products by and large are perishable, we cannot compare them with any other matter such as steel, the car industry or whatever.

If lockouts and strikes are not going to occur, don't you think this does not fit in with the OLRA as you've set it up and that you should be turning it over to your colleague the Minister of Agriculture and Food so that it could be operated where people know what's happening within the agricultural industry?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: The member seems to forget that the report that was issued and the recommendations that were made were unanimous, both the union and the farm community. When you get a report that does the work they've done, you take a careful look at how it can be implemented, and that's exactly what we're doing.

NATIONAL HOUSING PROGRAM

Mr Will Ferguson (Kitchener): My question is to the Minister of Housing. Recently the minister met with her counterparts from across the country at a federal-provincial conference and I was wondering if the minister could report to the House on the outcome of those discussions.

I want to tell you that the residents of my community, as well as the communities of Guelph, Waterloo and Cambridge, recently got together in order to look at the whole question of the federal government's mean-spirited decision to get out of the federal housing program. In that the federal minister of housing was at the meeting with the Minister of Housing from Ontario and her provincial

counterparts, I'm wondering if they got anywhere with the federal minister of housing.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): We did have a meeting of federal, provincial and territorial ministers of housing on Monday last. It was, in my view, a very successful meeting in that I felt, as ministers from the territories and provinces, we had made clear to the federal minister the impact of the federal budget cuts and our very well based concerns about whether a national housing program would be continued in the future.

We found that in the Yukon this year, it will be impossible for that territory to continue to deliver housing through the national housing program because of the small size of its allocation. We found in the Northwest Territories, unless there's an answer by September, they won't know whether they can build units next year. Further, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland have indicated they will not be able to carry on with the national housing program next year if they don't get further allocations, all of which have been dampened and cut back by the federal budget.

I think the federal minister understood. On behalf of all ministers, I have written to the Prime Minister and to Mr Mazankowski, the federal Minister of Finance, to lay out our concerns and to indicate to them that we have asked the federal housing minister, Mr MacKay, to follow up on our concerns and make it clear to his cabinet colleagues that if we're to have a national housing program in Canada in the future, the federal government is going to have to make sure the resources are available.

MOTIONS

CONSIDERATION OF BILLS

Mr Cooke moves that standing order 85, respecting notice of committee hearings, be suspended for consideration of Bills Pr37, Pr38, Pr48, Pr53, Pr56 and Pr57 by the standing committee on regulations and private bills on Wednesday, July 8, 1992.

Motion agreed to.

1520

PETITIONS

INVESTMENT FUND

Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall): I have a petition signed by in excess of 265 people. It's addressed to the Parliament of Ontario and it says:

"Whereas the government of Ontario plans to set up an investment fund for the following pensions: OMERS, teachers' superannuation fund, Ontario Hydro, the public service superannuation fund, Ontario Hospital Association and Ontario colleges,

"The following members of OMERS are opposed to the proposed appropriation of pension funds by the government of Ontario."

I have also signed this petition.

LANDFILL SITES

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): I have 10,000 petitions but have been told to hand them in only 2,000 at

a time so that we have a chance for this House to realize that there are many people concerned.

"We, the undersigned, hereby call on the government of Ontario to discontinue the consideration of locating a waste disposal site in Markham M6, the 11th concession south of Locust Hill, and in all other areas that are located in the immediate vicinity of environmentally sensitive areas of York region."

I have 2,000 petitions. I just hope the government realizes that people are very concerned and upset and want it to do something about it.

TAXATION

Mr Mark Morrow (Wentworth East): I have a petition signed by 6,800 people to Premier Bob Rae and Treasurer Floyd Laughren.

"We, the Canadian taxpayers, are signing our names to this petition to protest the \$3.10 unjust governmental levy put on refundable beer cans. This is jeopardizing many jobs unnecessarily in the Canadian food and packaging industry. These jobs can and will become unemployment and welfare statistics. We will not stand by in an already unreliable economy and risk valuable jobs on an unnecessary tax.

"We, the people, urge the government to rectify this mistake and keep the jobs where they belong in Ontario."

LANDFILL SITES

Mr Charles Beer (York North): Rising out of today's demonstration, I have a petition signed by some 6,500 people from the township of East Gwillimbury. I should also note that the hat I have was presented at the same time. The petition reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly:

"Whereas the town of East Gwillimbury has traditionally been a mixture of agriculture and residential land, both areas would be drastically affected by a megadump. The town possesses a significant amount of land which has historically been and remains devoted primarily to agriculture; and

"Whereas the historical significance of our area is typified by Sharon Temple, its many patrons and the pastoral quality has considerable significance to this area; and

"Whereas the effects of a megadump on the water supply of this area would be catastrophic. The township of East Gwillimbury supplies water to the Newmarket and Aurora area,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the provincial government's proposal to take prime agricultural land with historical significance in East Gwillimbury to turn into Metro and York's megadump;

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew their efforts to seek and entertain alternatives to landfill."

I have signed this petition in support.

GAMBLING

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): Mr Speaker, I'm pleased to table a petition, signed by members of the official board of the Walton Memorial United Church in my riding of Oakville South, which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas there is much evidence to substantiate that everywhere casino gambling has been established it has generated undesirable side effects in the form of prostitution, theft, organized crime, illegal drugs and political corruption; and

"Whereas no amount of regulation or police enforcement seems to be able to control the growth of these deviant factors where such gambling exists; and

"Whereas history teaches us that gambling and games of chance erode moral character as they promote the notion that one should look to get a quick windfall or something for nothing, thus promoting a strong belief in fate and luck rather than in hard work and thrift; and

"Whereas most forms of gambling end up being a tax on those least able to pay; and

"Whereas gambling, particularly casino gambling, produces in many people a terrible addiction, every bit as potent as addiction to alcohol, and the principal victims of this addiction are often the families who become charges on the welfare system of the state; and

"Whereas any revenue benefit, necessarily a small part of the total Ontario budget after meeting the additional expenses of regulation, policing and welfare, would unlikely be sufficient to offset the social costs;

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to declare that it will not legalize casino gambling."

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex): I have a petition signed by 54 residents of Middlesex county. This petition was sponsored and circulated by the municipal councils of the county of Middlesex and has been signed by citizens from Glencoe, Strathroy, Kerwood and Granton. They petition the Legislature to set aside the Brant report and request that the annexation of lands in Middlesex by the city of London be reduced, that agricultural land be preserved and that the rural way of life that we treasure so in Middlesex be maintained. I have signed my name to this petition.

ONTARIO STUDENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland): I have a petition to the Legislature of Ontario:

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"The provincial government of Ontario proposes even further cuts to the Ontario student assistance program. As a group, we must stand up and voice our concern for this senseless act of neglect. We are fed up with the constant cutting of OSAP. Stop destroying our futures."

This petition is signed by 253 young people whose further education is in jeopardy because of the cuts to OSAP and the increase in university and college fees. I have signed this petition.

GAMBLING

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I have a petition signed by approximately 60 individuals, and it reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the abovementioned implementations,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a 'quick-fix' solution to its fiscal problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I have affixed my signature to it as well.

EDUCATION FUNDING

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): I have a petition to the Legislature of Ontario as well, and it reads:

"We, the ratepayers, parents, staff and students of the Metropolitan Separate School Board, are concerned about the way in which Catholic education is funded by the Ontario government in Metropolitan Toronto."

This was orchestrated by an event, a seminar at Don Bosco school. There were actually three communities that participated. I'm going to attach my signature to this as well, because I do think it's important.

COURT RULING

Mrs Barbara Sullivan (Halton Centre): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned residents of Ontario, in support of the mother of Debra Pauline Williams Ellul, draw to the attention of the House the following:

"That the right to appeal the decision made in Debra Williams Ellul murder acquitting Guy Ellul of all charges be granted based on the fact that the decision not to allow the appeal does not accurately reflect the public's abhorrence and unacceptability of the outcome of this trial."

The petition is signed by residents of Hamilton, Oakville, Burlington, Stoney Creek, Annan and Orono, and I've attached my signature.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): My petition is from Paris, Streetsville, Windsor and Brampton. I hope I pronounce this right. I don't have a Brampton accent.

"Whereas independent and non-partisan economic studies have concluded that the proposed changes to the Ontario labour legislation will increase job losses; and

"Whereas they will cause a decline in investment in Ontario; and

"Whereas they will seriously undermine the recovery and the maintenance of a sound economic environment in the province,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government of Ontario declare a moratorium on any proposed changes to the labour legislation in the best interests of the people of Ontario."

These were collected without any assistance from Jack Layton in the Ministry of Health, and I'll affix my signature there as follows.

FRUIT GROWERS

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): I have two petitions, one from the Jordan Station United Church and the other from the Lundy's Lane United Church, both of which say the following:

"Whereas the Ontario tender-fruit growers are facing financial crisis;

"Therefore, we, the members of the Niagara presbytery of the United Church of Canada, petition the Ontario government to act immediately to find a solution to the economic viability of tender-fruit farms.

"Whereas the Ontario tender-fruit growers are facing financial crisis; and

"Whereas the Ontario government is undertaking an agricultural land protection program,

"Therefore, we, the members of the said churches, oppose restrictions on the tender-fruit land until economic viability of the tender-fruit growers is restored."

1530

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr John C. Cleary (Cornwall): I have a petition presented to me by the Cornwall and District Labour Council, which reads:

"We, the undersigned, voters of the Cornwall area, support the proposed amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act."

STUDENT SAFETY

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I have a petition signed by about 300 people. It reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Matthew Morten died tragically at his residence at York University as a result of a severed brachial artery caused by a shard of glass;

"Whereas the glass which caused Matthew's death broke free from the door of his residence and was not safety glass;

"Whereas the regional coroner from Metropolitan Toronto has refused the family's request for an inquest and has indicated that it was economically unsound to make universities replace non-safety glass, although a recommendation has been sent to universities by the coroner asking only that they consider replacing such glass;

"Whereas there are other issues which should also be addressed, including the late response of the ambulance because it became lost on campus and the inability of the attendants to carry Matthew out on a stretcher due to the narrowness of the stairs;

"Whereas ignoring the abovementioned circumstances may lead to another death or serious injury,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That an inquest into the death of Matthew Morten be ordered immediately to ensure that the safety of other Ontario students is safeguarded."

I have affixed my signature thereto.

RETAIL STORE HOURS

Mr Dalton McGuinty (Ottawa South): I have a petition signed by some 100 people of Ottawa-Carleton. It reads as follows:

"I, as a resident of Ottawa, wish to make known my views on the approach of the government to Sunday shopping. I am against the government's position of introducing Sunday shopping, as it interferes with the development of family life in Ontario and deprives employees of a common day of rest."

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a petition to the Legislature of Ontario signed by 120 residents of Middlesex county.

"That the Legislature reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

I have affixed my signature.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): My petition is to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rules changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

This is signed by residents of the province of Ontario. I have affixed my signature to this in agreement with it.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): "To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rules changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules and procedures in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

This has been signed by constituents in my riding in Etobicoke and I will affix my name to that as well.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The time allotted for the presentation of petitions has expired.

NOTICE OF DISSATISFACTION

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Pursuant to standing order 33, the member for Oakville South has given notice of his dissatisfaction with the answer to his question given by the Minister of Labour concerning impact studies on job losses. This matter will be debated today at 6 pm.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

LABOUR RELATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT STATUTE
LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS
EN CE QUI A TRAIT AUX RELATIONS DE TRAVAIL
ET À L'EMPLOI

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 40, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Collective Bargaining and Employment / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui a trait à la négociation collective et à l'emploi.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for Waterloo North has the floor.

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): Yesterday we began our debate of Bill 40, and we had an opportunity to hear from the Minister of Labour as well as from the Labour critic for the official opposition. Last night I had the opportunity to reflect on the comments that had been

made by the minister yesterday and to reflect on the objectives he spoke about, some of the objectives he was hoping could be accomplished by passing these reforms; objectives, by the way, that I believe everyone in the province would agree with.

The minister talked about the need for consultation. He talked about the need for labour peace. We all agree that those are needs that need to be recognized and achieved. Indeed, I have received hundreds of letters, faxes, phone calls, and in personal conversation, and these are needs people wish to see achieved.

Then the minister went on to say that he had participated in an unprecedented public and private consultation process, that he had talked to many people, that the ministry had listened to many people. Yes, there may have been unprecedented consultation both public and private, but it was not real consultation. Why not? Every participant was being forced to respond to the original union-driven agenda, and the bill we have today, Bill 40, contains only union proposals. There is not one proposal from management. Why go through the charade of consultation if you are not going to incorporate the views of all the participants?

The minister spoke about the need for more cooperation and participation between labour and business. I think we need to clarify something at this point. When we talk about labour, we need to make sure that we are talking about all men and women in this province, not only those who are unionized, because only about 35% of the workforce is unionized. Yes, we do need cooperation and we do need participation between labour and business if we're going to herald in a new era of prosperity, and we do need to build partnerships. We agree with the minister's objectives.

However, why did the process the minister embarked on not allow for that cooperation and for that building of partnerships? That is going to be much more difficult today because this legislation destroys the delicate balance of power and tilts it in favour of unions.

The minister spoke yesterday about the need to preserve basic human rights and freedoms. Again, we all agree with that. There is nothing more precious than our basic human rights and our freedoms. However, I want to tell you that there are many people in this province who fear that this legislation will reduce individual human rights and freedoms in favour of trade union rights.

1540

The minister spoke about the need to reduce industrial conflict and he told us that the replacement worker measure he was introducing, which was similar to Quebec's, had contributed to industrial peace in Quebec. We know that this is simply not true. As I pointed out yesterday, Quebec has lost nearly one million more days through strikes than Ontario despite the fact that it has a substantially lower population base and a smaller workforce. Since 1978, Quebec has suffered 20% more strikes than Ontario. Surely we do not want to emulate the Quebec record, as it certainly does not contribute to industrial peace.

The minister spoke about the tremendous changes that were made to the consultation document. Again we all agree that those changes were needed, but in reality, if we take a look at Bill 40 we know the agenda was only tinkered with.

There was no substantive change made; there was no new amendment added from the other participants.

The minister spoke about the need to usher in the new era of peace and non-confrontation. Again we all agree. However, if those are indeed the objectives of this government and this minister, why did the government not bring labour and management together from the outset to review Ontario's labour relations system and make recommendations for constructive changes that would have addressed all the issues instead of concentrating only on the Ontario Labour Relations Act, because the OLRA deals only with unionization. It deals only with the 35% of workers who are unionized; it completely ignores the rest. Why were the concerns of the rest of workers, the non-unionized workers, not addressed?

People have spoken to me, and I know they've spoken to you, and they're asking for workplace changes. But they're not asking for unionization; they're asking for the enforcement of the Employment Standards Act. You've talked about the women who are in the workforce and you've talked about the minorities. Well, I've met with some of those groups, I've met with some of those very poorly paid individuals who work hard in the city of Toronto, and what they wanted was the enforcement of the Employment Standards Act. It wasn't unionization. Why are the concerns of these individuals not being addressed? Why are you focusing only on the unionized worker?

Even Steven Langdon, the NDP's industry critic at the federal government level in the Financial Post of July 6, 1992—this is what it says: "Even Langdon admits that his provincial counterparts mishandled labour reform by not including the concerns of Ontario business." This is what he says: "One of the things you want to do is make sure you don't come in and say 'We've got all the answers.'"

That's what this government tried to do. It came in and pretended it had all the answers. We're still dealing with the original 30-point wish list that was introduced by the minister. There is not one other agenda item that has been contributed by anyone else other than the union movement.

If this government had brought labour and management together from the outset rather than pitting one side against the other, and had built a cooperative model of labour relations through consensus building, there would not be the economic uncertainty in the province today that is contributing to lost investment and jobs, and there wouldn't be the feeling of frustration among people that the government isn't listening to anyone but union leaders.

If the government had done this, then people could have believed. If you had really listened and if you had brought people together in a true consultation process, then people in this province would have believed you were sincere about the objectives you spoke about yesterday.

Regrettably, there has been little evidence of cooperation, consultation or consensus-building on this issue. At a time when it is more important than ever that workers and management set aside their differences and work together to compete in the global economy, this government, by its action in the area of labour law reform, has created a crisis on the labour front where none existed. It's going to take years to mend the fences, and it was totally unnecessary.

Do you wonder why people are upset? Do you wonder why the three coalition groups, Project Economic Growth, the All Business Coalition and the More Jobs Coalition, were formed? Do you wonder why business leaves the province and does not expand and why no new investment comes in? It's because of the process this government used.

The minister rushed through the report of the Burkett committee in the spring of 1991 and wholeheartedly approved of the radical proposals submitted by the union representatives, saying—and I quote—they would “level the playing field.” He totally ignored the recommendations of the management representatives. Nowhere in the government process did the government allow for consensus-building on this issue, even though the three coalition groups have been asking for tripartite discussions between government, labour and management since November 1991.

This government wonders why people are upset? Bill 40 contains the most radical pro-union set of labour reforms ever proposed in a single package in any jurisdiction in Canada and tilts the balance of power in favour of unions, yet this government has never been able to demonstrate a need for this legislation.

I can understand the government's desire to see some changes made to our labour laws, but in something as sensitive as labour relations it is important that you get it right the first time: to cooperate, to consult and to build consensus, and not the adversarial atmosphere and the polarization the government has created in this province today.

A task force of government, labour and management should have been set up to study the current situation and make recommendations for change through consensus. Indeed, the funny thing is that the Ontario Ministry of Labour has used that model. They have used the cooperative model of labour relations to study the grievance arbitration process. In that case they had a representative of labour, a representative of management and an arbitrator.

The Swan committee worked by consensus and only made recommendations that were supported by all three members. This committee's report provides evidence that a win-win result is possible when people are committed to working together to find mutually beneficial solutions to existing problems. Why was that not used in labour relations reforms?

If we're going to enhance labour-management cooperation in the province, as the minister desires and as we all desire, and if we're going to make our province more competitive on a global scale, this government must not favour one side and use the one-sided agenda; it must build a cooperative model of labour relations through a cooperative consensus-building model of policy development. Unfortunately, that was not done. That's why people in this province are so concerned about the impact of labour law reform.

1550

I'd like to turn my attention now to focus on some of the specific changes within Bill 40. As I said before, we already have the most comprehensive labour legislation in North America. The changes in Bill 40 have been cherry-picked from jurisdictions throughout North America and Europe. Furthermore, there is absolutely no evidence

whatsoever to suggest that the reforms will improve cooperation between labour and management. In fact, because of the environment that's been created, we wonder how long it's going to take before we see the cooperation we had before.

The purpose of Bill 40 first and foremost is to facilitate the widespread unionization of Ontario workers and give more power to unions and union leaders. The bill provides absolutely no changes for employees who are opposed to being unionized. Indeed, many people in this province agree and are afraid that the changes will eventually take away the rights, the freedoms, of workers. The cards are going to be stacked against the 65% of Ontario workers who today, for many valid reasons, do not belong to a union and have no desire to join one. Bill 40 is going to reduce individual employee rights in favour of trade union rights, and that is the area that is of greatest concern to me.

The minister talked about the need to enhance basic human rights and freedoms. Unfortunately the legislation we have before us is not going to allow that to happen, and I will expand on that further in a few minutes.

Let's take a look at the changes. I'd like to start with the replacement worker proposal. These reforms concerning the replacement worker will make life interesting if there is a strike situation. Up until now, an employer in this province had certain options if his workers refused to accept his offer and went on strike. He could bring in management people from other stores or other plants and he could continue to operate. That will be prohibited under Bill 40. In the past, during prolonged strikes and extreme situations an employer could bring in new workers to keep the plant going. No way: Under the new replacement worker proposal, even if some of the unionized workers want to cross the picket line and continue to work during a strike, this will not be allowed by law.

By limiting an employer's ability to operate during a strike and servicing its customers, you take away—and this is what is so important—the ability to keep jobs in Ontario, because many key sectors, such as the automotive industry, have asked the government to consider the economic impact of putting critical supply at risk in a just-in-time manufacturing environment. Already because of these proposals some automotive parts manufacturers are experiencing discrimination because US buyers fear supply interruptions if Bill 40 is passed.

If you care about the ability to keep jobs in Ontario, I would suggest that you make some changes to the replacement worker section, because the replacement worker section is going to do the same thing in Ontario as it did in Quebec. What did it do in Quebec? Three things: It forced Quebec business to construct other plants in Ontario or south of the border to fulfil contractual obligations, it forced companies to move, or it forced them to close because of a strike they could not win.

How can management have any hope of reaching a reasonable solution when a strike effectively puts them out of business? How long can they stay in business with this kind of threat? How long will the workers in this province have jobs if companies close down? In today's

tough economic times these provisions, which will contribute to further job loss and investment, are simply unacceptable.

Let's take a further look at the replacement worker section. As I said before, it's going to prohibit an employer from using not only managerial and supervisory personnel who are not employed at the struck location, but also any person hired or engaged between the day of notice to commence bargaining is given and the end of the strike or lockout as well as the striking or locked-out employees. They will no longer voluntarily be able to return to work, even if they choose, until the union decides to end the work stoppage. The only people who can work are the managers, the supervisors and the non-bargaining-unit employees at the struck location. However, they also have the right to refuse to do struck work.

Although the union could not invoke the restrictions on the use of replacement workers unless it has received a mandate to strike from 60% of those participating in a secret ballot vote, most strike votes are in excess of 60%. Even though the bill does exempt two categories of essential services from the replacement worker provision, employers who provide essential services will be required to notify the union of their intention to use replacement workers, and disputes will be settled by the OLRB on an expedited basis. Any dispute over replacements will be heard by a single vice-chair of the board. The burden of proving that an employer has not acted contrary to the section lies with the employer. What a shift in the balance of power to unions and the Ontario Labour Relations Board and away from employers. The balance has been tilted.

The consequences of this proposal to ban replacement workers are numerous, but I'd like to mention just a few. It will definitely tilt the economic balance of power in favour of unions. It's going to impede the operation of an employer. It's going to prevent the employer from operating his plant and filling customer orders. In essence, the strike's going to become an economic blockade. As well, if the auto parts manufacturers cannot meet their just-in-time delivery commitments, the Big Three auto makers may be forced to source their parts from the United States.

Since employees cannot cross a picket line to return to work even if they do not agree with their union representatives, it could create economic hardship. What about the single parent struggling to raise her or his family who wants to return to work, who doesn't agree with the union leadership? That person no longer has the right to work. This is a significant intrusion into employee freedom. This is an intrusion into basic human rights and freedoms. These individuals are going to be deprived of their right to work.

The NDP tells us that this replacement worker ban is going to reduce picket line violence. However, it may actually increase violence because of the right to refuse to do struck work. Strikers' anger is going to intensify since they know that the employees working during a strike or lockout could have said no.

Again, I'd like to refer to the Quebec impact of this reform—because the government is so fond of quoting Quebec—and remind us again that Quebec has had more strikes or lockouts than Ontario in 12 of the 14 years since Quebec's anti-scab law was implemented in 1978. And

let's remember: Quebec has fewer people and a smaller economy. Ontario has had fewer strikes due to a balance between the employee's right to go on strike and the employer's right to continue operation during a strike. The number of days lost to strikes in Quebec is much larger.

Based on Quebec's experience with the replacement worker ban, it is anticipated, if Bill 40 is introduced in this province, that the number of days lost due to strike or lockout in this province is going to increase. Is that what we want, a loss of productivity?

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): Mr Speaker, I don't believe a quorum is present.

The Acting Speaker ordered the bells rung.

1602

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): A quorum is now present.

Mrs Witmer: I'd like to turn now to the changes in the certification process. Bill 40 is going to eliminate the post-application petitions. Membership support will be determined strictly at the date of application based on membership cards that are submitted by the union. No other Canadian jurisdiction prohibits the admission of petitions as evidence that an employee has changed his or her mind about his or her support for a trade union.

The bill is going to reduce the level of support required to trigger a representation vote from 45% to 40%. The bill will also eliminate the requirement to collect a \$1 union membership fee. Now, once you sign a union card, bingo, you will be in a union. There will be no secret ballot, no cooling-off period.

As well, and this is something that needs to be given serious consideration, under section 8 of the act the board now has discretion to grant automatic certification to a union where the employer has contravened the act, if the illegal acts are serious enough that the true wishes of the employees are not likely to be ascertained and if the union satisfies the board that it has adequate support for collective bargaining.

Bill 40 is going to eliminate the adequate membership support provision. The Ontario Labour Relations Board will have the power to certify a union in order to remedy an unfair labour practice where the employer's conduct is such that the true wishes of the employees cannot be ascertained. The unfair labour practice section will apply to individuals acting on the employer's behalf. No other Canadian jurisdiction has this provision.

What are the consequences of the changes in the certification process? Combined, these changes will shift the certification process from an emphasis on determining what the true wishes of the employees are to an emphasis on facilitating union certification.

At the present time in this province, consumers are protected from high-pressure, door-to-door salesmen by a three-day waiting period, yet an employee who signs a union card will not have that same option of a three-day cooling-off period or a sober second thought. If this law is passed as intended, Ontario citizens will have more freedom and rights in buying a vacuum cleaner than an employee

deciding whether he or she wants to belong to a union. Oft-times employees are not even aware of a union organizing drive until after the union has made an application to the board for certification.

The elimination now of post-application petitions will prevent these employees from having any voice on the issue of certification. This is enhancing employee participation? I would say not. This proposal virtually eliminates the opportunity for any constructive debate about union membership among the employee group, and the \$1 union card fee that was used before, now eliminated, was designed to get employees thinking about the implications of their decision to join a union. It's important that employees make an informed choice. It's even more important now because the elimination is going to take the place of the petition.

Another consequence of the changes in the certification process occurs if an employer or a representative of the employer commits an unfair labour practice by mistake or out of ignorance of the provisions of the act; the union will be automatically certified. The board, which must facilitate collective bargaining as the new purpose clause sets out, will not even have to determine if the union has adequate membership support. This is going to be particularly onerous on small businesses as they do not have in-house legal expertise to assist them in avoiding an unintentional, unfair labour practice. The elimination of the membership support requirements makes it more likely that employees will be forced to join unions even if a majority are not in favour. This new certification process makes unionization easier and removes the right to change your mind after you've signed the union card.

The changes in the certification process, as you can see, are going to alter the current balance in legislation, which presently also protects the employee's right to remain or become non-union. Therefore, it is undermining his or her freedom of choice. These changes fail to recognize today's workplace realities, including the desire of employees for greater participation in decision-making and a commitment to quality customer service.

Why are all employees not being given an opportunity to participate in the decision-making of joining a union? These changes in the certification process give unions new rights without any accompanying responsibility. It leaves their duties, their role, their responsibilities totally unquestioned and untouched. Although an employee's right to join a union is a fundamental workplace right, equally important is the principle to make that decision freely and with complete and full information.

The decision to join a union is not a decision for the employer or the union; it is the employee's choice. Employees are entitled to know the significance of signing a union card. They are entitled to know whether they can change their minds. They are entitled to know what it means to be a member of a union and what they can expect from collective bargaining. Unfortunately the Bill 40 amendments to the certification procedure will severely limit the opportunity for information, reflection and a change of mind.

At a time when critical decisions are being made, the union organizer will be the only source of information. The most certain way to ensure fairness in this process is a secret ballot vote, the basic democratic decision-making procedure. Those who oppose a vote in a certification procedure argue that it's open to employer coercion. However, union organizing tactics that take place in secrecy hold the same prospect for abuse.

1610

The challenge that we in this Legislature need to adopt is to develop an open procedure that lets employees exercise their basic democratic rights without improper interference by either party, employer or union. Presently, Bill 40 fails the test of fairness and balance. Therefore, in order to achieve some balance and fairness, I introduced a private member's bill to allow for secret ballot votes for certification, ratification of contracts and the decision to go on strike.

I'd like to tell this House again why I introduced that bill. I am concerned about all workers in this province, all 100%. I strongly believe that if we are to have the fairness and equality the Minister of Labour has indicated he desires, all workers in this province should have the right to a free and democratic vote. Workers should have the right to decide for themselves, free of any interference or intimidation from any source, whether to have a union represent them, to accept a contract or to go on strike. Obviously a secret ballot vote is the only fair way of allowing workers to do so.

It's interesting. When I asked the minister last month about the possibility of a secret ballot vote, he responded by saying that no one had approached him to request a secret ballot vote. I pointed out to him at that time that throughout the public consultation process that he talks about he received a large number of submissions from groups and individuals that called for a secret ballot vote.

At this time I'd like to read some of the comments from individuals who have asked for a secret ballot vote.

I'd like to quote first from an employee in Guelph. He writes to the Premier, "Your government still has an opportunity to make the OLRA a truly enlightened piece of legislation, legislation that advances the interests of working people, legislation that will make the workplace more open, responsive and democratic." He goes on to say, "Until the right of a worker to join a union is absolutely uninterfered with, we will not have a democracy."

He goes on:

"I have been manipulated by unions and businesses alike during 20 working years. I never believed I had all the facts on the rare occasions I was allowed to cast a vote. If you truly want meaningful dialogue and workers to exert control over their own destinies, give them the right to a secret ballot vote whenever possible. By making this a mandatory provision, you will force businesses and unions alike to ensure that the workers receive all of the information necessary to make an informed decision. This provision will advance the interests of working people to make the workplace more open, responsive and democratic, and it will eliminate threats to these worthy goals.

"I am concerned, however, that this government is pandering to a union constituency to the detriment of everyone

else. A worker will no longer be able to change his mind about joining a union. A worker will not necessarily have a chance to vote on becoming unionized. This legislation will only benefit unions, not workers.

"Please don't let that happen. Please demonstrate your belief in the ability of Ontario's working people to make rational decisions when provided with complete, factual information."

That's from a worker in Guelph. I received many other letters from individuals expressing the same desire to have confidence in the ability of working people in this province to make rational decisions when provided with factual, complete information. I know the minister received a copy of that letter, because I see he's been cc-ed.

As I said, the minister indicated he'd never heard about the secret ballot vote. I can tell him that the Ontario Public School Boards' Association has indicated, "We would suggest the only way to guarantee that the true wishes of employees regarding union certification will be determined is to have a secret ballot vote."

The Burkett report says, "In our view, the widespread adoption of a speedy government-supervised representation vote in all cases would go a long way to address a number of the issues raised by the ministry."

The Canadian Federation of Independent Business says: "The only amendment required to the Ontario Labour Relations Act is to provide for a supervised secret ballot vote for union certification. This single amendment will fully implement the throne speech commitment to ensure that unions are the freely chosen representatives of employees."

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association says: "If the government really wanted to allow for full and free expression as to whether the employees wanted to join a union, it would hold a secret ballot vote. Allow employees to make an informed choice."

I could go on and on. Time does not allow me to read any more letters from individuals or groups. The question I ask is, why will this government not allow employees to make an informed choice and give them all the facts? When you talk about basic human rights and freedoms, why are you denying them the right to the secret ballot vote? I hope I will get the answer and I hope the workers in this province will get the answer too, because they're asking to be involved in the decision-making. They're being asked to join a union and before they do they want all the facts.

Going on with the changes in the law: third-party property. Bill 40 is going to allow the organization of picketing on property belonging to a third party. This includes such things as industrial malls and shopping malls. It's only going to be allowed at the entrances and exits of the actual workplaces, and the union activity could be restricted by the Ontario Labour Relations Board if it causes a disruption.

However, no other Canadian jurisdiction has this third-party property provision. The Trespass to Property Act makes it an offence to be on the property of another without the owner's permission or to fail to leave the property when directed to do so by the owner or his or her agent. What is so frightening is that Bill 40 totally overrides the

Trespass to Property Act. Bill 40 violates the rights of property owners and innocent consumers.

Businesses that share retail space but are not party to the labour dispute will have their businesses negatively affected. Under this provision, a union would be able to organize a subcontractor within a department store, such as a cosmetic counter within Eaton's, and it could disrupt customer shopping throughout the store.

This government must reconsider this change in access to third-party property and remember that the right of free access to property by owners and members of the public is a fundamental right. It must not sacrifice that fundamental right in an attempt to make unionization easier.

Let's look next at the consolidation of bargaining units. For decades, the Ontario Labour Relations Board has used the concept of appropriateness in determining a bargaining unit. Appropriateness includes considering the common interests of workers, their wishes, as well as the operation design of the employer's business.

1620

Bill 40 gives a trade union the opportunity to combine newly certified or existing bargaining units for the purpose of conducting collective bargaining. This criterion moves away from what is appropriate for employers and employees to what is most convenient for union leaders to organize. The end result may be bargaining structures that compromise the operation of the business and fail to take into account—and this is what is so critical—the wishes of the employees in each individual bargaining unit.

In today's workplace, an employee may or may not wish to be locked into a larger bargaining unit where power over collective action is going to rest with employees at other locations. Furthermore, it's going to greatly limit the ability of employers to keep their businesses running, because a minor dispute at any one facility could jeopardize the operation of the total business, since it's going to make it impossible to move work to another location to prevent interruption of supply to customers, even though the movement of work is going to be allowed under Bill 40. Again I say this reform is going to limit the ability of employers to keep their businesses running.

What are some of the other consequences of the consolidation of bargaining units? It's going to have an impact on the sectors of the economy where unions have failed to penetrate. This includes the retail, financial and insurance areas and other areas of the service sector where small establishments predominate. It's going to enhance union power.

If bargaining units are limited to an employer's operation in one geographic location, the union's bargaining strength is limited. However, if Bill 40 allows unions to organize at the branch or store level but bargain at the head office level after consolidation, there is going to be more power to unions and less for the individual.

Consolidation is going to make it easier for union organizers. Union convenience is going to take precedence over the most appropriate bargaining structure for the employer and the employees. The only communication between the bargaining units will be through the union and its agents. Individual employees are going to be denied

access to information. Anything they receive is going to be through the union and its agents. This consolidation of bargaining units is going to mean that local autonomy is going to be lost and that individual employees are going to lose control over their destinies—all this for the sake of enhancing union power.

Let's take a look at the full-time and the part-time unit proposal. This is going to allow people to be put into one single bargaining unit. No other Canadian jurisdiction has this provision. This amendment puts the interests of the trade unions ahead of individual employees. It would allow a union to request the merging of groups without the need to obtain majority support from both full- and part-time workers. The appropriate bargaining structure will be decided by the union, not the employees. Separate unions might be the preferred choice of the employees. The board has traditionally treated full- and part-time units separately because they do not share a community of interests, and that is now about to change.

Let's take a look at contract arbitration first. This change reduces the efforts by both parties to do their best to reach an agreement which would balance both their interests. Currently the act requires both parties to bargain in good faith, and only where the board finds that the process has been unsuccessful does the board direct that the dispute be settled by arbitration.

Bill 40 removes the existing criteria for access to first-contract arbitration. Now under Bill 40, on application by either the union or employer, access to first-contract arbitration will be automatic 30 days after the legal strike lock-out date. These cases will be settled by private arbitration rather than by the board. If first-contract arbitration is initiated, employees will terminate a strike and employers will reinstate the employees. No other Canadian jurisdiction has this provision.

What are the consequences of this change in first-contract arbitration? Arbitration is no longer reserved for exceptional cases where bad faith has resulted in a failure of the bargaining process. Arbitration will be available in every contract dispute once the 30 days have passed. This amendment will facilitate union organization by allowing unions to promise that employees will not have to go on strike to reach a first contract, and if you have a union that's weak and vulnerable, it can simply wait 30 days and it can have the dispute arbitrated.

This is going to take away the obligation from labour and from management to resolve difficult negotiating issues. It's going to turn over that responsibility that properly belongs to both parties, and it's going to allow for cooperation and partnership to be turned over, to a third party. This is going to be detrimental to the collective bargaining process and it's going to work against the goal of greater labour-management cooperation, a goal the minister said he was striving for, a goal people in this province want.

The other thing this first collective agreement does is to set the framework for all future collective bargaining. Once arbitration is instituted, the employer will have no say in the terms of the first collective agreement, and do you know what? Terms may be decided without any regard

to the real cost of an employer's business or the competitive environment in which he operates.

This amendment significantly impacts free collective bargaining in order to rescue unions from situations where they have either inadequate support or inadequate ability to achieve their bargaining demands, even if there is no evidence of support for the union. This first-contract arbitration does nothing more than facilitate unionization, since it almost guarantees that there will not be a strike or that it will be short.

Let's turn now to the purpose clause. The purpose clause is an addition to the existing preamble to the act. The purpose clause, instead of acting as a guide to the board in the interpretation of the act, will define the Ontario Labour Relations Board's mandate or give the board its marching orders.

The purpose clause will have the following components. It's going to ensure that workers can freely organize by facilitating the right to join unions. However, what it's also going to do is encourage the process of collective bargaining so as to enhance the ability to negotiate to improve terms and conditions of employment, the extension of cooperative approaches between employers and unions in adapting to change and increased employee participation in the workplace.

This section speaks for the first time to the results of collective bargaining, not just to the establishment of ground rules. Again this purpose clause makes unionization easier, it promotes the interests of unions, and again no other Canadian jurisdiction has this provision.

Of particular concern is the fact that board decisions will be tipped towards unions, as it is now being directed to facilitate collective bargaining and encourage the process of collective bargaining for the purpose of improving their terms and conditions of employment. It may force the board to rule against employers who take hard bargaining positions and make it more difficult for the board to recognize the occasional necessity of concession bargaining.

This ultimately could contribute to job loss. The purpose clause gives the OLRB input into many business issues that were not previously possible. The board is going to now play a much more active role in future labour relations issues and, as a result, the composition of the board is going to become very important.

Let's turn now to the Ontario Labour Relations Board. Bill 40 is going to introduce sweeping new powers for the board. These new powers are going to include the authority to settle one or more terms of a collective agreement where the existing duty to bargain in good faith has been violated and the board considers other remedies insufficient to counter the violation.

It gives the board the authority to grant automatic certification where the act has been contravened during an organizing campaign, without requiring, as I said before, any evidence of adequate membership support. Even if there is no evidence that all the employees want to join a union, certification is automatically going to take place.

1630

The board is going to have the authority to grant such interim relief as it considers appropriate without a full oral

hearing. It's also going to have the authority to consolidate bargaining units in separate geographic locations and to combine full- and part-time employees into a single bargaining unit, but it no longer has to consider common interests.

It has the authority to rule on essential services for the replacement worker provisions, and in order to protect union organizers, at the request of a union the requirement to hold expedited hearings regarding any complaint of employee discipline or discharge during an organizing drive.

What are some of the consequences of extending these sweeping new discretionary powers to the Ontario Labour Relations Board? It's going to transform the board from an impartial judicial body into an advocate for labour. These new powers are going to be guided by the pro-union purpose clause. The union will be able to influence the government as to the appointment of board members. The board will have the power to impose a settlement on contract clauses rather than ruling on the narrower issue of whether bargaining was in bad faith.

The board currently attempts to establish collective bargaining structures that balance an employee's right to unionize with an employer's business environment. This results presently in more productive collective bargaining over time, or it also results at the present time in the partnership that the NDP government states is its primary objective. However, with Bill 40, the hope for that partnership continues to fade as the parties that have a stake in the issues are removed and power is given to a third party. I believe that workplace partners should solve their own problems whenever possible.

If we take a look at arbitration, Bill 40 is going to empower an arbitrator to determine all questions of fact or law that arise, to enforce a written settlement of a grievance, and to fix the dates for the commencement or the continuation of hearings without the consent of parties. Bill 40 also establishes a new consensual mediation process. No other Canadian jurisdiction gives arbitrators the power to determine all questions of fact and law. No other Canadian jurisdiction gives arbitrators the power to enforce written settlements and the authority to make orders and directions. Bill 40 gives our arbitrators sweeping new powers.

Let's turn now to contract services. The successorship services of section 63 have been found not to apply to circumstances in which work is contracted into the workplace or is subsequently transferred to another employee in a tendering process. Any existing bargaining rights in collective agreements are eliminated when the work is transferred.

However, Bill 40 amends both the Labour Relations Act and the Employment Standards Act to provide successor rights for contract tendering similar to those that apply to the sale of a business: "If the predecessor employer is bound by a collective agreement, the successor employer is bound by it." This applies "with respect to services provided directly or indirectly by or to a building owner or manager that are related to servicing the premises, including building cleaning services, food services and security services."

If a successor employer replaces a previous employer who is providing services at the premises, the successor employer shall make reasonable offers of available positions to the employees.

The consequences of these amendments to provide successor rights for contract tendering will eliminate the competitive value inherent in the tendering process. A new contractor will not be able to offer a business a lower price for the service, as it will be bound by the wage levels of the existing collective agreement. Also, if the previous contractor was replaced because his work was unsatisfactory, the new contractor is now bound to hire the existing employees, and as a result, the service that has been provided that has been unsatisfactory is unlikely to improve.

These then are some of the new changes that are part of Bill 40. All of the changes, as I've indicated, are going to be guided by the new purpose clause that's going to promote the interests of unions over those of employees. They're going to be controlled by the Ontario Labour Relations Board, which has been given sweeping new power.

Let's remember that at the present time the chair and vice-chair of the board are politically appointed by the government of the day. They are not accountable in any way and there are no public hearings into their appointment. Obviously if we're going to give the board a new mandate and sweeping new powers and allow it to play a prominent role in the workplace of Ontario, these individuals who serve on the Ontario Labour Relations Board must now be selected by a process that is fair and acceptable to all parties. There should be public confirmation hearings on all nominees to the OLRB.

As well, when it's amended, Bill 40 must recognize our traditions of accountability of government officials. It must recognize our freedom of speech, our freedom of association, freedom of information, recognition of private property, secret democratic ballots as well as the rights of an employer to operate a business and create and sustain jobs for employees, as well as remembering the right of an employee to work.

Unfortunately, after a four-month consultation process, the government has ignored many of these traditions. It has ignored many of the representations by people who have made them, people who are concerned about jobs and investment in this province, and it has introduced into this House a bill little changed from the original 30-item wish list of last March that was introduced by the Minister of Labour.

Bill 40 still does not include one proposal from the business community or any other individual. The government failed to genuinely listen to or address the very real concerns of the public. It ignored the suggestions for change that were put forward, the request for a secret democratic ballot to decide union certification, the request for consumer protection measures for employees, and it rejected the request for a fair and balanced process to analyse the act to identify any real problems with its workings and come up with consensus solutions.

The strongest employer suggestion focus, on putting economic recovery first so that more Ontarians have the basic benefit, a job, was ignored. This government didn't

listen to the business community. It didn't listen to the community organizations. It didn't listen to individuals or the Association of Municipalities of Ontario. It went ahead and listened to the union agenda.

1640

After looking at the changes, I realized they're not isolated reforms. They are a strategy for union organizers to assist them in unionization. They do not allow workers more input in the decision-making that directly affects them, as the minister has indicated he wanted. They have the opposite effect. They remove the individual worker from the decision-making process in favour of bigger unions and more union leadership control.

Unfortunately, none of the principles of drafting good legislation was used in this bill. There was no principle of cooperation, no attempt to facilitate a process of cooperation. The entire discussion forced all participants to work off only one agenda, the union agenda. There was no principle of balance. The effort to have something in there for both sides is missing. There was no principle of objectifiable and verifiable labour problems. What problems does this bill respond to? None. None was ever shown by this government to exist.

In conclusion, this government has failed to recognize that the number one priority of people in this province is jobs, not change to the collective bargaining process. Maybe that's what the Environics poll showed yesterday: that you're on the wrong track. People want jobs, not labour law reform. That's what people have told me they're looking for.

I'm extremely concerned that this bill is going to make it more difficult for businesses to compete. I'm concerned that the government never did an economic impact study. I would like to tell the government that the workers of this province will be better served by creating jobs, not by creating a business climate which discourages investment and job creation.

It is unfortunate that this government has demonstrated neither a willingness to accept any input from people in this province nor a commitment to ensuring there is a balance and a recognition of fundamental rights in the legislation. I urge the government not to proceed further with Bill 40. I urge the government to work with business and labour to develop changes that serve the needs of all workplace partners and ensure the economic viability of the province. What we need in this province is jobs.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. The honourable member's time is now complete. Questions and/or comments? The honourable member for Sudbury.

Ms Sharon Murdock (Sudbury): Actually, my comments relate more to some of the comments that were made by my honourable friend yesterday in relation to the Quebec labour law. Since 1978, she said, over one million more days were lost in Quebec than in Ontario. While that is certainly true, there are parts that have not been stated that I think should be out there as well.

First of all, the prevalence of strikes in Quebec prior to 1978 was extremely high. It's generally true that this was the case, and since 1978 there have been fewer lost days. I

think that's the key in terms of looking at the number and the percentage of lost days.

In 1976, in Quebec 1.15% of all working time was lost due to work stoppages, but in every year since that time—and this is a point to remember—this percentage has been less than .5%. I mean, given that Quebec has had very volatile experience in the labour field, the anti-scab or replacement worker legislation has certainly calmed things down.

In fact, Ghislain Dufour, who is the president of the employers association, was given the opportunity of proceeding on a Supreme Court action and opted not to proceed for the very reason that the industrial relations field had calmed down and he didn't want to ruin a good thing. That is basically a quote.

I think too that you should know that those million and more lost days since 1978—it's over 14 years—were due primarily to two public strikes, one of them with the métro. Private sector strikes have actually been less than they ever were prior to 1978. So when you are giving that information out, it would be most appreciated if you gave it all.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. The honourable member for St Catharines.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): My question to the member for Waterloo North relates to the rule changes in the Legislative Assembly and how she may feel they have restricted her ability to play an appropriate role in the Legislative Assembly in regard to this bill and perhaps future bills.

I want to know whether she believes that the rules governing the Legislature now, the rules that were imposed by Premier Rae, the man who defended the rights of the opposition so strongly and utilized every rule in the Legislative Assembly book in order to delay legislation—whether she feels that in this particular instance the new rules which restrict her to only 90 minutes to deal with an important piece of legislation in fact are restrictive and do diminish her rights as a member.

Second, I want to know, now that the House will not sit as many days as it used to as a result of the dictum of Premier Rae, whether she feels that will restrict her right to be able to deal with legislation of this kind—this bill and other bills.

I want to know whether she feels, given the fact that Premier Rae, even though he has a majority government, has given the right to his own ministers to impose on the House a restriction on the amount of time provided for each bill, that 30 minutes is sufficient for all members of the Legislature, outside of those who lead off the debate, to deal with legislation of this kind.

I want to know whether she feels it's appropriate that the Premier has taken away from the Speaker of the House, the impartially elected individual in the House, elected by members of this House, the opportunity to decide if sufficient debate has taken place.

Last, I want to know whether she feels that the concentration of power in the executive branch—that is, in the Premier's office—is healthy for our democracy and

healthy when dealing with legislation of this kind. I'd be surprised if she felt that was a positive move on the part of the Premier of this province.

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I'm very pleased to rise this afternoon and commend the member for Waterloo North for her excellent presentation this afternoon and yesterday afternoon. She has steadfastly and consistently espoused or put forward views on behalf of the rights of all workers in this province, more strongly than any other member of this House, I believe. She went into the specific provisions of Bill 40 and explained her specific concerns on specific provisions.

When members of this House who are not the leadoff speaker for their party get a chance to debate this, when we have 30 minutes, it's going to be very difficult for many of us to get into the specifics. I think with the government's new rule changes, it will be difficult for us to go into the specifics of the bill and outline our specific concerns on the various provisions. We will be limited to making general remarks about the thrust of the bill, which I don't think is as important, generally, as the specifics.

The member indicated in her speech, and I firmly agree with her on this, that the government has not yet established in a way that makes sense to anybody why it's going ahead with this. Their excuses are very limp, very transparent. We have no other conclusion to draw except that this is a bill that is to empower their union friends. I think that's very clear to anybody who looks at this bill.

I think their failure to conduct an impact study is very glaring. When they refuse to accept the results of independent impact studies and yet they refuse to conduct one of their own, it demonstrates that they're afraid of the results of that impact study.

They have demonstrated with Bill 40 their callous disregard for workers who will lose their jobs as a result of Bill 40 and the new jobs that will not be created as a result of a lack of investment coming forward. They have demonstrated their fundamental lack of understanding of how a market economy works.

I'm pleased to once again commend the member for Waterloo North.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant. The honourable member for Chatham-Kent—Essex-Kent.

Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent): Essex-Kent, Mr Speaker, but we do work close together.

I would certainly like to respond to the member for Waterloo North. I really believe that she means well, but I think she is totally misinformed. If you hear the members from over there, it would lead you to believe that in organized workplaces, they don't work together. Maybe some of them who pretend they are representing all corporations and all workers should talk to some management in the Big Three and see how those management people in the Big Three have taken input from the workers to improve productivity, quality, and health and safety. It has proven that they can work together, because the unions and the union leaders are not going to bite the hand that feeds

them. They are just as much concerned about the economy and the welfare of that corporation as anybody else.

They talk about impact studies. How about the impact study on free trade and the GST, which have done more harm to this economy than anything else has ever done or anything we'll put in this piece of legislation? Very briefly, here's the Tory philosophy. "I think we're at a point where fairness is a luxury"—Garth Turner, Tory MP. Here's another quote: "The Canadian worker can either work harder for less money or not work at all." That's really what competitive means and that's how they feel competitive. I think it's a shame to get up here and pretend you work on behalf of the workers in this province. I think it's kind of ridiculous to even get up here and talk that way.

1650

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Waterloo North has two minutes in response.

Mrs Witmer: I'll respond first to the member for St Catharines, and I can indicate to him that I don't normally take 90 minutes to speak. Actually, I do agree with some of the rule changes. However, on this particular issue, I can tell you I did not feel I adequately covered the topic given to me. I certainly could have used more time. However, that is the exception, I can assure you. Usually I speak for much less than 90 minutes in this House. I don't see the need to talk for much longer.

However, in response to the member for Essex-Kent, I think what we have to remember when we talk about Bill 40 is that the issue is not whether unionization is good or whether unionization is bad. I think we all recognize that unions have a right to exist. They've played a useful purpose in the province. I think what we're talking about is the manner in which this change has taken place and also the impact of this change.

You talked about the impact studies concerning free trade and the GST that were conducted by the federal government. I guess the one thing I would say in defence is that at least that government selected to do impact studies, and I would hope the provincial government would still do an economic impact study of Bill 40.

I hope, if this government does nothing else in the area of Bill 40, that it will give very serious consideration to the secret ballot vote. All of us in this House want to promote basic human rights and freedoms. We want the individual to fully understand and participate in the process. I think we can only do that if we give individuals all the information and if we allow them, free of the union and free of the employer, to make their own decision, and that can only be done by means of a secret ballot vote.

The Acting Speaker: Before I ask for further debate, I want to remind members that we now have up to 30 minutes to participate in the debate, and then we will proceed on to further debate.

Mr Len Wood (Cochrane North): I can assure you I'll have plenty of time to relay the message I want to get across to the Legislature in 30 minutes.

To start off, I want to congratulate Bob Mackenzie, our Minister of Labour, as well as the parliamentary assistant,

Sharon Murdock, for bringing forth this legislation. For me it goes back over 30 years that I've been a member of organized labour and the unions. We've had a concern that neither one of the governments that were in power for a large number of years managed to bring forth, or had the will to bring forth, legislation that would protect workers when they were on the picket line and that would prevent people from being shot and beaten up and one thing or another.

The example of that is the fact that—

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): What kind of nonsense is that?

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): That is absolute stupidity. You display your ignorance every time you open your mouth.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Order.

Mr Wood: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I didn't realize we were going to get a reaction of that kind.

In 1963 there was a monument put up in Reesor, in my riding, where three people were killed and they had families. They had relatives who are still mourning their deaths as a result of replacement workers who were asked to do the work the strikers were refusing to do until they had what they considered to be a fair contract. There were also eight other people who were shot and put in hospital. If the people across want to view the monument, I suggest you take a ride up Highway 11 and look at the example of that.

I followed the member for Mississauga North, who spoke for an hour and a half. The Conservative Party member for Waterloo North also spoke for an hour and a half. As I said at the beginning, I won't be that long in bringing my comments because I won't even attempt to use the whole half-hour.

I want to relay the amount of concern of people who have brought forth letters. I've had over 600 letters saying, "Len, you were elected on a commitment that you would bring forth legislation that would be fair to the working men and women in this province." It would be legislation that would allow ordinary men and women who used to approach me when I was president of the labour council and say, "There's a problem with this or a problem with that in the workforce."

My argument used to be, "Well, you should think seriously about joining a union." The argument came back: "Yes, but I don't want to get fired. The minute I make an application to join a union so they are going to be able to help me and I'll be able to use the shop steward, the bosses are going to fire me." Legislation of this kind is going to make it easier for the working men and women throughout this province. They'll be able to look up to something and feel rewarded with this type of legislation.

Last year there was an example of how business, labour and the community all worked together and pulled together. As a matter of fact, they were meeting down at the Sutton Place Hotel exactly a year ago now, starting to put together a collective labour agreement needed to complete the sale of the company at Spruce Falls. The new company now is Spruce Falls Inc.

That is an example of how in that particular case they're saying: "Well, unions are no good. They're this and they're that."

Mr Phillips: Nobody is saying that.

Mr Wood: Some of the comments that have come across—some of the business community is saying there is too much strength. All of my life, all I've heard are the good things they have done for their own members and their members' families to build this province and make it strong.

There are other examples more recent than 1963. There was use of replacement workers at that time and, as I said before, people were shot and they died. Eight other people were shot and recovered from it. There were incidents just last winter where dangerous driving charges were put against one of the managers of the employer, where they tried to bring a truck through the picket line at the same time as they were bringing in replacement workers in the Hearst area from around the Brantford area down south. It was a violent confrontation. We managed to get the Minister of Labour involved in it and they brought it to a conclusion after a number of weeks.

That situation probably never would have lasted nearly that long had we had the legislation they have in Quebec. An example in Quebec is that since 1976 they've seen the disappearance of picket-line violence and over 95% of the union contracts are signed without a strike.

Mr Turnbull: There is more violence in Quebec with the anti-scab legislation. Yes, there is. You cooked the books.

Mr Wood: The facts are that they don't relate to what is actually happening, other areas where the use of replacement workers are banned. It makes it speedier for contract settlements, when they are on strike, to be wrapped up.

In 1985 I can recall very plainly where 25 to 30 women decided they were being treated unfairly in the workplace. They wanted to join a union and in an attempt to get a first contract, they had to take to the picket line. The bank decided it was going to bring in replacement workers and drag out the strike. At that time there was no legislation in place to prevent it from happening. The government in power at that time had taken the same approach as the Tories had taken for 42 years: We'll let the violence and the pushing and shoving and the hurting and pain take place.

1700

As a result, the community had to take things into its own hands. It was a caisse populaire that was on strike. It called a special meeting. They put over 1,700 people in the halls—they couldn't use just one hall; they had to have a number of halls—and they removed the board of directors, installed a new board of directors and in turn had to remove some of the people from management. Within a week they had a collective agreement in place and the women were able to go back and enjoy the work they were doing.

I believe the legislation we've brought forward is going to mean harmony and peace between labour, management and the corporate sector. They'll understand what the law is and I believe we'll have the same results as in

other provinces, by disallowing the use of replacement workers, or as you say when you're out on the picket line, because I spent time out on the picket line, the use of scabs for crossing picket lines. Those are some of the comments I wanted to make as far as the use of replacement workers is concerned.

To go on, I believe the workers, men and women, in this province are going to be far better off by being given the right to be able to join a union of their choice and not have the fear of the bosses retaliating against them, as has happened before. As I said, I've been involved with labour and belonged to a union for the biggest part of my 32 years in the workforce.

I know I'm not alone. I know there are other members in the Legislature who have come from the same background as I have, who go out and help men and women, whether they're working in restaurants or whether they're working in other low-paying jobs, to help them deal with some of the health and safety issues in their workplaces. They haven't had a union there to be able to turn to to help them out, so they've gone to the labour council or they've gone to other unions and have said, "Don't use my name," because of this and that, "I'm fearful for my job, but I want you to help me out in those areas," and we have done that over the years.

The commitment was made to the workers, whether they were organized or unorganized, that if and when we ever had an NDP government elected in Ontario we would make some of the changes that were needed to make the working men and women in this province feel more comfortable and more at ease.

Some of the arguments we're getting from across are that business is unhappy with it. If you have a business with 10 people, your business manager or your owner is nobody without those hardworking men and women who are slaving down below in order to make sure the company either breaks even or makes a profit. Without those hardworking men and women that is not possible. So whether the workers at this point in time are unionized or non-unionized, they play a large role in contributing to the economy and to the profits that are needed to make sure this province is going to grow out of the worst recession in the last 50 years.

I'm looking forward to the five weeks, which will be 20 days of public hearings that are going to be held across the province. I know we're going to have groups that are going to be coming in and telling us: "Well, you've let us down as the government. You haven't gone far enough. We want you to strengthen this area or that area, to do what you promised you were going to do." We realize we're also going to have some people from business who might want amendments to water it down.

But at the end of the day I believe we've made a commitment to the working men and women in this province. We're going to proceed with it, and I know at the end of that time everybody is going to be that much better off with the amendments they're bringing in to the OLRA under Bill 40.

At this time, I'll give my spot to somebody else because, as I said, there are going to be five weeks of hearings taking

place around the province. There's going to be a lot of debate and proposals brought forward, and I know there will be all kinds of time then to listen to the people.

The Deputy Speaker: Questions or comments.

Mr Phillips: I really don't think the member, in his comments, appreciates what this bill is all about. If we look at amendments to the labour relations bills—the Minister of Labour is smiling over there. I have no confidence in the Minister of Labour. I remember the Minister of Labour went around this province talking about Bill 208 and dragging out coffins and all that sort of stuff. Then he gets in as minister and I find this ad in the newspaper, "Labour Minister Praises New Workplace Legislation," and Mr Mackenzie's picture on it praising the dickens out of the legislation.

He went around the province dragging coffins out and accusing me of killing people. You have no credibility with me, Minister, so sitting in the House and heckling does you no good. I found that offensive in the extreme.

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): This is an absolute lie.

Mr Phillips: Back to your comments, there are 32 amendments proposed here. Every single one of these amendments goes in one direction. Any reasonable person out there would say: "Listen, if you're going to amend the Labour Relations Act in this province, surely there are some balances that should take place. Surely you don't have 32 amendments all in favour of one side."

If one looks at the history of amendments to the Labour Relations Act in this province, they are balanced. If one looks at labour relations in this province in terms of peace and harmony in the workplace, it by and large has been pretty good in this province. It doesn't mean you can't improve it, but to have 32 major amendments all favouring one side, does that make any sense to anyone in this province, that it is all a problem on one side?

Surely even the member would acknowledge that perhaps there are a few improvements that could be made that could help the other side. So what we've got here is a total imbalance, a total payoff to the people who have made their contribution to the party. I understand that but let's call it what it is.

Mr Mahoney: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I regrettably heard the Minister of Labour sit there and make a comment in regard to my colleague's remarks, and I think his words were, "That's a complete lie." That word is unparliamentary, Mr Speaker. I would ask you to ask him to withdraw that remark.

The Deputy Speaker: I haven't heard the word at all—

Mr Mahoney: Well, I heard it.

The Deputy Speaker: —so it would be totally unfair for me to ask—

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I said that.

The Deputy Speaker: If the minister did say so, perhaps he will apologize.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: Mr Speaker, I did say the statement he'd made was a lie. I withdraw that.

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you. The matter is settled.

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): I would like to refer to some of the remarks the third party keeps shouting across here in respect to the comments of the member from Cochrane. I find their rhetoric about the changes in the labour amendment act absolutely alarming.

I just want to go back—I'm not that old—to January 1914 and an issue of the Industrial Canada magazine. Get this; I can't believe it, but this is the rhetoric that's coming from there. It said: "One of the evils which may result from workmen's compensation is the danger that good workmen may become hypochondriacs. Imagination has a powerful influence over the body and it is inevitable that a workman's imagination may be unduly stimulated if he knows that he will be paid a large part of his wages during illness."

That's the type of rhetoric you people are full of. I'm sick to death of it. I want to commend the member for Cochrane North; what a wonderful speech from the heart. You people have no hearts. You don't know what it's like. Go out there and see the statue the member for Cochrane North is talking about. You don't know what it is to be beaten on the picket line. You don't know what it is to have people killed. You have no idea at all about labour and about unions and it's about time you knew.

1710

Mr Steven Offer (Mississauga North): I too would like to respond to the statements of the member for Cochrane North. I think a number of people who are probably watching this debate on their televisions would be questioning when the member for Cochrane North cites as the reason for these changes events which took place in this province in 1963 or which were found in the province of Quebec in 1978 or, for those who were watching the minister's opening comments yesterday, events that took place in the Northwest Territories or, in fact in the just previous response by a member of the New Democratic Party, a statement that was made in the year 1914.

I think those who are watching on TV who have asked the question, "Why these changes?" are alarmed at the response given by the New Democratic labour party of this province, that the reasons they are stating for these changes are statements made in 1914, events which took place in 1963 and events and situations which took place in the Northwest Territories and in the province of Quebec.

People are reminding this government that this is the province of Ontario, that there is now the right to join a union and that these changes shift the balance, the impact of which will cost jobs for many people in this province.

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Your time has expired.

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): One of the important things that I know the member for Cochrane North would have liked to put across is that a lot of people are not out there saying, "I need a union right away." What provokes individuals, even in strikes and that, is that the urge is there by management or whatever to discourage people from participating in trying to organize a workplace. This is what

you're trying to do: give to those individuals who are very fearful the right to organize because, as they're not protected under any laws to organize, they become very fearful. That's why you do a lot of organizing around kitchen tables. I know other members never have experienced this. I went through it for a number of years, of organizing workplaces.

You do not organize workplaces where management and unions and the workers in that workplace work very cooperatively together. The employer also understands that paying a decent wage gets a decent return. You get less absenteeism. They understand that. You cannot organize workplaces like that.

The workplaces we're talking about organizing and the legislation providing that are those where workers are being mistreated, exploited, dominated as women and take advantage of that, or where they segregate and put different nationalities that collide working together.

This is the kind of atmosphere that's in there. These workers are looking for help, for somebody to protect their rights, even forming an association. The business community has their associations. It's called the chamber of commerce. It's all right for them to "unionize," but it's not all right for the workers who are looking for moderate increases in their wages.

I listened to some of the concerns that were expressed. Let's make it very clear: The legislation will only be examined by individuals in workplaces when their employers are mistreating them. That's the only time.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for Cochrane North has two minutes to reply.

Mr Wood: Thank you for the comments of the member for Durham East, the member for Scarborough-Agincourt, the member for Chatham-Kent and the member for Mississauga North.

In summarizing, I just want to say that in my riding of Cochrane North, we don't necessarily need all the 32 amendments that one of the members mentioned, because close to 85% of the workers belong to a union, whether they work for the town, the hospital, the fire department, the paper mill, the pulp mill, the sawmill or in the bush. But there's also the fear that when a strike does come up, they want to have their democratic right and walk the picket line without fear of violence or death.

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): Fear of not having a job.

Mr Wood: Or of not having a job; that the company will decide to keep the replacement workers and not bring them back afterwards.

I've also had some discussions with the manager from Shoppers Drug Mart. All the managers were called down to Toronto to give them a pep talk on how they were going to have to beat up the NDP government on the amendments that were coming forth. After I talked to him for about five or 10 minutes, he said: "I didn't realize that. I'm quite satisfied now, after you've explained to me. You won't hear anything more from me at all, at all."

The chambers of commerce in my riding understand it and they haven't been making a big fuss about it. I believe

once it is explained that all we're talking about is the right to choose what is fair and just for the hardworking men and women in this province, that they're going to be able to continue to work with dignity and know where they can turn to if they need assistance from their shop steward or their union president without any fear of retaliation—

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you. The member for Mississauga West has 30 minutes.

Mr Mahoney: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker.

Mr Hope: I hope you're going to say what your dad would say.

Mr Mahoney: You're asking me what my dad would say. You can rest assured that I'll be sharing some quotes from his career during the next 30 minutes, so if you want to pay attention, you just might learn something. I doubt it, though.

I've only got 30 minutes as a result of these draconian rule changes that have been brought into place, so I want to move on to some issues that I think are rather pertinent to this debate. Whether you want to argue about some of the fine points of the legislation or not, in my sense it's a little bit of a moot point. The real issue here is the polarization this government, with this bill more than anything else, has created in the community at large.

I believe there was a poll conducted recently that showed that of the people who are aware of the effects of this bill, substantial numbers in the society at large, even in the labour movement, are opposed to it. There are reasons they're opposed to it.

It was interesting that the member for Oshawa East, I think it is, went back to 1914 to drag up some statement which I guess he was purporting was stated by one of the Tory members or his predecessors. I'm not quite sure, Gordie, but you're going to have a stroke one of these days if you're not a little careful. As much as he's on that side, Mr Speaker, I wouldn't like to see his seat fall empty due to such a catastrophe. Maybe some other reasons would be appropriate.

In relation to this issue—and the issue is the relationship between labour, government, business and the community at large—I too have done a bit of historical research. It's rather interesting at this time in our history that Premier Rae is off debating about what kind of Senate structure we're going to have in this country because in fact there is some history of the Senate and the labour movement.

1720

In fact, the first two labour senators—the reason I want to talk about this is that this goes back to 1917—

Interjection.

Mr Mahoney: I'm not that old either, to Mr Mills, but it gives a sense of the evolution of the labour movement.

Some of you know I have a background that goes well beyond 30 years involved in the labour movement, involved actively, through my family. My Uncle Jim in Sault Ste Marie worked in the steel plant for over 50 years, the longest-serving member at Algoma Steel, Jim Mahoney. I have George Currie, my uncle, who worked there for over 40 years. Members of their families worked there,

my father worked there, my brother worked there, and all of them were members, and proud members, of the United Steelworkers of America. Even I, when I was in school and had summer jobs, worked for Dosco Steel and had to join and did join the union to work for that particular company.

So there is some background, and when you folks over there try to claim some self-righteous control or ownership of the labour movement, I reject that. Because we on this side of the House disagree with some of the policies you're putting in place, you suggest we're union-bashing, when in reality that's nonsense. I represent many members of the trade labour movement in my riding, and I represent them as best I can, because I'm not bound by some ideology. I don't have to go to a policy conference in Hamilton to get my marching orders, unlike the members opposite. I care about their working conditions and I care about their ability to earn a living and to raise families—

Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls): You don't.

Mr Mahoney: Well, you can be smart if you want and suggest I don't, but that's truly unfair and untrue, because I do care about that and so do other members on this side. Because we are concerned about the condition of the economy, because we are concerned about companies going bankrupt, because we are concerned about the predominance of militancy taking over the higher office of the labour movement—and I say that and would say that standing shoulder to shoulder with my father, if he were here. The militancy that is taking over is very unfortunate in this country.

What's happened? Tell me a time in past history when a senior labour leader was a vice-president of the New Democratic Party. It didn't happen, because they understood—

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): That's not true, Steve.

Mr Mahoney: That is true. They understood that they had to deal with Lester Pearson or John Robarts. They understood that their political responsibility was not based on partisan politics but was rather based on their responsibility to the men and women in the rank and file of the union and that voting along party lines with a socialist government did not always serve the needs and the interests of the members of the rank and file.

The labour leaders who were pragmatic in history, who understood that the best strike is the one that didn't have to take place, who understood that living on strike pay, because they too lived on strike pay—I can remember sitting around Christmas in the late 1950s wondering why there were no presents in the Mahoney household, a family of nine children, and being told that my father was on strike pay, and he was the national director—interesting.

Mr Turnbull: It doesn't happen today.

Mr Mahoney: It sure doesn't happen today, and maybe if those university-educated labour leaders who are starting to become so militant would have to sit on the picket line and not just go for a media photo opportunity, not just go for politics—

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): Talk about the bill.

Mr Mahoney: This is about the bill. This is exactly about the bill, because, Mr Speaker—

Mr Mammoliti: You are bashing.

The Deputy Speaker: Order. If you want to take the floor, you'll have the right to do so after 30 minutes.

Mr Mahoney: Mr Speaker, I understand them getting upset, because you see, I am substantially, perhaps more than the member shouting over there, steeped a little bit in the history of this, and I understand it.

Mr Mammoliti: Oh, come on.

Mr Mahoney: Well, I am. I grew up in it, and when you people try to claim, in your sanctimonious way, that you're going to protect all the workers, you make me laugh.

Mr Mammoliti: Let's see how you vote on it then.

Mr Mahoney: I can tell you how I'm going to vote on this. I'm going to vote against this and I'm going to do everything I can to stop you from passing it with your arrogant majority, everything I can do. Because, Mr Speaker—

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr Mahoney: I started to talk a little bit about the history of the labour movement. I'll tell you about it, if you want to be quiet for a moment.

"Canada's first two labour senators were perfect models of the kind of trade union officials deemed worthy of a place in the upper chamber in 1917. Gideon Robertson"—this is from an article by Myer Siemiatycki in a magazine called *This Magazine*, and it's on the labour movement. It talks about the evolution in the relationship, and there are some very interesting quotes that this Minister of Labour should listen to.

"Not surprisingly, both men were leaders of railway unions. By the First World War, Canada had some 15 unions, which were held up by the government as models of what they called 'safe and sane' unions. In 1913 the Labour department described the leaders of these unions as 'men of excellent reputation and proven ability, and the comparative rarity of strikes in the ranks of the workers concerned is perhaps the best testimony of the skill of the respective chief officers....' Governments, then as now, had a particular liking for trade union officials who used their positions to avoid rather than stimulate labour unrest." Interesting philosophy; they actually tried to avoid strikes and labour unrest.

"Robertson was vice-president of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers for Canada, while Murdock held the same post for the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen."

Interjection.

Mr Mahoney: Someone can get excited if he wants, but if he wants to deny his history—if you want to claim that you can in any way substantially represent the men and women of the trade labour movement today, then you

had better accept the history of the trade labour movement, with all its warts and with all its good points.

"Addressing the 1919 convention of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada in his capacity of Labour minister, Senator Robertson declared: 'For the period of 12 to 15 years in which I have in my humble way attempted to assist and advance and promote the cause of labour in Canada, I have long since come to the conclusion that all classes of society in our country have rights, and that we must at all times exercise due respect for the rights of the other fellow.' After James Murdock's appointment as Minister of Labour in 1921, his first statement echoed the views of his...predecessor." This is very important. He said, "'Canada needs, must have, and will have, cooperation between employer and employee.'"

You see, that is the nub of the argument. What we have such difficulty in understanding is, you can pretend that you've had consultations, and we can pretend that you've listened to the business community and the community at large, but the reality is that what you are fostering—we are not making this up, Mr Speaker. We are not dreaming up the concerns.

The member for Cochrane North, I think it was—I apologize if it wasn't—one of the members over there said that his chamber wasn't particularly concerned. Maybe we should send a copy of that Hansard to the chamber to see how they react to that—just an idea. Because, you see, we haven't fabricated this concern that's going on, and what you're doing is creating a polarization that goes back into pre-1900.

You are creating a level of mistrust, a level of fear, instead of taking the opportunity that the first labour government, if you want to call yourselves that—the first socialist government in this province has a real opportunity. If you truly believe in justice, if you truly believe that amendments to the Labour Relations Act could improve the relationship between employers and employees, you have a tremendous opportunity to lead, a tremendous opportunity.

Instead, what you've done is you've drafted this bill and had everybody whipped into shape in caucus meeting after caucus meeting. Your minister sits there arrogantly laughing at the protestations of the opposition or at the serious objections of the community.

1730

You're missing your opportunity, I say to the Attorney General, a man whom I consider to be reasonable. You, sir, should be able to—

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): Steve, you're losing it.

Mr Mahoney: Well, I've been in the corners with you on the ice. You're fairly reasonable. You should be able to put some sense into these people to recognize that they indeed have that opportunity.

One of the members opposite asked me what my dad would have said about this. I want to share some interesting quotes that are attributed to him, Dennis McDermott and a few other people. This is a document, *Algoma Steel News In Brief*. For those of you who don't know, my dad

was the national director of the United Steelworkers of America from 1956 to 1977, I believe, so would be once removed from Leo Gerard. There was Gérard Docquier and before that Bill Mahoney.

He had some interesting comments to make. Here is the first one, from a political perspective, in this article, "I have never associated myself with either the CCF or the NDP from any kind of a doctrinaire, philosophical approach." He went on to say, "Sure, you want to build for the time you might take power and get around to the people who can discharge it with good common sense and in an effective way." You see, the terms "common sense," "effective way," "pragmatic," and "balanced approach" were the terms—

Mr Rosario Marchese (Fort York): That's Liberalism.

Mr Mahoney: In a lot of ways it is Liberalism. That's exactly what it is.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: That's what happened to you.

Mr Mahoney: I'm proud to say I'm a Liberal; that's what happened to me. In fact, it became very clear to me, growing up in the atmosphere where the political debate would very often take place around the dining room table on Sunday evening, that there was a real necessity for labour and management to work together and not to get into the fights.

Mr Wood: It's working.

Mr Mahoney: You may be trying that, but my God, if you would just open your eyes and ears, you would see that it is not taking, it is not working.

Mr Wood: It is working.

Mr Mahoney: It is not working, sir. You are creating mistrust and fear in the community with Bill 40.

This is an interesting quote from Dennis McDermott. I'm sure you all remember him. He was Mr White's predecessor, if I'm not mistaken. He was the president, I believe, of the Canadian Labour Congress for some time, along with my dad who was a vice-president of the Canadian Labour Congress. Mr McDermott has said, according to this article, "His union and others are growing tired of paying the bills for the New Democratic Party, only to find it taking political stands that sometimes don't even agree with labour policy."

"We have no difficulty with the NDP, as long as they are not in power," said Bill Mahoney. God, I wish he was here. Maybe he'd whip a little common sense and intelligence into you people. He says, "I don't think any of us would ever hope for an NDP government or any other government to have a party outside of themselves"—important—"be it the trade union movement, the chamber of commerce, the CMA or whatever it may be."

Indeed, that is what we have. We have a government with a party outside that calls its policies. They can't make their decisions; they've got to go there. Then they find out they don't agree with it, so they do what they want anyway. We have a party outside the formal, elected body of this government in the persons of people like Bob White and Leo Gerard, who sit in the cabinet room with their feet up on

the bloody table, telling the Minister of Labour what it is they need in return for their support.

Ms Harrington: Oh, awful.

Mr Mahoney: You know it's true. What you are doing, in cosyng up, is destroying the very important history of the very important labour movement, Mrs Harrington. You are destroying its credibility; you are destroying its reputation. Not all the men and women who work on the shop floor at Algoma or at Dofasco or in Hamilton or anywhere are socialists. The reality is the vast majority of them are probably apolitical. Today they don't have the \$5 or \$10 to buy a card and they're not concerned about amendments to the Labour Relations Act. They're concerned about their jobs.

You stand there so proud about the accomplishments at Algoma Steel. I pray that the day does not come, through a lack of foresight by this government, when the new owners of Algoma Steel are going to be facing massive restructuring of their own. It may well come, and those new owners are not big investors, they're not entrepreneurs, they're not tycoons; they are the families of my home town.

If the day comes when they then have to either turn more of their rewards, their earnings, back in to save the company or they have to tell their neighbours or their brothers and sisters that they are going to be laid off work or they have to make hard business decisions, I hope—

Hon Mr Hampton: So we shouldn't let it through?

Mr Mahoney: No. I will tell you honestly, you had no choice. But what we have to start doing is fostering a relationship where the business community can survive.

I saw Leo Gerard's quote the day the deal was signed for Algoma. He said, "This is a great day for worker control." The last time I heard something like that I was at York University and it was from the writings of Chairman Mao. It is outrageous. If he could say, "It is a great day because we have saved Algoma Steel," that's one thing. "It is a great day because we have saved the jobs of the men and women who work at Algoma Steel," that's one thing. But for him to say, "This is a great day for worker control" frightens me. It frightens me because those men and women only want their jobs and their pay cheques and their pensions and their future and their kids to go to school and be safe. They don't want worker control.

Interjections.

Mr Mahoney: They don't. That's the problem right there in a nutshell. You people think they do.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): You know what people want.

Mr Mahoney: You're damn right, Minister. I sure do. I know better than you, let me tell you, because I've been in those plants.

Hon Mr Hampton: Check that water.

Mr Mahoney: It's not Mississauga water; it's straight.

The concern I tried to put forward is that the people who work in these situations are not looking to all of a sudden have all this control. At the end of the day, they have the same problems everyone else has. They have to put their kids through school, make their mortgage

payments, pay their bills; their Visa cards are about to explode. They have all the same kinds of problems most people have. They are not hung up on ideology, like Bill Mahoney said. They're not tied to the New Democratic Party on some philosophical bent. They just want to survive. They'd like a holiday, two, three or four weeks a year.

Mr Donald Abel (Wentworth North): They want some say in the workplace.

Mr Mahoney: They have some say in their workplace.

What you are missing, in my respectful submission, Mr Speaker, is the fact that their workplace is in serious jeopardy. I don't know what we have to do to bang you over the head to make you understand that. There's nothing wrong with having a negotiated relationship and having the union sit down in a pragmatic way saying, "What is the best way we can secure the jobs for the men and women?" You have to make sure the company can still open its doors. If the company can't open its doors, who's going to work there? There's nothing wrong with an adversarial system.

1740

I'll just go back to another quote, where it says, "Where we each"—being management and labour—"have responsibilities, and, as adversaries, we bring out the logic, the economic facts, the industrial sense of how we view certain things that shall be done and should be done."

"What it really is is a system, the adversarial system, that fits the ideas, the welfare, the needs of the labour force and the ideas and the needs of the industrial operators. Together we hope to reach some kind of consensus of how, given those two positions, we can find a workable course of action."

There's nothing wrong with the fact that labour must represent its constituency and in some cases there are adversarial situations. Adversarial is not necessarily negative. It forces people to sit down at the table and to put on the table the issues they disagree with and, with common sense and with reason and with pragmatism, to come up with a solution that, to quote from the article, is based on "a workable course of action." That's all people want.

I can only assume that, like everything else this government does, there's some kind of a hidden agenda. It may not even be so much hidden, because we all know this government is funded primarily from union dues, and we all know the amount of money paid in union dues represents hundreds of millions of dollars.

Hon Mr Hampton: It's not a factor, Steve.

Mr Mahoney: "It's not a factor," he says. We all know if they can expand their base and create more members who pay union dues, it will—I think the Minister of the Environment the other day referred to one of her policies as the greening of the party. I think this is the greening of the party. I think that's what you're after, I really do, if you weren't so dogmatic about it, if you weren't so closed-minded about it.

Let me tell you a little bit about a company. Here I've got a letter from your minister responding to a constituent of mine, just to give you an idea of the impact. This is a

fellow named Mr Kurz. He is the president of Precision Engineering and this is a Mississauga company. He asked the Treasurer in a letter:

"Our customer is located in Atlanta, Georgia, and before they issue a contract they have requested that we address three issues: (a) the new Ontario proposed labour law," and then they go into road blockage by trucks, which the Treasurer referred to the Minister of Transportation, and custom strikes, which he referred to the federal government, appropriately so.

But the very first question that this customer of a Mississauga company asked the Mississauga business person is, "Explain to me and help me formulate a satisfactory answer for the customer to enable us to get this business." They wanted to understand the serious impact of the proposed labour law.

The reality is that never before has this man, who has been doing business with American firms for many years, ever been called upon by one of his suppliers to actually explain some kind of a legislative piece of work and the impact it would have on the relationship. That, I just suggest to you, is scary.

In response, the minister says in a letter dated May 20:

"These proposals are designed to ensure that employees have access to the right to organize and bargain collectively." Do they not have that now? I ask my Labour critic. They have that now, the right to organize and bargain collectively. When do you think we're living? In 1900? Of course they have that right now.

"To foster cooperation in the workplace." Who's cooperating with whom? Maybe the leaders are cooperating; all the political people involved in the trade labour movement are cooperating with each other; you sure cannot try to pretend, Minister, that they are cooperating with management in this case.

"And to make the act responsive to current workplace realities." We haven't heard what they are, except to hear some members opposite stand up and go on and on about people dying and about workplace accidents and health and safety, which they know is not relevant to this issue. It is not relevant to this issue, and you know it.

There is no question that somebody in this place is out of touch, let me tell you that. Out of touch. You don't have a clue what you're talking about. If you'd listen to your community, you'd understand that they're mad about this, that they don't trust you. They don't trust you. They want a chance to throw you the hell out, and they'll get it too.

Then the minister goes on to say, "The government is committed to proceeding with the proposed reforms"—listen to this. "The government is committed to proceeding with the proposed reforms in the very near future." This is the kind of consultation that you admit, in this letter in May, you're going to proceed with in the very near future.

He admits in this letter that they're going to proceed. I don't know why we're debating this. They've decided they're going to proceed. We've asked for committee hearings. They've decided they're going to proceed. There is no commitment to any kind of consultative process here. There is no opportunity for changes, none whatsoever. You're just taking your big, arrogant, 75-member government and

you're ramming this down the throats of the opposition and ramming it down the throats of the entire province. It's really shameful.

Then the minister admits something I find even more remarkable that he would admit. I think I knew it, but I didn't know he would admit it and do so in writing. He goes on in this letter to say, "I am not of course in a position to advise you as to the effect of the proposed reforms on your business." I mean, we have a Minister of Labour actually admitting that he has no idea what the effects—

Interjection.

Mr Mahoney: You said it. It's your letter. I didn't make it up. You can laugh. He has no idea, Mr Speaker, what the "effect of the proposed reforms on your business" will be.

Hon Ms Gigantes: But you know of course. You know everything.

Mr Mahoney: Well, I think he probably does know and he knows it's going to put this business and many other businesses in serious jeopardy. With this bill, I'm concerned about the philosophy that's coming out from this government, about the inability to listen to the community.

The Deputy Speaker: Your time has expired.

Mr Mahoney: Mr Speaker, I want to close by telling you—

The Deputy Speaker: Your time has expired.

Mr Mahoney: —that I'm the first speaker to be shut down on this 30-minute rule that this government has put in place. These people are absolutely—

The Deputy Speaker: No, no. Take your seat, please. Thank you. Questions or comments? The member for Oakville South.

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I want to very quickly thank the member. I think one thing the other side doesn't appreciate is that there are people on this side who have come from a labour background, as the member indicated his background being. Mine is much similar. The other side might find this interesting, but I was a Teamster. I spent time unloading trucks as a Teamster, probably the most powerful union in North America. The people on the other side think, "They don't understand labour." I was a Teamster, just like the member for Mississauga West had somebody in the family who was very high in the ranks, and I was interested to hear that he spent time as the longest-serving member for Algoma. I think it was his uncle.

The other side seems to think it's the only side that has any members from the union. In fact it was a little bit different. Not only the Teamsters, which most of them would recognize because of the position of the Teamsters, probably the most powerful in all of North America, but in addition, during the time I played hockey, I was a member of the players' association in the American league. We considered ourselves a union as well, with all the rights and privileges. I guess that was for about seven years.

We had the same situation. When the other side gets up and says, "You don't understand the labour movement,"

we have people who were involved. I was the one who was out there slugging in the trucks, doing the work like all the other people have. I understand what it's like to be doing that.

I was also involved in dealing with it from the management side, because I also moved my way up. I was hoping I would have a longer time in this discussion, because I know my friend the member for Chatham-Kent and I have had many discussions on what needs to be done on both sides. Unfortunately with the time restrictions I'll only have a half-hour to get into it, but I wanted to get into some of the experiences I've had on both sides, as a member of the union and as a member of the management side. There are very few people in this Legislature who can say they were on both sides, people like the member for Mississauga West, and I think that's why he brings a different perspective.

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Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): I rise to comment on the member for Mississauga West and his selective use of history. He gives a couple of quotes from 1919. Of course he doesn't mention anything about the struggle for recognition of unions in terms of the Winnipeg general strike or some of the other things. He makes very selective use of his history.

He also talked about the issue of polarization between management and labour. I think one of the things to remember in this debate and to remember as we look at the development of organized labour in this country is that one of the reasons polarization has existed is that organized labour has had to fight tooth and nail for everything it has earned. There are still many people today—I won't say all people in the business community, but still a significant number who somehow think there should not be a legitimate right for people to come together and collectively organize.

The real issue in this debate, if you listen to what some of the billboards say and some of the opposition groups say, is that we cannot be competitive and productive with organized labour, that somehow in a modern economy we're not going to be competitive if we have these changes.

I think it's important to look at history, particularly in the post-Second World War era and the result of some of our economic growth. A lot of it has to do with the fact that what gains have been made by union members in terms of wages and other benefits have created and directly benefited the economy, have directly benefited large business and small business. So I hope as this debate continues that we talk about the real issues and the question of fairness and how this legislation is not going to have an adverse effect on the economy.

The Deputy Speaker: I'd just like to advise the members on each side to please reserve your comments. It makes my job extremely difficult. I can't hear. I can't pay attention to what is being said.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): The interesting thing about this entire debate is the fact that when I look over at the NDP government I realize there are so

many young people over there who have these views that labour is the answer to everything. There's no question that in any society there has to be a fair balance between labour and business. I think the thing the Minister of Labour fails to recognize is that you can't have unions unless you have jobs, and what you're doing by this labour legislation is creating an imbalance. The imbalance is going to put us at a greater economic disadvantage in terms of free trade and all the things you people try to blame it on, and in terms of how we continue to operate as a society in Ontario.

It's great to have idealistic attitudes that labour is the downtrodden. Labour's not the downtrodden. Look at Quebec, look at the United States. They manage to operate in a fashion where labour and business are able to maintain this fine balance. That's precisely what we have to do, but the bill that's being introduced by the Minister of Labour—of course the machiavellian rules that limit us in terms of debate do not give us an opportunity to let the public know what's going on.

It's also interesting that in a debate of this importance there is not one single member of the press here. They've taken their cameras and gone away. They've gotten out of the press gallery. They're not interested in reporting on the issue of this balance, and if there's anything we need more in this country today in terms of maintaining the integrity of the province as well as the country it's the question of balance; balance constitutionally but, more important, in terms of providing that economic climate where there is a balance between labour and industry to help maintain our society.

Mr Turnbull: I found it very interesting to listen to the member for Mississauga West, because indeed he grew up within the family listening to all the questions that concerned not just union leaders but workers. Our party has consistently said that we're concerned about workers—because that's what this is all about—and the ability of workers to maintain their jobs. That's why our concern has constantly been expressed along the lines that there have been no impact studies. The minister is prepared to ignore this very important question of having impact studies done because he has a job to do. His job is to deliver to the union bosses this bill to help them to unionize, because they are in retreat.

This is a government that has just spent \$160,000 to give a contract to one of the old union bosses, one of his old pals, to do a study which the Ministry of Transportation said wasn't necessary and had substantially already been done. This is an untendered, unrequired contract. They'll spend \$160,000 to educate their union pals, but they won't spend money to find out how many jobs are going to be lost.

Indeed it's strange that the minister sits here and laughs about this. He should be crying, because he's destroying this province with his attitudes.

You will spend money on union songs. This is a government that has put \$40,000 or \$50,000 of government money into developing a new union song, but it won't spend a penny to find out how many jobs are going to be lost by this stupid legislation. They want to put their head in the sands and pay off their union friends.

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you, your time has expired. The member for Mississauga West, you have two minutes to reply.

Mr Mahoney: Johnny Barker was a well-known labour leader in the Steelworkers organization, and he had a saying I have quoted often that I find rather appropriate. He used to say, with some regularity when talking about social programs and changes in society, "Don't let your bleeding heart run away with your bloody head." I thought it was kind of appropriate. It was somewhat a colloquial way of putting it, but it really makes a lot of sense.

Mr Bradley: I think Dennis McDermott said that.

Mr Mahoney: Well, McDermott stole it from Barker if he said it, because it was John Barker's many, many, many years ago, back in the days when the Steelworkers union was actually being formed.

There are a lot of tremendous people I've known in the labour movement over the years, people like Larry Sefton and Don Montgomery and Ivan Campbell, a lot of tremendous people who were dedicated, hardworking, absolutely committed to improvements for the workers, and in reality they delivered.

Mr Hope: A lot of blood, sweat and tears.

Mr Mahoney: That's right, a lot of blood, sweat and tears. I agree with that. They delivered a lot of reforms that were important.

But they all did another thing as well. They understood that you had to make these changes, whether in programs directly in labour legislation or in other social programs, in a way in which the community at large can accept them and absorb them and understand them and work with them for the benefit of workers and for the benefit of management, which ultimately is for the benefit of the entire community. That is exactly how labour leaders in past years have operated, whether it goes back to Joe Morris—you can name hundreds of them.

That's not what you're doing. You're creating a terrible atmosphere between labour and management in the province of Ontario.

I move to adjourn the debate, Mr Speaker.

The Deputy Speaker: Pursuant to standing order 33, the question that this House do now adjourn is deemed to have been made.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): The member for Oakville South has given notice of his dissatisfaction with the answer to his question given by the Minister of Labour concerning impact studies on job losses. The member for Oakville South, you will have five minutes to make your presentation and the minister will also have five minutes to reply.

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I won't need the full five minutes.

The reason I was dissatisfied is that I think the people of this province need to have an answer. We've asked on many occasions about doing impact studies and this minister hasn't been very clear on why not, why there weren't going to be any impact studies. We've asked day after day.

If the minister will look back, this legislation, as we all know, has become very important. Literally every day our party has asked a question on it or had a statement on it or brought it to the attention of the minister. The minister, having spent some time going around during discussions, will know it has become one of the biggest factors of discussion among all groups in the province of Ontario. Yesterday that poll that came out indicated a high proportion of the people who are aware of this issue as being very critical.

I want to ask one simple question to the minister and then he can have five minutes to give the answer. My question is this, Mr Minister: Have you done any impact studies—I'll repeat it—have you done any impact studies, and if you have not done any, why not? Simple question. I believe the people of the province need that answer.

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): The proposed reforms that we brought forward focus on giving employees the right to organize and engage in meaningful collective bargaining where they wish to do so. The proposals are not anticipated to have a significant impact on union density, and even if they do, a growing body of evidence suggests that the presence of unions does not inhibit—

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order, please. The minister has the floor.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: —but rather enhances workplace productivity, and this is a belief that I share.

Professor Noah Meltz of the University of Toronto has noted in a paper prepared for the Ministry of Labour:

"In order to undertake various economic impact studies, a number of heroic assumptions would have to be made. These assumptions relate to the process of estimating the net economic impact of a possibly greater but difficult to determine extent of unionization and the economic impact of the changes on already unionized establishments and benefits.

"But at the same time it can create pressure of higher productivity and more innovative work organization.

"In short, while wage costs may increase, cost savings may also result, facilitated by lower turnover, greater employee participation and a collective voice in the workplace."

If I can, in addition, just briefly, an internal assessment—

Interjections.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: They obviously don't want the rest of the answer, Mr Speaker. I'm finished.

The Deputy Speaker: It being past 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 1:30 of the clock tomorrow afternoon.

The House adjourned at 1803.

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for the substance abuse strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Sillpo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Phillip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaître, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward-Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

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St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
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Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/ ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the substance abuse strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie antidrogue

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Second Session, 35th Parliament

Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Wednesday 8 July 1992

Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Mercredi 8 juillet 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Tuesday 8 July 1992

The House met at 1330.

Prayers.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

LANDLORD-TENANT COOPERATION

Mr Dalton McGuinty (Ottawa South): I wish to bring to the attention of the members of this House a matter that goes to the very heart of our keen interest in promoting good relations between landlords and tenants in Ontario.

On May 29, 1992, the rent review services office in Ottawa issued an order that was delivered to 108 apartments in a building owned by a respected Ottawa landlord, Minto Developments. The order specified that the rents being charged for 16 units in the building were unlawful. Ministry of Housing officials later admitted that they believed the 16 rents were unlawful because in each case they exceeded the maximum allowable rent by one cent.

Minto, with 25,000 tenants, is Ottawa-Carleton's largest landlord. I'm certain we all recognize that good landlord-tenant relations are something we must constantly attempt to promote in the public interest. We will recognize as well that there are surely enough impediments before landlords and tenants in their sincere efforts to create and maintain good relations between themselves without the Ministry of Housing throwing a wrench into the works.

In an effort to restore good relations with its tenants, Minto has requested that the ministry issue a letter of apology to the tenants and Minto. Ministry of Housing officials stubbornly refuse to issue that apology and matters have now escalated, unfortunately, to the point where a lawsuit is threatened.

The Minister of Housing must now exercise her legitimate authority to defuse this matter by requiring that an apology be made by her officials. She must also inquire into the reasons why such an order was ever issued and decide whether she believes her officials should be prosecuting landlords for the sake of one penny. Surely her officials have many more pressing matters to pursue than this.

I feel certain that the minister will want to pursue this matter responsibly as part of her continuing efforts to promote good relations between tenants and landlords in Ontario.

ORANGE HERITAGE HOMECOMING PARADE

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): This Saturday I will be pleased to take part in the Orange Heritage Homecoming Parade in Wiarton. This parade will celebrate Canada's 125th birthday as well as the 125th anniversary of the writing of the song The Maple Leaf Forever, also of the Wolseley Loyal Orange Lodge 1231, and the centennial of the Wiarton District High School.

Because the lodge has long helped disabled children, the parade will be led by the Hackett Thunder Band of London. These young people will not only march for

disabled kids but also include youngsters who are physically challenged. Because of its heritage theme, the parade will feature floats depicting eras in the lodge's history with people dressed in period costume and riding in horse-drawn buggies, carriages and antique cars.

Over the years, the Orange Lodge has made a huge contribution to the community. In my riding, its members helped to build the Grey-Bruce Regional Health Centre and several local arenas, and most recently they've sponsored a minor league softball team in Owen Sound. They have long assisted needy families, ensuring that there was always food on the table and presents for the children under the Christmas tree.

The Orange Lodge has been an invaluable service organization since before Confederation. It sent thousands of members to fight for Canada's freedom in both world wars and produced several premiers, Speakers of the House and lieutenant governors.

I would like to commend Dave Dailey, present deputy grand master of Ontario west and chairman of the parade committee, for his hard work. I wish him every success both this week and in the future and I thank him for his efforts on behalf of everyone in Grey and Bruce.

PROPOSED HIGHWAY

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): During the election, I ran on the basis that arbitrary powers of government and politicians should not be unchecked. I had the example of P1 as a bad model of interference. During the campaign, I stated my support for processes that maximized the involvement of the entire community. I did so because I believe the environment is of primary importance and that environmental, not political, criteria should be used in determining the location of what could be environmentally damaging new infrastructures. Otherwise, politicians win cheap political points and the community and the environment lose important environmental resources.

The criteria used to determine the Highways 401-407 link have followed a process. The environmental assessment has identified 88 criteria and has weighted these criteria. These criteria go way beyond "ease and economy." They clearly looked at environmental impacts. Over 20 different configurations were evaluated and graded. There have been public open houses to hear the concerns of the community. A decision on the technically preferred route was based on these criteria and public comments. Nothing was done behind closed doors.

The technically preferred route, in the judgement of the engineers and the planners and based on the criteria, must be accepted as the link when and if it is built. This of course is after further dialogue with the community at large, and of course politicians should be heard. However, their voices should not be heard with any greater volume than anyone else in the community. To allow political interference is indefensible and a waste of taxpayers' money.

If, after a fair and equitable process, the link ends up in my riding, I and the community must accept that. No one should be forced to accept, however, decisions based on politics and not on important environmental grounds.

1340

CHILD SAFETY

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): The Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, who is responsible for consumer protection and safety, should be aware that the Canadian Standards Association has established safety standards for playground equipment. These standards are expensive for manufacturers to implement but vital to protect children. Unfortunately, they're permissive rather than mandatory.

I question whether the minister agrees that it is important that these standards be enforced and maintained. If the minister were truly concerned about the safety of children, she wouldn't allow Ontario's municipalities, school boards and other government agencies to purchase playground equipment which does not meet the standards of the Canadian Standards Association.

Metropolitan Toronto, for example, recently awarded a large contract for playground equipment to a foreign manufacturer which didn't meet these standards, but on demand, when it was discovered they didn't meet them, the manufacturer subsequently did meet the Canadian standards.

I do not think it's responsible to award contracts to Ontario companies simply because they employ Ontario workers, but when our companies and our workers lose contracts to foreign manufacturers who don't comply with legitimate standards for safety, I get very concerned indeed.

I believe the minister must inform this House that she too is concerned and that she is prepared to defend Ontario jobs and children by instructing all government agencies to purchase playground equipment that meets the safety standards.

FUEL SUBSTITUTION

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): Three consecutive Energy ministers in this government have promised that Ontario Hydro will be more responsive to public concerns. The province of Ontario has been told that Bill 118 will make Ontario Hydro more open and accountable. Business will be done through the front door instead of the back door. Recent statements by the acting Minister of Energy on tendering practices do not bear this out.

I certainly hope the present fiasco surrounding the introduction of fuel switching programs is not also indicative of the new direction Ontario Hydro is taking. The acting Minister of Energy on two occasions has stated in this House that negotiations are proceeding with the gas industry on the substitution issue and that quick passage of Bill 118 was mandatory for the success of the program. However, the minister has failed to include some key players, mainly the municipal utilities and the Association of Major Power Consumers in Ontario, in these important discussions.

Many commissions are completely in the dark over Hydro's plans for fuel substitution programs, and I urge

the acting Minister of Energy to clear the air immediately and issue some type of statement regarding the status of discussions. The stakes are too high for this attitude of secrecy to continue.

The city of London has an excellent program using load shifting that increases revenue without requiring new generation. Immediate consultation is necessary. I urge the acting minister to table the fuel-switching legislation for debate in this House.

NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE BICENTENNIAL

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): I rise today because I would like to take this opportunity to thank all of those who participated in this past weekend's bicentennial events in Niagara-on-the-Lake.

About 5,000 spectators took a trip back in time to witness the town of Niagara-on-the-Lake transformed into the 18th-century town of Newark, the first capital of Upper Canada. Hundreds of town residents and other re-enactors dressed in period costume milled about the town, lending to the atmosphere of a bygone era.

The highlight of the bicentennial celebrations was the arrival of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, played by Neil Rumble from the Niagara-on-the-Lake Chamber of Commerce, by tall ship from Toronto. With cannons booming, the Lieutenant Governor re-enacted his arrival on the shores of Niagara some 200 years ago.

Much of the credit for the success of this event must go to Mr Jim Alexander of Niagara-on-the-Lake and his committee, who volunteered countless hours of their time over the last three years to organize this unique celebration.

I'm sure this bicentennial week will in itself become another page in the history of the town of Niagara-on-the-Lake. After participating in this bicentennial celebration, I can only say that for many of us our regret is that we won't be around for the 300th anniversary in the year 2092.

Mr Hansen joined us with his family and I know other members did as well, and I know they all had a rousing good time.

LANDFILL SITES

Mr Charles Beer (York North): Yesterday over 1,000 York region residents made their way to Queen's Park to protest this government's decision to force the region to be the new dump site for Metro's garbage.

I have with me today over 1,000 coupons that residents have signed and clipped out of the Newmarket Era, the Aurora Banner and other regional papers to once again show their disapproval of the dump. Included in this envelope are the coupons and many letters, which I will be delivering to the minister.

Amid the placard-waving and vocal demonstrations yesterday were cries for new ideas, for new options and yes, Minister, for you to sit down and talk to the residents and listen to their concerns.

Madam Minister, it is truly ironic that you would be prepared to introduce today into this Legislature an environmental bill of rights while at the same time creating a megadump in York region. Where are the rights of the citizens of York region? Bill 143 is an arbitrary and

dictatorial piece of legislation which runs completely counter to any concept of environmental rights. What will an environmental bill of rights do to protect York region from having a megadump the size of 80 SkyDomes? Clearly there must be a better way.

Surely the unilateral decision of this minister through Bill 143 to impose a megadump on York region is neither environmentally right nor progressive. Surely the outhouse technology of a megadump cannot be acceptable to this minister or this government. York region residents have joined forces to fight for their rights on this issue, and the battle has just begun.

DAY CARE

Mr Cameron Jackson (Burlington South): On January 1 of this year, the NDP Minister of Community and Social Services announced that new fee subsidies would be available for public sector day care programs only, unless a municipality is able to show that non-profit child care is unavailable.

Although the NDP government says it is conducting a consultation on private day care before taking any action, on June 10 an NDP child care advisory committee issued a document outlining conversion procedures for private day care. Then, on June 22, municipalities received a directive from the NDP social services ministry ordering that all new purchases of child care service agreements are now to be in the non-profit sector alone. It also stated that where there are no non-profit centres, ministerial approval will now be required for the negotiation of service agreements with private sector centres. So much for NDP consultation.

This latest move by the Rae government is another example of NDP discrimination against women as employers and as child care workers in private day care. It is a blatant form of shameless blackmail, forcing them to sign conversion agreements without any hope of ever obtaining any compensation whatsoever. The NDP is wasting taxpayers' money, feigning consultation and arbitrarily imposing its will on municipalities, which pay 20% of the day care bill.

I doubt this is legal. After all, the province is telling municipalities that they cannot enter service agreements with the only sector which pays municipal taxes. The one great irony is that the NDP minister responsible for women's issues is the chief architect of this illegal and gender-racist NDP policy against women in the private day care sector whose only crime is their love for and commitment to children in Ontario.

VISITORS FROM GERMANY

Mr David Christopherson (Hamilton Centre): It is with great pleasure that I welcome to our Legislature today a special group of visitors who have come to us from Germany. Members will notice our guests seated in the public gallery.

This group of 33 men and women is travelling in Canada on behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. They have a genuine political interest in Canada and are travelling on their own time to learn about our politics, economy and culture. An admirably full schedule has been

arranged, consisting of meetings with a variety of officials on topics ranging from free trade to social issues, along with other activities. The goal of the group is to get to know Canada from the inside.

Such interest in our country is indeed gratifying, but I think all members will agree that there is as much we can learn from these guests as they will learn from us. On behalf of all members, I thank them for taking the time to share their experiences and their culture with Canadians and for doing so with enthusiasm.

As chair of the NDP government caucus, I want to say what a special pleasure and privilege it is for our caucus to welcome these representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, a party with which we New Democrats share much in the way of philosophy and objectives. It is reassuring to have such kindred spirits in this House.

On behalf of all members, I would like to say "Willkommen" to these special guests. We appreciate their interest in Canada, in our province and in our Legislature. We extend our sincere best wishes to them for an informative and pleasant journey.

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STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

ENVIRONMENTAL BILL OF RIGHTS

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): I take pride in announcing to the House today that we've succeeded in creating a unique piece of legislation, the Ontario environmental bill of rights, a bill which gives citizens far greater power to protect the environment than they've ever had before, yet at the same time is fair to business and industry.

Last October, I appointed a task force, made up of key business and environmental organizations, and charged it with developing draft legislation. The task force did what the critics said could never be done: It drafted a bill reflecting a consensus of business and environmental groups. With this unanimous agreement, we are moving forward with the support of both communities.

Ever since I first took my seat in this Legislature, I have had the conviction that when governments fail to meet their obligation to safeguard the environment citizens should be able to hold them accountable.

The task force successfully transformed my vision of citizens' rights into reality. The members took the principles we gave them—the right to a healthy environment, improved access to courts, increased public participation, government accountability and whistle-blower protection—and crafted a made-in-Ontario bill that flows from our experience and meets the needs of this province. For the first time, Ontario citizens will have a guaranteed right to a healthy environment.

The environmental bill of rights will create a win-win situation for everyone. It will open up the government's environmental decision-making process to much greater public scrutiny. This will give business a uniform and predictable process for obtaining environmental approvals, while giving citizens an opportunity to influence decisions at an earlier stage.

To give the public the information it needs for meaningful participation, the task force recommends an accessible registry that will give people advance notice of significant environmental decisions to be made, information on how to participate and notice of final decisions.

The bill also gives people the ability to hold the government accountable. People will be entitled to ask for a review of government policies and programs when they see problems or to initiate an investigation where they see environmental damage being done.

If citizens had had these rights in the past, their vigilance might have prevented environmental disasters like the Hagersville tire fire or PCB contamination at Smithville.

We anticipate that if people are given greater input into environmental decisions, then better decisions will be made and the courts need only be used as a last resort.

The proposed bill provides enhanced access to courts by the creation of a new civil cause of action and by the removal of standing as a barrier in public nuisance actions.

A citizen will be able to use the new civil cause of action where environmental laws are being or are about to be broken and where the government has not adequately responded to a request for an investigation. In such cases, citizens can go to court to apply for an injunction or to ask that a restoration plan be negotiated.

Workers also have a significant role to play in defending the environment. When they know of illegal activity, they should be able to report it without losing their jobs or their paycheques. The proposed bill extends existing protections under the Environmental Protection Act to a longer list of acts, as well as guaranteeing that workers can exercise their new rights under the environmental bill of rights without fear of reprisals.

However, this bill will be effective only if government lives up to its obligations. To oversee this, the task force recommends appointing an environmental commissioner. This independent commissioner would ensure that all government ministries are held accountable for their environmental policies and actions.

I want to thank the members of the task force, who are with us today. The co-chairs are Michael Cochrane, formerly with the Ministry of the Attorney General and now in private practice, and my deputy minister, Richard Dicerni. I'd also like to recognize the contribution of Gary Posen, my previous deputy minister, who served as co-chair between October 1991 and May 1992.

The other members of the task force are Bob Anderson of the Business Council on National Issues; George Howse of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and his sometime substitute, Norm Stewart; Rick Lindgren from the Canadian Environmental Law Association; John Macnamara of the Ontario Chamber of Commerce; Paul Muldoon from Pollution Probe; Andrew Roman, a lawyer specializing in administrative and environmental law, and Sally Marin from the Ministry of the Environment. I'd also like to acknowledge the work of Steve Shrybman of Cabinet Office.

Members of the task force are in the gallery. I'd like them to stand so that they can be recognized, if they wouldn't mind. I congratulate these individuals for creating a fair and

balanced bill. They have all devoted hundreds of hours discussing the principles of the bill and consulting with their constituencies. They've proved that if people are brought together in a cooperative spirit, with a clear mandate, they can develop solutions which have integrity and meet the needs of everyone involved.

I know the people of Ontario share the vision reflected in the environmental bill of rights I am releasing today. Over the course of this summer, I hope to increase their understanding of the bill and gather their comments and suggestions. I look forward to introducing the bill for first reading as soon as possible.

For too long, the public has remained on the outside looking in. They have been denied their right to a say in decisions which dramatically affect their lives. The environmental bill of rights will open doors that were previously closed to them. We are bringing Ontario closer to true environmental democracy.

RESPONSES

ENVIRONMENTAL BILL OF RIGHTS

Mr Carman McClelland (Brampton North): I think it's important to note at the outset that this announcement of the environmental bill of rights in many respects is really a non-announcement inasmuch as the minister has already written her story and had it written in the press yesterday. Her announcement comes as absolutely no surprise after seeing the reports on the CBC last night, after reading today's papers and after her press conference earlier today. It makes you wonder at the outset if she really respects the traditions of this House and if it's a portent of things to come in terms of her environmental democracy and how it's going to work in the future.

Having said that, I want to point out that the top environmental priority of the New Democratic Party has today seen the light of day in draft form. Although the document in many respects bears the same title, the environmental bill of rights, on examination the draft document bears little resemblance to the previously proposed bill of rights, including the soon-to-be-implemented Bills 9, 13 and 12, tabled by the critic, as she was then. I think you will notice there are some major departures from the bill of rights that many people contemplated.

It begs the question fundamentally, apart from the substance of the report we have here and the bill of rights as proposed by Mrs Grier when she was critic, who is the real Ruth Grier? What does she really stand for? What if anything beyond expediency in terms of government does she really believe?

How much real remedial action and empowerment will this environmental bill of rights give to people when juxtaposed and compared to what she said previously? Will it assist the 1,000 people who stood on the front steps of the Legislature yesterday and the countless tens of thousands of other people in and around the greater Toronto area who vehemently oppose Bill 143 and the implications it will have on their natural environment, their farms and their homes? What will it do for them? What empowerment does it give people in real circumstances, in a real situation, when the minister has said, "I will dictate my policy,

because I happen to believe my policy is supreme in these matters"? That is exactly what happened with Bill 143.

I have to wonder, in terms of all the lipservice being paid to the environmental bill of rights, when it comes down to the crunch, Minister, will you give it the same importance that you gave the environmental assessment process, when you delivered on the so-called promises you made to the people at Keele Valley and Britannia? Is this the same kind of thing we're going to see here, a commitment to a process, but when it comes down to the nitty-gritty and reality, you will say, "I will dictate what will happen"? That's precisely what you've done with Bill 143.

I don't think it's any coincidence that you held up the environmental bill of rights, had your process in place and got Bill 143 out of the way. Those were your words, to get it out of the way before the environmental bill of rights came along. It's clear that this document is contrary in almost every respect to the principles underlined in Bill 143.

Will it help those who wonder what you are doing in terms of your lack of initiative and leadership in other areas, Minister, and your failure to commit on other promises? It seems to me the brave new world of pre-election rhetoric you promised in so many areas has to be questioned. Where are you going to go and how will this help deliver?

Does the environmental bill of rights allow people to challenge the policy of the minister? Does it allow the people of the province to say to you, Madam Minister, that they disagree with you fundamentally and want to have their input? I come back again to reality, not the rhetoric and not the ideals but the reality of the way you've been governing in terms of environment and what's happening with people all around the greater Toronto area, and the sense of their involvement and empowerment.

1400

How about the municipalities that have been totally shut out in terms of your waste management process? That's how they feel about it. Is this going to be of any comfort to them? Will it provide them with anything?

How would you respond to a commissioner what you're contemplating when you won't respond to people in the province and you won't respond to municipalities? I dare say in many respects you don't respond to people in your own caucus on some issues that are of considerable importance. I don't think the relationship between Bill 143 and the draft bill of rights is clearly coincidental.

In conclusion, I want to say that the clearest example of the level of commitment that your government has had towards working cooperatively with business, labour and special interest groups is best illustrated by the complete abandonment of the principles and goals of the Ontario Round Table on Environment and Economy.

As you laud this and tout this today, I want to draw people back to reality in terms of what you've done as minister, what commitments you have fulfilled and where you've come. This was the number one priority for you; it was the number one thing you were going to do and it doesn't bear much resemblance at all to what you said you were going to do.

It leaves the question: Who is the real Ruth Grier? Is it statement number one, statement number two or statement number three? How many more Ruth Griers are we going to see? Will the real Ruth Grier please stand up?

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): In responding to the environmental bill of rights, first of all I'd like to challenge the fact that the minister has built up great expectations by calling these proposals, these documents an environmental bill of rights. When one thinks of an environmental bill of rights, one thinks of something that's enshrined, like our Charter of Rights and Freedoms, something that is very substantial and that enshrines those very things no one can ever take away from us. What I'm seeing happen here is that the Minister of the Environment is building expectations on this document as being something far greater and far bigger than it really is when you get down to it. I question the fact that by starting off and calling it this you have given people an expectation that is not really fair.

I'm pleased that business and environment have gotten together and tried to put a document together, to work it through, but I am also very pleased you're giving more time for other people from the development industry and other areas to hopefully have an involvement in developing a document that can work. I really believe that if we are going to be progressive, we've got to make sure we continue to listen and work with all areas, unlike the Ministry of Labour, which has closed off business and management from consideration on its labour bill. If we're able to continue to have dialogue in a balanced way with different groups on this bill, we might be able to come off with something that works.

I look forward to seeing who your appointment of an environmental commissioner might be. Fortunately, Jack Layton already has a job and Dale Martin has a job and Richard Johnston has a job and enough of the other New Democrats, but let's just hope it's not another place for you to place one of your New Democratic friends.

I also raise the question of how user-friendly this will be. If there's anything I would hope to see in government, it is that there'll be an opportunity for people to get into government and find out what's going on, so that when someone has a concern—how they can protect their family better, how they can protect Lake Ontario, how we can protect our natural habitat—is this bill going to help them do so?

One of the concerns we have is the time it's going to take to install all these systems and go through it. When you appointed this last committee, I said, "Take your time; don't rush it." Don't feel you have to rush it now, because I think there are things that need to be done. But if there are parts of that process, if it can be done correctly and well and it can begin to have an immediate impact to protect those areas in York, Durham and Peel that have significant problems with you and your ministry, then let's do that.

I haven't seen any cost analysis. This government never comes through and says how much something is going to cost until after the Treasurer comes in and says it's going to be a deficit. Let's have a look and maybe you can, in one of your future press conferences, tell us just

what it is going to cost for the registry system and the whole support mechanism around this bill.

Can you give us some assurance as well that this environmental bill of rights, as you call it, will not go back to Bill 12? You and the Liberals came forward with a bill of rights that really was full of lawsuits. You were going to sue polluters. Individuals and groups could sue almost at random. I would hope that as you take further time in the review of this bill, you're not going to revert to some of the very distorted thinking that people saw in your Bill 12.

I would also be worried because again we have expectations built up on what government is doing, and if this becomes anything like the Ontario Human Rights Commission, we're in a position where when you set up your new organization, if you have a backlog and the problems we've seen with other ministries and secretariats that are established, we begin to wonder just how much it is serving the people or anyone.

I guess what I really look at as well is the impact this bill is going to have as we start looking at the Sewell commission report, as it comes in, and as we start looking at the whole question of environmental assessment. If we want to build new affordable housing, and we're looking for ways of doing it, is this system going to slow up that process or is it going to speed it up? What is the net impact on the overall development of growth within this province, in a planned, realistic way?

I would want to make sure that there's nothing being done through this bill that's going to further get in the way of legitimate, good and fine progress. We're in a province where we have to work together. I have sensed that there's been some movement within your ministry to do that. I just wish you could be consistent on that with the other bills and the other things that are going on and may it continue as we continue the dialogue, and seeing that we can improve your efforts in this regard.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The Premier.

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I had a meeting earlier today with the Leader of the Opposition and the leader of the Conservative Party and I wonder if I could have the unanimous consent of the House to make a statement, which I'll try to keep as brief as possible. I apologize in advance to the House for not having a written text for my statement. It's just that time has not permitted that, since I got in very late last night. Is that agreeable?

The Speaker: Is there unanimous consent? Agreed.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM RÉFORME CONSTITUTIONNELLE

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I appreciate the chance to speak to the House today. I want to begin by saying that the member for Carleton and the member for York North were with me for part of the proceedings, but neither of them was there for the last several hours of the discussions yesterday. I don't know whether that was a deliberate decision on their part or whether it was a—

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): That's where things fell apart.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): They propped you up as long as they had strength.

Hon Mr Rae: They had other things to do. I want to say to the members that I appreciated their advice. I listened carefully to it. I did not always follow it. I want them both to know that I continue to appreciate their advice. The member for Willowdale has also been very active. A number of members have been active and I appreciated their participation. I certainly don't think their participation means that they're in any way, shape or form obliged to do anything other than to be good and loyal critics of Her Majesty's government.

Let me say that late last night at the end of the premiers' meeting, we agreed on the elements of a basic package for constitutional reform. I want to remind the House of what the basic elements of this package are and I want to say some things about where we now are, as I see it, in the discussions, since the agreements were reached with nine premiers, nine governments, and with the federal government being represented by Mr Clark.

First of all we have the commitment to a Canada clause, which will be an interpretative clause, which will speak clearly of the basic constitutional features of the country's life, including its commitment to democracy and to parliamentary and federal government, and to aboriginal rights, to Quebec's distinct society, to racial equality and to the principles of gender equality. I think we can see in the Canada clause and its interpretative effect, a clear commitment of the country to some very basic rights for Canada, very basic rights for Canadians.

We have, in my judgement, reached the most successful effort at reconciliation with the aboriginal peoples that the constitutional process has ever produced in the history of the country. We not only have the commitment to the inherent right to self-government; we have an agreement by the aboriginal leadership that any judicial consideration of that will be delayed for five years, and we have a commitment to create a negotiation process with respect to self-government as well as land claims.

1410

There's an enormous amount of work that's been done already. The minister responsible for native affairs was at my side throughout these discussions. I could not have done the work without him. I think his participation, his credibility and his links and ties with the aboriginal leadership across the country proved of enormous assistance to us. I want to thank him publicly for the efforts he's made.

There is a strong and clear commitment to a social charter and to the economic union. There's a commitment to a reduction of interprovincial trade barriers which has some important protections for basic provincial programs which are already in place and which are an important feature of economic and social life across the country. But the commitment to a reduction in trade barriers that are arbitrary and discriminatory between and among the Canadian provinces is, I think, a significant achievement, one

we're certainly very comfortable with and feel quite strongly about.

We also have a commitment to the social charter, which was an idea this government was extremely committed to. Other governments were less enthusiastic, but we've managed to make significant progress in bringing that alongside. The Beaudoin-Dobbie proposals helped very much in that effort. We now, I think, have a clearer commitment to those programs.

I want to remind the House that in the very first speech I gave as Premier, I made a clear linkage between our ability to strengthen the social and economic union in other ways and our willingness to respond to the demands that were coming from a number of different parts of the country with respect to the allocation of powers.

I said at that time that the allocation of powers was not a theological issue for this government any more than it should be for any government. For example, I've discussed the question of training with the member for York North, the former Minister of Community and Social Services, who knows from his own experience the extent to which we have to work better in coordinating our training programs through the ministries we have here and through the federal government.

Someone has said, for example, that this means unemployment insurance will now be dismantled. I want to stress that nothing could be further from the truth. The federal government's responsibility for unemployment insurance is maintained and affirmed. Their constitutional and political responsibility for that is very clear, and the responsibility of the provinces for a greater participation in labour market training and labour market development is also confirmed. I think that's an important development.

We have a number of other areas where, again, the role of the provinces, as we know full well from this jurisdiction, has always been important in terms of tourism and recreation and forestry and housing and mining. The role of the provinces and their relationship to natural resources and other issues have always been extremely clear. We're trying to provide more effective and efficient government. This, again, is an issue that should join Canadians together. We still see a very critical and vital role for our national government, for our federal government in terms of our national institutions. In my view, nothing we have agreed to will diminish that role or take away from that role, but we have allowed for provinces to play an effective role in the management of these issues, which I think is going to prove to be important in terms of programs as well.

I want to stress that I don't think the public of Canada is preoccupied particularly with which level of government performs a particular role. I think they're more concerned to see that the governments which can do it best do it, that it's done in the most efficient and fair way possible and that we eliminate as much duplication and people falling over themselves as we possibly can. I emphasize, for example, on behalf of our province, that the issue of training and manpower was a concern of ours as a province when we first initiated these discussions several months ago.

It was a condition of Quebec, in terms of coming to the table and returning to the constitutional dialogue and the

constitutional family, that the basic gains it felt it had won at Meech and in the Meech formula should be reaffirmed or affirmed. I think we can say clearly and emphatically to the government and the people of Quebec that they have made enormous gains. Their gains are made not at the expense of anyone else, but in a spirit of real generosity and a real determination to work together. I would say very directly to Mr Bourassa publicly, as I've said to him privately, "It is time now for Quebec to return to the negotiating table."

Je veux dire tout simplement qu'on a toujours agi, comme Ontariens et comme gouvernement de l'Ontario, dans un esprit de bonne foi et dans un esprit de vouloir faire tout ce qui était possible pour le rang canadien. Nous avons insisté à ce que ce soit un rang canadien, mais que le Québec soit directement inclu dans le rang canadien et que les gains et les avantages, les choses que le Québec a voulues et que l'on a vues au lac Meech, soient encore inclus dans le nouveau document et soient encore inclus dans la réforme de la constitution que nous sommes en train de faire.

Je crois que je peux dire avec confiance que, à mon avis, après toutes les discussions, le Québec a maintenant la possibilité de retourner directement à la table de négociations, à la table de réconciliation, à la table de discussions, à la table canadienne, à la table du Canada, pour que, enfin, nous réglions toutes ces questions avec une finalité importante pour tous les Québécois, tous les Ontariens et tous les Canadiens.

C'est dans l'intérêt de nous tous, Québécois, Ontariens et Canadiens, que nous complétions ce travail, que ce travail soit fait, que les choses soient réglées et que nous puissions retourner au boulot important, qui est de retourner les Canadiens au travail et de retourner notre pays à la prospérité que le Canada mérite si fortement.

I want to close by saying that of course to achieve these gains and to achieve what we felt was important, we have also listened. I want to say to all members, members of my own party and members of the opposition parties, that it became clear to me as these negotiations proceeded over the last several months that one of the most important symbols of the federation in the minds of many Canadians living in many different parts of the country was this question of Senate reform, a Senate reform that in their view had to include the principle of equality between the provinces.

I think everyone here knows I have never been a particular enthusiast or advocate of a so-called triple E Senate in its pure form. In fact, I think it's fair to say that there was more than one occasion on which I said that it was not something which I saw as being a possibility in terms of the next round, this round, of constitutional reform. We put forward other models. We put forward the equitable model. We worked with other governments in trying to achieve support for that.

As the discussion proceeded, it became clear to me that this symbol of equality was really quite vital, but that the question of the powers of the Senate and the effectiveness—the so-called third E, if you like—was something which really could be negotiated and could be discussed, something on which there was a willingness to be flexible and to discuss. So over the period of time—at one point,

for example, I suggested that we get rid of the Senate and that we add on a number of elected members to the House of Commons who would be elected on an equal basis across the country.

That idea wasn't accepted. But from an earlier discussion, the principle of joint sitting between the House and the Senate in which differences between the House and the Senate would be resolved—and I'll come to some of the details in just a moment—provided I think a critical sort of common ground that was able to be worked on yesterday and that has produced the proposal which governments will now have to consider.

1420

I want to say to the members of the House and to the citizens of this province, people ask me, "What have you gained and what's happened?" What have we gained? We've gained a reformed Senate. We've gained a reformed Parliament. We've gained, I think, a sense in all parts of the country that the country can be made to work fairly. I think we've succeeded in protecting the principle that the government elected in the House of Commons has to be able to carry forward with its program and have the confidence that its program will be achieved and will succeed.

We have gained the important principle, which I insisted on and the minister insisted on as an important parallel to the principle of equality in the Senate if you're going to have equality in the Senate with the joint sittings, which in a sense creates a new dynamic—the principle of the House of Commons must clearly be that every province is going to be represented according to its population. I can tell you that principle has been recognized.

I say to the House that when we look at all the elements of this package, the Canada clause, the gains that we have achieved—I think historic gains, and for our government, I can tell you, it's something to which I have personally attached enormous importance—with the aboriginal leadership of the country, the achievement of the social charter and the stronger working of the economic union, the clarification of the powers of the different levels of government, the achievement of the essence of what it is that Quebec was seeking in the Meech Lake accord in terms of allowing Quebec to come back to the negotiating table with its head held high not in isolation but as part of the Canadian constitutional family, and finally, a reformed Senate, which will allow all those Canadians who look to their federal government as a place where they can be represented and considered and who see a spirit of reconciliation at work in the land, I look at this overall proposal and I see a profound basis for constitutional reform and I see a profound basis upon which we can get on with the other critical issues facing the country.

I want to conclude by saying many people have asked me: "Is this like a final deal? Is this the seamless web? Is this all there is? Is there a change now?" I'll tell you what this is. This is the basis on which, in my view, Quebec can now return to the table and on which there can be and continue to be a clear basis and a very profound basis for constitutional reform. I think there will be an opportunity for all Canadians to reflect and to look at and to consider in a mood of wanting to find a solution what has been

done and to consider what improvements can be made, what other things and what adjustments can be made.

I want to stress that there was no final initialling of anything by premiers which means that we have a seamless web and we have the problem we had with Meech, and then going to Langevin and everybody saying, "That's it, there's nothing more." I want to stress to members of the House that we are, in my view, approaching the time when we are going to have to make some important decisions as to what we can and cannot accept as a province, but I want to stress to everyone that the compromises we have reached as Canadians are compromises that can work. They are compromises in which no region has succeeded in winning its victory at the expense of anyone else.

We cannot see these negotiations as ones in which one part of the country says, "Well, if I step on someone else's neck, I will win," because if anyone has that vision or that view of how constitutional negotiations have to take place, I would simply say to them, "Not at all," because we have to live with each other for the future, we have to see this as a situation in which we will all win and in which, yes, there will be compromise but it will be a compromise based on a keen sense of interest and, above all, a keen sense of our profoundest interest of all, which is to keep the country whole and to make it work better.

I know there will be comments. I know there will be criticisms. I know there will be those who say that too much has been left out. I know there will be those who say, "You should not have done this" or "You should not have done that." But I want to say to everyone in this House that it is the basis, I believe, upon which we can achieve the national reconciliation, which includes everyone, which we have been seeking as a country for a very, very long time, and I urge and hope that all members will do their best in a constructive and positive way to keep the momentum going for the national agreement, for the national reconciliation we all so dearly seek.

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I think we'd all agree that each step in this process of negotiating a new Constitution is a significant one, and at each step I've wanted to be able to respond for my few moments as a leader of our party, certainly as an Ontarian, but also as a Canadian who shares a commitment to the unity and to the future of this nation.

I can't say often enough or take advantage frequently enough of the opportunities I have to say how proud I am of a nation that is built on the principles of respect and of tolerance, a nation that continues to find its strength in its diversity. I believe that is our heritage as a nation and it is also our unique achievement.

We've seen in recent years and now in recent weeks the constant effort that is required to keep the process of nation-building alive and well, and had I been in the Premier's place at the negotiating table over the last days, I know that I would have wanted to reach an agreement, that I would certainly have wanted a basis for inviting Quebec back to the table, and I sincerely hope that is what has been achieved. J'espère que ce sera en effet le résultat de ces négociations. I believe Ontarians want an agreement

that will work, and an agreement that ultimately will keep this country together.

But I was not at the table, and while I can and I do appreciate the efforts that were made there, I cannot really gauge, I say in all sincerity to the Premier, what those negotiations were like. We cannot yet have a real sense of what has been a positive response to needs, what is indeed compromise, what reservations there might still be legitimately about the compromises that have been made. We cannot yet know in truth what has been gained and what might have been lost. None of us has yet had an opportunity to see the full text of what's been agreed to, nor has there been an opportunity, I think the Premier would agree, for anyone in this province or in any other province, even for those who were at that negotiating table, to analyse the impact of the proposals that are to be put forward.

So what is needed now is time for analysis, time for careful consideration and reflection. The people of this province, as well as the members of this House, will want to hear more about what this agreement will mean, and we will want to hear from Ontarians. This kind of time for consideration, away from the pressures of the negotiating table, will be needed in every province.

Our only response today can be to say that we look forward to participating in the next steps. We do so recognizing that much work has been done, but there is still much work to be done.

1430

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): I appreciate the opportunity to say a few words. I want to say again how much I appreciate the Premier involving my party and our representatives and representatives of the Liberal Party in the discussions, more so than was the case previously. I just reiterate that and say that there are some areas where we have very strong agreement with the Premier in this package, in the discussions and the positions advanced by Ontario.

Certainly there is one area on which I think all Ontarians and I'm sure all members of this House agree: We want a deal, we want to get this Constitution behind us and we want to be able to move forward. Having said that, everybody then says, "However, we want the best deal, and what is the best deal, best for Ontario, best for Canada?" and that's where the debate is. Clearly the message from my constituents and those I've talked to in Ontario is, "Work it out and let's get on with other issues that are important to us."

Having said all of those to be construed as, I hope, very kind things—and I hope what I'm also going to say is not construed as unkind—the Premier will know I've had some reservations about some of the positions that Ontario has taken and how we've been represented at these discussions. The lack of a referendum has placed the Premier and the people of Ontario in a very weak position, in my view.

I know the Premier has expressed concern, particularly with Quebec not there, over the triple E Senate, over being virtually alone from time to time because Quebec was not there as the other province most concerned about central Canada maintaining some control

over itself. Had the Premier said from the outset that the people of Ontario, like Albertans, British Columbians, Quebecers and Newfoundlanders, because it is in their Constitution, will ultimately have a say by way of a referendum, he would never have needed to feel alone.

Premier Getty was never alone at the table. He had each and every Albertan with him every step of the way in advancing his positions, because he had made it very clear that he was there representing Albertans—indeed Canada's interest as well but representing Albertans—and that Albertans would have the final say, so when it came to issues like Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland having a veto over a substantial part of how Canada operates and when it comes to issues of the Senate, indeed Don Getty was there very confident, as were other premiers, that he would never be alone. They had people power with them, and you, Premier, were there alone, (a) because Quebec was not there on some of the issues and (b) because you had not invited people power in Ontario to be with you, the people power of the referendum.

I mention that again because I think it's important that as you go to the next round—and I think you've indicated this has got us to the next round, and that's the good news and we're very supportive and encouraged by that—there's still an opportunity to take the people power of nine million Ontarians to that table with you, and I would encourage you to do that.

I've been concerned about what appears to have been an almost blind determination for native self-government as the most important thing for Ontario. As you know, I was most critical of the tradeoffs of Meech. I don't like coming to a constitutional agreement by horse-trading Senate versus native rights versus veto versus other things. I think each of these are so important they should stand on their own.

I hope the native self-government that you have advanced, championed and brought forward is indeed in the best interests of natives and of Canadians. I really am concerned, though, that you've not had the same success—I think you've had the determination—in helping us define what it means. I suggest we are really into an area of very blindly moving forward, and I fear from talking with some of the natives in the two bands in my riding that they clearly have an expectation of what native self-government means well beyond what any government can possibly be prepared for. They now have expectations that are going to be totally unfulfilled. It just has been the be-all and the end-all. If they have self-government, they'll be healthy, wealthy, wise and prosperous for the rest of their lives. It's been like fairyland almost. That's what happens when we don't define what we're doing a little better.

You will know as well that I'm most concerned that—and you mentioned interprovincial trade barriers, Premier, but you have not in fact championed dropping interprovincial trade barriers, as I would have had I been at the table. Section 121 deals with dropping the interprovincial barriers. While you've reported some progress, Premier, you have not championed that cause completely. I am distressed by that. I believe it would have served Ontario's interest and Canada's interest to get on with a phasing-in timetable of the elimination of 100% of all the interprovincial

trade barriers within this country, most important for us to be able to compete and enter the global economy with some confidence and be able to have the jobs we want in Canada. I hope that if this is back on the table in the next round, you will bear that in mind.

Finally, the last disappointment was that you have not championed property rights, as I believe the majority of Ontarians—

Hon Mr Rae: Nobody did.

Mr Harris: No, nobody did. That's right. The Premier says that nobody championed them. What an opportunity for you, as Premier of the province of Ontario, to have championed them. I guess I'm stating my disappointments. Were I Premier of the province, I would have championed them. I'm telling you that and encouraging you to continue with that, because I think that lack of property rights and the substantial weakening in the new constitutional document over the old British North America Act is in fact a barrier to investment, to entrepreneurship, to jobs, to prosperity, to our province.

Those are the reservations that I still think there's time to talk about and that I want to put on the record. Having said all that, the Premier has said he believes that this is a deal to bring Quebec to the table. I want to say to my Premier, to Bob Rae, I want to say to Joe Clark, I want to say to the other premiers that I agree with them. I believe this is a basis to bring Quebec to the table. I want to say congratulations, because getting to that stage where Quebec would feel comfortable that Canada had not rejected it seemed very elusive.

I want to emphasize that I will do everything in my power and anything that I can add to encourage Quebec to recognize that what it had asked for in Meech and what it had asked for beyond Meech is contained in the spirit of this agreement. I don't believe this a final deal. I think Quebec will have some concerns over the Senate, and perhaps the veto, but I believe this can bring Quebec to the table. I congratulate all those involved in getting it to this stage.

Finally, Premier, I ask that as you go forth to that next stage you reflect on allowing the people of this province to have the final say. I have a great deal of confidence in the generosity of the people of this province, of Ontarians wanting to be part of Canada. I have great confidence that they are able to understand these issues far better than we give them credit for.

I believe, Premier, that if you will make that commitment today, ultimately the people of this province will have an opportunity by way of referendum to vote yes for Canada, just as other provinces will have that opportunity, you will be able to go forward, never alone, but with true 10 million people power into those discussions that will ensue. I ask the Premier to pat himself on the back for being part of a historic agreement to get us to the stage where Quebec can come to the table, but I ask him—as he knows, there is much left to be done yet—to consider the referendum before he goes forward.

1440

ORAL QUESTIONS

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I have a question for the Minister of Labour. On Monday I asked the Minister of Labour why he consistently refuses to refer his labour relations bill to the Premier's special labour-management advisory committee. The minister indicated on Monday in his responses that in fact the Premier's committee was set up with both labour and management people "to be able to provide advice to the government...in terms of how we improve and better labour relations in this province," and that's a direct quote from the minister. Yet he refuses to send this significant piece of labour legislation to that very same committee.

I say to the minister very directly that 78% of Ontarians believe this government must do a proper analysis of the impact of this legislation on jobs. The Premier has set up a business-labour joint committee equipped to do exactly that. Will the minister tell me again, in the presence of the Premier who established this committee, why he is not prepared to let this joint labour-management committee do the impact studies of his legislation that the people of this province are saying are needed?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): Mr Speaker, I'd like to refer that question to the Premier of the province.

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I'm happy to answer the question and say to the honourable member that I established the committee. I had hoped it would be able to meet yesterday but other things took over yesterday. It will be meeting very soon. Of course it will deal with the legislation. It can discuss the legislation, it can discuss a number of issues. This is an important part of the discussion, but I don't think there should be any misunderstanding either in the business community or in the labour community or in this House as to the determination of this government to proceed with this legislation.

Mrs McLeod: I'm delighted to be able to then place the question again to the Premier. The Premier, I'm sure, has been following the responses of his minister when we have asked this question in the past and he will be aware that the Minister of Labour has repeatedly said he does not believe there is any need to do studies of the impact of this legislation on jobs. He does not believe jobs will be lost, therefore no studies are needed.

The Premier will understand that we're a little bit sceptical about accepting the minister's belief in exchange for real job impact studies. The Premier will surely be aware of the poll results that were released this week in which more than two thirds of Ontarians, who included union members, who included NDP supporters, are convinced this bill will indeed cost jobs. They have a reason to be concerned if they look at the only study that has been done, which suggests that about 295,000 jobs could indeed be lost in the province, and yet the Premier's own minister

dismisses this, refuses to carry out any impact studies and continues to march ahead with his own beliefs.

If the minister refuses to accept the numbers, surely the Premier can. Surely the Premier will understand that the people of this province are not supportive of this legislation, they believe it will cost jobs and they simply don't think the government has done its homework. Will the Premier, understanding that, agree that this significant piece of legislation should be referred to the labour-management committee he's established to improve labour-management relations and ensure that committee carries out proper job impact studies?

Hon Mr Rae: Only a Liberal would think some survey or a poll represents a study. There are going to be all kinds of polls, they're going to go up and down, on all kinds of subjects. We've seen that. I've certainly experienced it in my 15 years in public life.

The honourable member says the minister has indicated he's not interested in conducting any studies, I can tell her that's quite untrue. This government is interested in working with everyone to see that we have the strongest and most positive climate for labour relations anywhere in North America. That's what we're determined to do.

We don't think we do that by denying basic rights to working people, to working women and working men, in this province. We don't advance the cause by denying basic rights to people and we don't make progress by putting our heads in the sand and pretending the labour force hasn't changed in the last 50 years. We're determined to make changes. The committee can certainly deal with the issue but we're not going to use the establishment of the committee as an excuse to delay the legislation, which is what the Liberal Party wants to do.

Mrs McLeod: So the Premier, having asked to respond to a question which I was not proposing to ask him in the first place, still refuses to answer the question. The question was, are you prepared to do job impact studies on your legislation? Are you prepared to have those studies done by the joint committee which you yourself established?

Talk about putting your head in the sand. I thought it was just the Minister of Labour who had the blinders on and was refusing to listen or to hear any of the concerns that are being expressed by the people of this province, but clearly the Premier has the blinders on as well and this entire government is refusing to care—not just about studies. These are people in Ontario who say they are worried about this bill. The more people who know about it, the more concerned they are. They are saying to this government, "Do your homework; at least be prepared to do the studies that are needed." Yet this government does not care about those concerns, it doesn't seem to care about the job loss that may occur as a result of this legislation.

I would just ask the Premier, what is his minister and what is his government so afraid of? What are they afraid of in having the joint committee do some objective studies of the potential job loss of their legislation? What does this government think it's going to lose by doing what Ontarians clearly want the government to do?

Hon Mr Rae: We certainly know what the Liberal Party is afraid of. It's afraid of progress, it's afraid of dealing with an issue that's been there for a long time and it's afraid of dealing with the reality that there are scores, indeed hundreds, of workers who've been left without any ability to organize themselves effectively. We're trying to deal with those issues and deal with that problem.

I want to say directly to the member that there's no reason at all why this committee can't consider exactly this legislation as well as others, but I will say to her that as to the so-called scientific studies she's referred to, the first study carried out by the Council of Ontario Construction Associations, which has been carrying on this billboard campaign which the honourable member is simply reflecting, said that 495,000 jobs would be lost, and then they carried out another survey and told us, "Well, maybe it'll be 280,000 jobs that will be lost."

I want the honourable member to know that we're happy to have this legislation discussed in the House. The discussion paper has been out there; it's been out for a year. We've had the most extensive consultation process involved with any legislation. I can understand why the Liberal Party would be so hostile to the legislation, but let that not be an excuse for this Legislature failing to act in an area in which it so clearly needs to act.

The Speaker: New question.

Mrs McLeod: The question was such a simple and such a direct one: If you don't trust anybody else's studies, why not do your own? What have you got to lose?

ENVIRONMENTAL BILL OF RIGHTS

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): In utter frustration at being able to get an answer on that line of questioning, I want to ask a question of the Minister of the Environment, and if the minister chooses to refer to the Premier, that would be another interesting switch for the day.

I direct this question to the Minister of the Environment because she has just released a draft environmental bill of rights for public review, although I understand it is not the bill itself she is presenting but the proposal for it. I want to ask the minister quite simply how she can reconcile this environmental bill of rights, with all its rhetoric, with the sweeping, unilateral and absolutely unprecedented powers she gave herself with Bill 143. I would ask the minister if it is not true, in fact, that if she had brought in the environmental bill of rights when she originally had promised it, she would never have been able to introduce Bill 143.

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): Let me start by trying to explain to the Leader of the Opposition what Bill 143 contains. Bill 143 contains policy of this government put in legislation that has been widely debated in hearings across this province, debated in this Legislature, voted on in this Legislature and passed. That was not dictatorial, draconian and unilateral. It is policies that have been much discussed, policies for waste reduction, policies for a site search, policies that enshrine the environmental assessment process as being the way in which that site search will be constructed, and policies that clearly put in place in law the fact that incineration and

transportation to northern Ontario are not policies this government wishes to see addressed in the search for landfills.

The process by which that legislation was arrived at, the possibilities for public access to that debate and the opportunities for public consultation and public participation in the decisions that flow from that legislation are entirely consistent with the citizens rights that are enshrined in the draft environmental bill of rights I released today.

1450

Mrs McLeod: I would suggest that the minister might want to make her explanation to the people whose lives have been completely disrupted by Bill 143. They were the people this minister heard from yesterday, and they were very clearly saying that the emergency powers this minister has given herself have taken away their rights. The people who were demonstrating here yesterday feel they have lost their voice, they feel powerless, they feel completely shut out of the process and they feel they can no longer trust this minister or this government.

While the demonstration was going on here at Queen's Park yesterday, I was meeting with people in the Durham region. People in Durham region are feeling the same sense of being shut out of the process, and they are extremely concerned about a level of civil disobedience that may result from a decision they feel this government has already made, even though the minister tries to distance herself from it.

I would ask this minister to say very directly to those people: How does this environmental bill of rights she proposes to bring in reassure the people who have had to live with this landfill chaos she has created? How does this bill of rights give these people a voice?

Hon Mrs Grier: First of all, the landfill chaos the member refers to has been around for I think the last decade. There have been various attempts to deal with that chaos and that crisis, none of which has been effective.

Certainly the concerns expressed by the people in York, the people in Durham and the people in Peel who find that in fact a landfill might appropriately be located in their community are exactly similar to the concerns that were expressed to the previous government by the people of Whitevale, by the people of Brampton, by the people of Plympton, by the people of Marmora and Campbellford, by the people of lots of places in this province that were the designated potential recipients of greater Toronto area garbage.

What this government's policies have done is ensure that the people of the greater Toronto area will look after the waste that is created in this area and that the way in which the decision is made as to what the most appropriate landfill site should be is an open and a fair way and ultimately by an Environmental Assessment Board. That was not the privilege that was afforded to the people of Whitevale or the people of Brampton by the environmental rights enshrined by the previous government.

Mr Charles Beer (York North): It is very clear that were George Orwell still alive, the terms "doublethink" and "doublespeak," two and two equals five, would be alive. Let's be very clear: An environmental bill of rights

cannot stand side by side with Bill 143. It is impossible. It is as if you go to someone who is going to be hanged and say, "We're going to allow you to participate in selecting among 57 different sites, but at the end of the day, let's be very clear what's going to happen."

The people of York region are saying that whatever your process—and you people are consumed by process; you forget that the end result is to be this wonderful megadump in York region. What the people want to know is how on earth their rights in York region, the rights of the individuals living there, are protected in any way, shape or form by this so-called environmental bill of rights when you have directly, by legislation, imposed a megadump in York region.

Minister, do you not see the hypocrisy between those two acts, and will you not now agree that the only course left is to withdraw Bill 143 and to find a new approach and a new idea and a new alternative?

Hon Mrs Grier: No. The simple answer is no. Bill 143 is policy that has been enshrined in legislation, and at the end of the day, the government—whichever government—makes public policy and is accountable for that public policy.

There are landfill searches going on in over 100 municipalities around this province, waste management planning processes that will end up with a hearing before an Environmental Assessment Board. None of those other processes is considering incineration, none of those other processes is considering transportation to northern Ontario, yet they are consistent with the Environmental Assessment Act.

In the greater Toronto area, three landfill searches are being undertaken. They are not considering incineration. They are not considering transportation to northern Ontario. They are as fair and as open as a site selection process has ever been, and they will be tested, they will be challenged, they will be argued before the Environmental Assessment Board to make sure that the best possible site is selected in the fairest and most open way. That is entirely consistent with giving the people of the greater Toronto area environmental rights.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): New question, third party.

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): My question is for the Minister of the Environment. The draft paper you've submitted today, calling it an environmental bill of rights, has created expectations in people who will look to it as a document that can make a difference in their lives and for the environment.

A bill of rights, when you think of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, is something that enshrines fundamental rights that Canadians know are theirs, that has made a difference. People go to the courts and it means a great deal to them.

What we have today is this ministry coming forward with a document that is creating those expectations, yet when you get to the very meat of what the difference is going to be, you have to ask what difference this will make for the people in York, Durham and Peel who are fighting

your government and the Interim Waste Authority with regard to Bill 143. So I ask you this: How do you foresee the environmental bill of rights benefiting people in York, Durham and Peel who are fighting the Interim Waste Authority and your ministry?

Hon Mrs Grier: The process that's being followed in the search for a landfill site for the greater Toronto area is entirely consistent with the principles of allowing people to play a role in making those decisions, in participating in the selection of criteria, in having the tools, such as intervenor and participatory funding, to play a meaningful role before hearing boards.

The environmental bill of rights was not designed—in fact, the task force deliberately tried to avoid creating yet another level of bureaucracy and approval processes through which every application for a certificate of approval or an approval process had to go. What it did was enshrine, and will enshrine, the rights of people to have the same kinds of access to information and to participation that they are being given in the site search in the greater Toronto area and that they now have, through parts of the Environmental Assessment Act, that they do not have in other pieces of legislation that come under the jurisdiction of my and other ministries.

Mr Cousens: I've listened so carefully to try to find out how the environmental bill of rights is going to help the people in York, Durham and Peel, and I'm not hearing an answer coming forth from this minister. Because I'm looking for something that, if it's an environmental bill of rights—it really isn't. It doesn't change anything we've had heretofore with regard to the way you've brought in Bill 143, the violation of the rights of these people—I mean, their property can be expropriated; they've lost their rights under the Municipal Act, the Environmental Assessment Act, and the regional municipality of Durham, York and Peel acts.

There's not a lot that's new in this bill. It's not a solution to the violation of these rights. In fact, we already have a situation in York region where someone is going to the Supreme Court under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms because his rights have been violated by your Bill 143.

If you can be more specific, I really would appreciate it and so would the people who are watching for something that's good and new and beneficial in your environmental bill of rights. How do you foresee the environmental bill of rights benefiting the people of York, Durham and Peel who are so concerned about all the violations that have come out of Bill 143? Please tell us how it's going to help them.

Hon Mrs Grier: I wish the member would be a little more careful in his sweeping statements about violations of rights. I ask him to read Bill 143. I ask him to compare Bill 143 with the Municipal Act and with the Environmental Assessment Act and I ask him to perhaps consider carefully the kind of statements he makes, which are very often quite inaccurate.

No piece of legislation in the world would make the people of Peel, Durham, Metropolitan Toronto or York pleased with the fact that there is going to be a landfill site within the greater Toronto area. What I can assure them is

that as we seek the best possible site within that area to dispose of the waste that they and we all create, and as we move to put in place a system that will try to reduce that waste as much as possible, the regulations that will require that reduction and the procedures that will lead to that final decision will give them every right to participate, to play a meaningful role, to argue, to challenge and to make sure that those decisions are made consistent with the principles of the environmental bill of rights and with the most open and fair process that anybody has gone through to find a landfill site.

1500

Mr Cousens: On the one hand, the Minister of the Environment says she wants to uphold individual rights. On the other hand, this minister in Bill 143 has trampled those rights, absolutely trampled them. She says, "Go and read it." I've read the thing and I know that it has taken away the rights of people under the Municipal Act and other acts. You in fact, with the selection of landfill sites, remove all previous rights and give those special rights now to your government, through the Interim Waste Authority, to do what you want, when you want, where you want, how you want, without any concern about the rights of an individual. So the ideological irony that I'm living with is, how on the one hand can you support individual rights and on the other hand trample them in Bill 143? How can you justify this massive inconsistency?

Hon Mrs Grier: Well, I would have to accept that I was trampling on rights and that there was a massive inconsistency before I could justify a massive inconsistency. As I don't accept the premise of the member's question, I can't answer it in the way that would make him happy.

The Speaker: It's now time for the second question. The leader of the third party.

ENVIRONMENTAL SENSITIVITY

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): To the Minister of Health: Last week I asked you to intervene in the case of Marilyn McCleary. She's a Barrie woman who is trapped in Texas, unable to pay her medical bills and unable to come home because there's no facility in Ontario to treat her illness. She was promised 75% OHIP coverage for her bills, she went to Texas on that basis and they were paid until December on that basis, and then the promise was revoked. You've had several days to reflect on Marilyn's desperate situation. I would ask you again, Minister: What action have you taken to ensure that Marilyn McCleary can come home?

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): I'm not sure I understand the last part of the member's question. I think he asked what steps we've taken to ensure that the individual could come home, and I think in fact he's asking us to continue to support treatment outside of the country. Perhaps I could ask him to clarify that in a supplementary.

In general, in terms of what steps I've taken since the leader of the third party raised the issue, I certainly have indicated that I find this a very difficult disease to deal with when, particularly in Ontario, it is not a recognized disease among the medical profession, so it leaves us in a

difficult situation. However, I have been trying to bring together people who are doing work and research on this to get the best advice with respect to the development and the state of knowledge of environmental hypersensitivity at this point in time and what steps can be taken. I hope to follow up on that by bringing together a group, including consumers, to talk about specific initiatives that may be helpful to Marilyn and to others who are suffering from this particular set of immune deficiencies and environmental sensitivities.

Mr Harris: I appreciate that something is going to have to be done for the long term. You talk about lack of evidence: There are books out on the subject, I've got numerous reports here by various ministries, and the minister will know that I raised the Thomson report, which I believe back in 1985 or 1986 recommended that a facility be built in Ontario. Six or seven years later, nothing has happened on that.

But your answer today does nothing for Marilyn McCleary. She weighed 90 pounds when she flew to Texas. She broke 15 bones on the flight down because of the frailty of her body. She then reached 125 pounds after treatment in Texas. Minister, I'm not asking you to go through all the research, I'm not asking you to intervene with the medical arguments for or against what should be proposed in Ontario. I am asking you to intervene for Marilyn McCleary. It is obvious that she was dying in Ontario without any treatment, just as it must be obvious that she is progressing with the treatment in Texas.

We paid for 100% of this treatment before, then you made a deal for 75%, and now that she is getting better, you have pulled the rug out from under her and said, "No, the user fee won't be 25% any more, it'll be 75%." That has left her with two choices: come home and die, or bankruptcy.

I would ask you again, Minister, while you're trying to come up with a long-term or final solution for others, would you not agree that this is a case in which you should intervene personally and make sure that today Marilyn McCleary is not faced with that choice of dying or bankruptcy?

Hon Ms Lankin: The member will know that I have to be very careful in talking about the specifics of the case. I should make it clear to members that there are treatments available here in Ontario and many Ontario citizens who have a range of diagnoses from doctors that relate to environmental sensitivities are receiving treatment here.

Since the Thomson report of 1985, there has been continued research and there is developing opinion on this. In fact, that developing opinion contradicts some of the recommendations that were made in that report in 1985.

What I would like to be able to do is to move on bringing people together on this issue and determine a course of action, that where there is agreement of medically accepted practices to try to treat people and develop a program that will be helpful to people, including the individual the leader of the third party raises the case situation about.

I am certainly not without compassion in the individual case and I understand the plea he is making. I will attempt to do what I can within the framework of the structure of the system we have for delivering health treatment resources to people based on the best scientific evidence and knowledge we have about available and effective treatment.

Mr Harris: Health and Welfare Canada's 1990 conference on the issue concluded this: "Environmental sensitivities need to be considered on a case-by-case basis, with compassion for the individual being the central tenet of treatment." This was a 1990 study which concluded that no mumbo-jumbo, no collection of doctors, no slot will exist for every person who is faced with what has been called the 20th-century disease in common terminology. It recognized that and it suggested this approach for ministers of health, I would suggest, or those responsible for administering OHIP: It should be "on a case-by-case basis, with compassion for the individual being the central tenet of treatment."

Minister, would you not agree with me that in Marilyn McCleary's case, we should begin with compassion for the individual being and consider this as one case by itself; remove this fear of death or bankruptcy from Marilyn McCleary, which surely was not intended by any architect or any implementer of any OHIP plan anywhere in Canada; deal with that first today, and then carry forward with examination and study of what else we should be providing in Canada? Would you not agree that that is what should be done today, as was recommended by the 1990 conference on the issue by Health and Welfare Canada?

Hon Ms Lankin: I think the member makes a useful distinction in how these issues should be approached. I do agree with him that the general approaches with respect to what we do in the future around treatments and examination of the system should be left as part of the longer term and isn't an immediate answer for the individual case that he brings forward.

I think that each case—I agree with him—should be dealt with on a compassionate basis and on a case-by-case basis, and I indicate to him my commitment to do that in this case and in each case that comes along. I also hope he will understand that we will have to make the final decisions with respect to that in terms of what knowledge and information there is available to us, but I do undertake to him to approach this and other cases of this nature in that compassionate, case-by-case way.

1510

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): My question is for the person who has taken away my rights and the rights of the opposition to deal appropriately with legislation and matters of public policy in the House. My question is to the Premier.

I have a question about the contrast of the Bob Rae and the NDP of principle and the Bob Rae and the NDP of power. Mr Premier, back in the days when you would defend the legitimate democratic role of the opposition, back in the days when your party and you would not accept corporate donations, back in the days when you

frowned upon political patronage, back in the days when you were opposed to Sunday shopping and opposed to the use of the OPP to investigate members of the opposition, back in those days you were opposed to the use of government polls. In other words, you were opposed to the government of Ontario ruling by those political polls paid for from the public purse.

Premier, now that the levers of power are within your grasp and you have an opportunity to put your former principles into practice, will you stop using taxpayers' dollars to hire political pollsters to tell you what you think about the major issues of the day?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): My father wrote a book with George Gallup called *The Pulse of Democracy*, so I don't think we should disdain the capacity of people to find out how the public feels about a number of issues.

It's my understanding, and certainly this is the advice I've received, that this government uses polls somewhat less than the former cabinet did and somewhat less than former ministers did. I think the evidence will also show that we can hardly be accused of relying on them, or if we did, we certainly haven't relied on them as effectively as other governments have done in the past.

We were accused by his colleague today—it just shows you the Liberal inconsistency. The Liberal leader was up on her feet saying, "Why don't you do what this poll tells you to do?" I was making it very clear that I found that information interesting but that I don't regard it as determining government policy. His leader is saying, "Use the polls and let that do it," and you're saying, "Don't take any polls." Why don't you make up your minds over there?

Mr Bradley: The Premier is fully aware that the issue we're discussing today is the taxpayers of the province of Ontario paying for polls for your government. If your party wants to take them or someone else wants to take them, that's an issue you can deal with.

Premier, your political handlers and spin doctors portrayed you as a leader with different political ethics, portrayed you as a new kind of leader who would abandon those practices of which you were so critical in the past. In view of this portrayal, the 37% of the voters who supported you in the last election in anticipation that you would adhere to those principles likely believed that you would not spend their hard-earned tax dollars on political polls and then keep the results of the polls to yourself until they're outdated.

With essential services being cut back by your government—the leader of the third party mentioned this just now—because of lack of money, and with political cynicism at an all-time high, will the Premier admit he is wrong to continue this opportunistic, manipulative practice and will he announce to the House that he will abandon his political polling operations at taxpayers' expense?

Hon Mr Rae: I can only say to the member that from time to time ministries and so on do market surveys, that kind of information. That's a perfectly legitimate thing. I would say to the honourable member that I've known him long enough, seen him in opposition and seen him

in government, to say to him that I will always give him, in his questions, the benefit of the doubt, and I will ignore the personal and somewhat venomous character of some of his characterizations of this government and what we're trying to do. I know him too well and I've known him too long to be affected by that.

LABOUR RELATIONS

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): My question is to the Minister of Labour. The minister has repeatedly stated that Bill 40, an act to strengthen unions and expand union membership, is designed to promote greater cooperation in the workplace between labour and management. I have a document published by the Canadian Auto Workers, entitled the CAW Statement on the Reorganization of Work. In the foreword to this document Bob White writes, and I'm paraphrasing, "Many times, the goals of unions conflict with employer interests, and we in the union movement do not accept the inference that we are part of management's team."

How does the minister reconcile this negative attitude of Bob White, who says unions should not and cannot cooperate with management, with his own repeated assertion that strengthening unions through Bill 40 will lead to greater management-labour cooperation?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): The comment he refers to, indicating that labour can't be part of management's team, is that it's not necessarily being part of management's team. I think the idea of more cooperation and less confrontation is a very valid one and I would suggest to him it's a role that's being played by the very union he has referred to.

Mr Arnott: The minister's response and assurances are not very reassuring to me. The small business community is saying that Bill 40, instead of bringing greater harmony and cooperation in the workplace, is dividing labour and management in polar extremes, dividing them as never before in Ontario. We have Bob White, president of the Canadian Labour Congress and vice-president of the national NDP, the supreme commander of the labour forces in Canada, saying that unions should not cooperate with management. How can the minister continue to assert that Bill 40 is intended to promote greater labour-management cooperation, a statement that the Canadian Federation of Independent Business is calling the big lie?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I think it's unfortunate that kind of language is used. I think the best answer to the member across the way is to simply look at the actions taken by the very union he's referred to in the General Motors case, for example, where they have tried to work out a more cooperative approach.

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): My question is to the Minister of Colleges and Universities. The minister knows I have Brock University in my riding, and as a result of having that post-secondary institution in my riding, I am concerned about an article that appeared in the *Globe and Mail* this morning, where it suggests that the ministry has cut capital funding to our province's post-secondary institutions. I know that any perception, any hint of

that kind of cut, would be very dangerous at this time. We are trying to focus on training and education as vital components of our economic recovery. So I really need from you, Mr Minister, a reassurance for Brock and Niagara College and the other post-secondary institutions in this province that no cuts have been made to their base capital funding.

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Colleges and Universities): I thank the member for the question because I too read the story in the *Globe* this morning. The point has been made in the House in exactly the same confusion of figures. The base capital funding for the Ministry of Colleges and Universities for the system last year was \$100 million. The regular capital funding for this year is \$100 million. There has been no change in the ongoing capital funding.

The source of confusion has been that last year, you'll remember, we provided an anti-recession funding package for capital expenditure, and we at that time allocated \$89 million for the college and university system. That provided, in-year, far more capital funding for the colleges and universities than recent past governments have even approximated. But now for them to confuse that figure with the regular ongoing capital funding is quite mistaken. That confusion is a big error and should not be perpetuated.

1520

Ms Haeck: I had the privilege, on behalf of the minister, of making an announcement in my riding, on the Jobs Ontario Capital fund, of \$2.5 million for Brock University. I would like to know, is that money going to be considered part of their regular base capital grant?

Hon Mr Allen: That is also a question many institutions have asked me as we've made those announcements in recent weeks. I just want to assure the member that the Jobs Ontario Capital is over and above the regular \$100 million of capital which we will be announcing very shortly in terms of specific projects. That money, which will be \$63 million flowed over the next two years, will be additional capital money for the colleges and universities of Ontario.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): This question follows very naturally on the previous question. My question is to the Premier, and it is about the whole issue of waste, and it's waste in your office, Premier, in the office of the cabinet. It has to do with the question that was just asked.

Premier, you are probably aware that the people of the province learned yesterday, much to their anger, that it is your Cabinet Office's intention to go out and hire a brand-new advertising agency, spend money with it to pay for advertising, and this is your responsibility, Premier, in your Cabinet Office. It's around the specific issue that was just talked about.

What's really making people angry, Premier, is that you're going to spend money on this advertising agency at the very time as you are doing exactly what we said yesterday. You look at the capital program: last year, \$3.9 billion

spent on capital; this year, \$3.9 billion spent on capital—exactly the same money. But what's happened? They've cut out \$500 million and put it into a pork barrel, an NDP pork barrel. So we can see exactly as the Minister of Colleges and Universities said. Last year he spent \$199 million on capital; it's in the budget. This year he's spending \$100 million and they're using the \$500-million pork barrel.

My question is to the Premier. People are extremely angry that you actually are not spending more money on jobs. The only additional money you're spending is on this advertising agency. It makes no sense to the people of Ontario. I'm asking you this, Premier, will you undertake now to stop this nonsense of hiring an advertising agency and spending the taxpayers' hard-earned dollars on advertising and will you agree to put that money into job creation?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I'm going to refer that question to the Treasurer.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): It is appropriate—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. Treasurer. Interjection.

The Speaker: Order, the member for St Catharines. The member for St Catharines, come to order.

Hon Mr Laughren: It is appropriate that the question be referred to me. The whole capital allocation in the province comes through the treasury board and the Treasurer's office, so it is most appropriate that I deal with this question.

The member for Scarborough-Agincourt should understand that when we established the Jobs Ontario program, it is important that the private sector and others out there across Ontario take part in our Jobs Ontario strategy. They are important partners in this program, and you would be the first to criticize, I suggest, if we were simply to drop the program out with an announcement in the Legislature and not make every effort to communicate to the people out across the province who are necessary to make this program work. That's why we're doing some advertising; that's why we're hiring an advertising agency to do it.

Mr Phillips: Can you imagine the people at home watching this, thousands and thousands of people without work, thousands and thousands of organizations that are looking for opportunities to work with the government? You have literally hundreds of communications people working for the government. Why in the world at this point in time—the leader of the third party just went through a tragic case involving an individual dealing with medical problems—do you believe you need to go out and hire a brand-new advertising agency and spend money on advertising this program? It makes no sense to the people of Ontario.

I ask the Treasurer, why can you not simply cancel that nonsense of getting another advertising agency and use your existing communications apparatus to do the job?

Hon Mr Laughren: Whether we employ a different ad agency or the existing mechanisms that are there isn't going to cost the people of the province any more. I think

the member for Scarborough-Agincourt is not painting the picture very accurately.

I would remind the member for Scarborough-Agincourt that when we brought down the budget, and as a result of some changes and increases that have been made in job creation since then, we were talking about creating and supporting over 90,000 jobs in this budget. I think it's terribly important that the people who are going to make our job strategy work are out there across Ontario. We want them to know about this program.

The member for Scarborough-Agincourt would be the first one on his feet if we announced this program and then it wasn't allocated to the fullest extent possible. If the private sector didn't take up the opportunities here—for example, in the Jobs Ontario Training fund—the member for Scarborough-Agincourt would be on his feet saying: "Why aren't you telling people about this program? It's a good program. Tell the people about it." That's exactly what we're doing.

ONTARIO TRAINING AND ADJUSTMENT BOARD

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): My question is to the Minister of Skills Development. Mr Minister, more recently, I'm sure you were made aware that the new president of the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Toronto talked about two concerns he had with regard to the policies of this government. His main concerns were with the creation of more business in Ontario and attracting new businesses to our province. Of course, labour law won't be of any surprise to you, but you may be surprised about his concerns with regard to the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. I thought I'd bring them to your attention and ask you a question.

His criticism was the timing. He said we're trying to create a mammoth delivery system in a very short period of time, and I know that has been your concern and my own. With the concerns you have heard during the five-minute hearings, which I've criticized, from education groups, from workers, from the business community, from labour unions, are you still planning on getting OTAB up and running some time during the summer and, the second part of the question, will this really be a schedule 3 agency created by the cabinet during the summertime? What's happening? Will you please update us at this time?

Hon Richard Allen (Minister of Skills Development): I welcome the question because two weeks ago I read the article in question that referred to the new chair of the board of trade of Toronto who had some criticisms about the pace of development of the board and so on. The previous week I had a meeting with the board of trade myself and responded to all its questions and concerns. The new president appears not to have participated in that meeting and certainly was not as fully briefed as he might have been with respect to developments.

The project is still very much on track with respect to the timetable we have established. I have asked all the participating labour market groups to provide me with nominations for the board by the end of August. We will be proceeding with the nomination of the board for September. There will be at that time a board in place that will

be able to advise us with respect to the creation of legislation and a memorandum of understanding under which it can function. That will then come to the House for appropriate consideration.

Mrs Cunningham: We really do need to be reassured today and we have a wonderful opportunity because the Premier himself, when speaking to the issue of the Constitution, said, "We want to eliminate duplication of people falling over themselves," and that of course is the aim. We need to know if in fact there will be legislation and when it will be tabled because we're not expecting to be here past the end of this month. We need to know when that legislation will be tabled.

Second, we also need to know if the appropriate appointment processes will be followed for the appointment of the people to OTAB. The reason I ask this question is we know the public isn't satisfied with the process so far. If we could have the answer to that question now, we would appreciate it.

Hon Mr Allen: All the proprieties around the appointments process that normally attend appointments in this place will be honoured fully; there will be no question about that. It will of course take a few weeks after the nominations come in for that to happen. There will be legislation. I don't think any members are interested in having it tabled and debated midsummer, but there certainly will be legislation tabled in the fall, and the House will have a full opportunity to debate that and to consider it in all aspects and to pass judgement on it at the appropriate time.

1530

GASOLINE HANDLING

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): My question is for the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations. All over the province we have gasoline being transported and stored. In the past we've had unfortunate circumstances where these containers have leaked, have contaminated groundwater and have contaminated streams and lakes, and they continue to leak. So the transportation and the handling of gasoline in these containers is of great concern, especially those that are buried and leaking into the groundwater.

Madam Minister, could you inform the House what actions your ministry is taking to avert these potential environmental disasters and what safety regulations you're putting in place?

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): This is indeed an important environmental question. There are in fact thousands of underground storage tanks. At any given time they can leak, and there have been minor leaks.

My ministry has been working on revisions to the gasoline handling code to require additional safeguards. These would include secondary containments, including double-walled tanks for new tank installations, enhanced spill prevention and leak detection of underground storage tanks.

Currently, the gasoline handling code requires that unused underground storage tanks be removed. They're just

not allowed to stay in the ground any more. We have an ongoing program that's still in progress to make sure that people are given instructions to remove these old tanks.

Mr Wiseman: I believe the Gasoline Handling Act will have to be revised in order to allow for greater safety mechanisms and greater regulations around the handling of this gasoline. When can we expect to see some amendments to the Gasoline Handling Act?

Hon Ms Churley: I believe there is some sense of urgency to this. As I mentioned, there are thousands of these tanks out there and there is potential possibly down the road for major leaks. It hasn't happened yet, and in some ways we've been lucky. I'm hoping we will be bringing forth these new provisions some time this year.

HOSPITAL BEDS

Mr Robert Chiarelli (Ottawa West): My question is to the Minister of Health regarding the NDP government's apparent inability to maintain a minimum level of health care for the people of Ontario.

Recently Dr Kathy Kovacs, chief of emergency at the Royal Ottawa Hospital, told a radio interviewer that cutbacks in psychiatric beds have created a serious problem. She was responding to the cutting of psychiatric beds at the Queensway-Carleton Hospital and at Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario. She had this to say, and it's an exact quote: "It's really gotten to the point that unless somebody is extremely ill, acutely suicidal or homicidal, we just can't take them in. There aren't any beds."

My question to the minister is this: Is it the policy of your government to restrict psychiatric emergency admissions to extremely ill, homicidal and suicidal patients and, if not, what are you going to do to rectify this critical problem in Ottawa-Carleton?

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): I'm pleased to assure the member very clearly that this is not our policy; it's not a policy of this government. Certainly we hope we will be able to work with all communities, Ottawa included, through the district health councils and all the hospitals around the kinds of ways that hospitals are managing through these very difficult economic times that all public sectors are facing at this point in time.

As you know, we have increased global funding to the hospitals this year; we didn't cut back. But certainly the rate of growth has decreased dramatically. We're working with those hospitals to try to find cuts in material resources before resources to patients and human resources in the front line of delivering services.

I recognize the concern the member raised. I have raised those concerns as I've been talking with hospital administrators and district health councils myself, in particular with respect to psychiatric beds. The ministry had asked that all reports of psychiatric bed closures come forward to the ministry first. We were looking at protecting those services. In many cases, hospitals have gone ahead and taken action without that kind of approval.

I think that by working through our district health councils and with the other hospitals in the region, we can try to address those problems. I'd be pleased to talk with the member about it and about an action plan about how to

try to use the resources that are there in a more efficient way later, if he would like that.

Mr Chiarelli: I can understand the minister's sincerity and her hard work in trying to handle a very difficult portfolio. On the other hand, the minister is a member of this government. She should be able to talk about allocating resources in a way that doesn't put psychiatric patients in Ottawa-Carleton and other communities out on the street. If she talks to the management at the Royal Ottawa Hospital, she'll find out they're lining up people in the corridors because they don't have beds, as other beds in the community are being shut down.

At a time when the Ministry of Labour budget is increased by \$100 million a year, at a time when we see more money spent on advertising and when we see questions on moneys being spent on public opinion surveys in this government, how can you justify putting psychiatric patients out on the street? You're not managing this ministry in a way that's compatible with the budget of the province. You should be providing beds for people who need them. It's not happening out there in our communities. I ask you, what are you going to do today, next week, for the people in Ottawa-Carleton and for the families of these people?

If I can use one quote, Mr Speaker—I'll get to my question—Dr Kovacs said, "Many families now just give up and I think we are close to the point of the whole system tearing." Are you going to stop the tearing today and next week, Madam Minister?

Hon Ms Lankin: First of all, I really have to disagree with you in terms of the way in which we try to manage the health care budget and what we are attempting to accomplish. As you well know, the increase in the Ministry of Health budget has been 2%, and to hospitals it has been 2.3%. We're hoping to try and work with hospitals to use the money that is going out there in a more efficient way and try to take waste out of the system.

I disagree with the member that beds equal good health. We need to have beds for people when they require them. We have a lot of people using beds inappropriately due to inappropriate admissions or due to inefficiencies in the system that keep them in hospitals for longer than is necessary.

I think one of the issues he raises with respect to access to services for psychiatric patients is a very serious issue, not just on the facility side but in terms of community mental health. We have seen, over the last number of years, a large increase in dollars spent in community mental health but not in a planned way, not in a comprehensive framework, not in a way that ends the duplication of administration.

Quite frankly, we can take more of those resources and put them to front-line delivery of services. We're currently working to try to develop that framework for facility and community mental health, consistent with reports like Graham and others. I think those kinds of changes are systemic changes that are required, not a short-term infusion of money, as the member would suggest.

LEGAL FEES

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): My question is for the Attorney General. Mr Attorney General, you recently introduced fee increases for court services. Michael O'Dea, head of Ontario's County and District Law Presidents' Association, said this about those increases: "Everybody is really upset and angry, and quite apart from the increases is the continued cutback in services."

Mr Attorney General, what I would like to know is, will this additional money that you're collecting—in many cases some of these fee increases are of the 300% variety—go towards the improvement of the administration of justice? Will it go towards reducing the long court lists that exist in the civil courts of this province? Will it go to providing more judges and more courtrooms? Will it go to providing more masters to do the work of the courts? Or is this money just going to go into general revenues?

1540

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): I appreciate the question from the opposition critic. Let me answer in part by pointing out to him that we stated very clearly when we announced the increases in the monetary jurisdictional limits of Small Claims Court that the cost of that would have to be covered internally, and we acknowledged that court fees would have to rise.

I can say to you, Mr Speaker, that we acknowledge that Small Claims Court is a very important court, especially for jurisdictions outside Metro Toronto, and because we believe it's important, we felt that it was necessary to raise the jurisdiction and, if necessary, to cover that by increasing court fees.

I also want to point out that, owing to a labour relations tribunal decision that was made over two years ago, all the staff who work in Small Claims Court are no longer regarded as independent contractors or independent actors, they are now clearly established to be government employees, and that ruling has cost the justice system at least \$60 million in this year alone, and that also had to be covered by court fees.

Yes, we've had to raise fees. We acknowledge that. I can say to the member that on an almost one-for-one basis any increase in fees is being used to cover the costs imposed by the labour relations tribunal or the costs imposed by the increase in monetary jurisdiction in Small Claims Court.

PETITIONS

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rules changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

This petition is signed by several members of my constituency.

GAMBLING

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas it is against United Church of Canada's policy to indulge in any type of gambling—gambling casinos bring crime to a community, not everyone has the self-control to limit their betting, low-income people will suffer from unwise use of their resources,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"Be it resolved that the Toronto Conference of United Church Women do strongly object to the Ontario government's proposed legislation to permit off-track betting, sports lotteries and gambling casinos."

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): Yes, indeed, once again I have a petition and this time it's addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of the province of Ontario, to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and to the government of Ontario. It's addressed that way just in case any of those prefixes alone didn't make it valid.

This is a petition I have that I exercise my right to read. It reads:

"Whereas George Dadamo is the member of this provincial Parliament for the riding of Windsor-Sandwich;

"Whereas George Dadamo, with the outstanding assistance of his wife, Maria Dadamo, has just enjoyed the birth of his third child, a son, Anthony, on July 7, Anthony being a younger brother for sisters Andrea"—you'll remember her, Mr Speaker, she was a page here a little while ago—"and Leana;

"Whereas all members of this assembly wish the Dadamo family well, we call upon you to join us in

extending our sincere congratulations to Maria and George Dadamo upon the birth of their son, Anthony."

That's signed by all of three people, but it's on behalf of, I'm sure, 130.

LANDFILL SITES

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I have two petitions. The first is signed by some 2,000 people and reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly:

"Whereas the official plan of the township of King states that 'the township of King has traditionally been a rural municipality within the region of York,' and that 'the township possesses a significant amount of land which has historically been, and remains, devoted primarily to agriculture'; and

"Whereas this document also states that 'agriculture is an important land-based activity within the township,'

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We oppose the provincial government's proposal to take prime agricultural land in King township and turn it into Metro and York region's megadump."

I have signed this in support, Mr Speaker.

The second petition, you will not be surprised to learn, is on the same topic. This one is signed by some 750 residents of the King City, Vaughan-King town line, and it reads:

"The undersigned are vehemently opposed to the NDP proposed new dump in the city of Vaughan at Jane Street and on the King-Vaughan town line."

As I say, it is signed by some 750 people, and I have affixed my signature to that petition as well.

GAMBLING

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I am pleased to table a petition signed by very concerned members of the congregation of the Faith Baptist Church in my riding of Oakville South, which reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government intends to legalize casinos and is considering other forms of gambling in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas studies have been done which indicate that where casinos are found, they are inseparable from organized criminal activities; and

"Whereas most forms of gambling end up being a tax on those least able to pay; and

"Whereas gambling produces in many people a terrible addiction; and

"Whereas it would be more appropriate for the government to cut expenditures than attempt to increase revenues through expanded lotteries,

"We, the undersigned, respectfully petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to stop looking to casinos as a 'quick-fix' solution to pay down the deficit."

FRUIT GROWERS

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): I'm presenting a petition today signed by 65 constituents from the

Niagara presbytery of the United Church of Canada, and it's regarding the tender-fruit growers in Niagara. It states:

"Whereas the Ontario tender-fruit growers are facing financial crisis,

"Therefore, we, the members of the Niagara presbytery of the United Church of Canada, petition the Ontario government to act immediately to find a solution to the economic viability of tender-fruit farms.

"Whereas the Ontario tender-fruit growers are facing financial crisis; and

"Whereas the Ontario government is undertaking an agricultural land protection program,

"Therefore, we, the members of the United Church of Canada, strongly oppose restrictions on the tender-fruit land until economic viability of the tender-fruit growers is restored."

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rules changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

I have affixed my signature to the petition.

FRENCH-LANGUAGE SERVICES

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the province of Ontario is experiencing a severe economic recession;

"Whereas the placement of bilingual signs on Ontario's highways without consultation and at a cost of more than \$4 million represents a blatant misdirection of taxpayers'

dollars, which should be used to address the current pressing economic and employment needs of Ontario citizens;

"Whereas citizens of Ontario are increasingly being denied essential services, such as medical treatment, for lack of adequate funding;

"Whereas Bill 8, the French Language Services Act, does not mandate bilingual highway signs, leaving interpretation to the discretion of the Ontario Transportation minister who, as the minister for francophone affairs, is empowered to grant exemptions under the act,

"We, the undersigned, do petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to resolve that the Ontario Transportation minister's directive to replace existing highway signs in Ontario with bilingual signs at a cost to taxpayers of more than \$4 million be revoked immediately."

1550

MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION PATROL YARD

Mr Paul Klopp (Huron): Today I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly. It's signed by 49 residents of Hay township, Stephen township and Dashwood, and I have signed my name to it. It is with regard to the Ministry of Transportation patrol yard at Grand Bend:

"We, the residents undersigned, feel that this patrol yard should be left open, as there are indeed problems in the winter with snow removal."

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a petition to the Legislature which reads as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

It is signed by 212 residents of the county of Middlesex and I've affixed my signature.

Mr Bill Murdoch (Grey): I have a petition to the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas the report of Mr John Brant, arbitrator for the greater London area, has recommended a massive, unwarranted and unprecedented annexation by the city of London;

"Whereas the arbitration process was a patently undemocratic process resulting in recommendations which blatantly disregard the public input expressed during the public hearings;

"Whereas the implementation of the arbitrator's report will lead to a destruction of the way of life enjoyed by the current residents of the county of Middlesex and will result in the relevant portions of Middlesex patently not being economically viable,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject

the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex): I have a petition from 48 residents of the county of Middlesex and the city of London who ask the Legislative Assembly to set aside the Brant report, reduce the annexation and protect the rural way of life in the county of Middlesex. I might add that this petition was sponsored and circulated by the county of Middlesex, so I'm sure it too will wish to protect that farm land.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland): To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rules changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

I have signed the petition.

LAND-LEASED COMMUNITIES

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I have a petition, and it reads:

"We, the residents of land-leased communities petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake felt the previous government set up a committee to report on land-leased communities but took no specific action to protect these communities; and

"Whereas the residents of Sutton-By-The-Lake feel it should be a priority of this government to release the report and to take action to bring forward the legislation on the following issues surrounding land-leased communities; and

"Whereas the residents feel the government of Ontario should examine the problem of no protection against conversion to other uses which will result in loss of home owners' equity; and

"Whereas the residents of these communities do not receive concise and clear information about their property tax bills; and

"Whereas there are often arbitrary rules set out by landlords and owners of land-leased communities which place unfair restrictions or collect commissions on resale of residents' homes; and

"Whereas there has been confusion resulting in the status of residents with long-term leases where they fall under the rent review legislation,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to follow through with a report and release the committee's report on land-leased communities and propose legislation to give adequate protection to individuals in these land-leased communities."

It's been signed by the Lawsons, McLaughlans, Jacks, Juns, the Summers and a number of other people, and I put my name on it as well.

PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I have more petitions from the residents of north Toronto addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas it is arbitrary and demonstrably unfair to use market value as a basis for property tax assessment in a volatile market such as Metro Toronto; and

"Whereas market value assessment bears no relation to the level of services provided by the municipality; and

"Whereas the implementation of such a measure would work undue hardship on the residents of north Toronto, on our long-term home owners, our senior citizens and our tenants;

"Whereas Toronto businesses are already paying the highest property taxes in North America and will be devastated by increases of up to 50% more,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario not to impose market value reassessment on the city of Toronto against the wishes of the people of Toronto and to consider another method of property tax reform for Metro Toronto."

I have affixed my signature and wholeheartedly agree with the sentiments expressed.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Thank you. This completes the time for petitions.

LABOUR RELATIONS BILL

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: The point of order I'm bringing to your attention is related to section 45 of our standing orders, and I'm making specific reference to the infringement on the rights of the minority.

I have been informed that the government House leader intends to bring forward tomorrow a time allocation motion which will cut off, except for one more debate, debate on Bill 40, which is the trade union bill that's before the House right now.

I simply want to advise you, sir, that under the new standing orders, this time allocation motion when it's brought in and debated tomorrow will limit to one more day in this Legislature the right to debate the trade union bill.

I want to advise you, sir, that the member for Lawrence in our party will be prohibited from speaking on the bill; the member for Halton Centre will be prohibited from speaking on the bill; the member for Wilson Heights will be prohibited from speaking on the bill; I myself will be prohibited from speaking on the bill; Dianne Poole, the member for Eglinton, will be prohibited from speaking on the trade union bill; the member for Timiskaming will be prohibited from speaking on the bill; the member for Renfrew North, as a result of the time allocation motion, will be prohibited from speaking on the bill; the member for Brampton South will be prohibited from speaking on the bill; the member for Brampton North will be prohibited from speaking on the trade union bill; and my friend and colleague the member for York North will be prohibited from speaking on the bill.

I submit to you, sir, that if you allow this time allocation motion to be tabled with the table officers and debated tomorrow in this Legislature, which in effect reduces the time to four days and the number of speakers to a handful of members, about eight or nine or 10 in the Legislature, the rights of the minority in this Parliament will be completely infringed and the rights of the people of this province to have the trade union bill debated fully in this House will be circumscribed dramatically.

1600

I repeat to you, sir, that there are some 13 members of our caucus who would like to have a say, limited as it is to 30 minutes, to discuss and debate and point out the good points and the bad points of the trade union bill. Many members of the Progressive Conservative Party will be prohibited from speaking on the bill. Thus far, only one member of the Progressive Conservative Party has had a right to speak on the bill.

Tomorrow we will see, sir, what the new rules do and how they infringe on the rights of the minority. Tomorrow the government House leader will bring in a time allocation motion and he will shut this place down so the trade union bill gets passed within the time frames dictated by the trade union movement, and it will be a sad day, I say to you, sir—

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): I thank the member.

Mr Sorbara: —and I ask you and I plead with you not to allow that time allocation motion to go forward.

The Acting Speaker: If indeed this motion is presented, the Chair will consider it in due course at that time.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I appreciate your ruling that once this situation does occur you can in fact rule on it. One other point I would like to bring to your attention is that a number of my constituents have asked me as their member to speak to this bill, and if indeed there is a time allocation motion brought forward I would like the Speaker to rule, how can I represent their interests? How can I speak in this Parliament where arbitrarily this government can shut me up,

can shut up the opinions of my constituents and not allow us to bring that forward? I would ask you to consider that.

The Acting Speaker: The Chair will indeed consider this in due course when the time comes.

REPORTS BY COMMITTEES

STANDING COMMITTEE ON REGULATIONS AND PRIVATE BILLS

Mr White from the standing committee on regulations and private bills presented the committee's report and moved its adoption:

Your committee begs to report the following bills without amendment:

Bill Pr37, An Act to revive Spring Green Co-operative;
Bill Pr38, An Act to revive Silverbirch Co-operative Inc;
Bill Pr53, An Act to revive Lyttle Investments Ltd;
Bill Pr57, An Act respecting the Borough of East York.

Your committee begs to report the following bill as amended:

Bill Pr56, An Act respecting the Township of Uxbridge.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Does the honourable member have some brief comments?

Mr Drummond White (Durham Centre): No, thank you, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: Shall the report be received and adopted? Agreed? No, I heard a negative.

All those in favour please say "aye."

All those opposed please say "nay."

In my opinion the "ayes" have it.

Motion agreed to.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

LABOUR RELATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992 LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI A TRAIT AUX RELATIONS DE TRAVAIL ET À L'EMPLOI

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 40, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Collective Bargaining and Employment / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui a trait à la négociation collective et à l'emploi.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): At the last sitting the official opposition had completed its participation in the debate in the normal rotation, including questions and/or comments. We now move to the Progressive Conservative Party. The honourable leader of the Progressive Conservatives.

Mr Michael D. Harris (Nipissing): Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. I appreciate we're operating under the new rules of the Legislature. Given the cold I have, 30 minutes will be plenty of time for me today, and it's probably plenty of time for everybody else, because much of what I have to say some may have heard before.

I want to start with the same words I'm going to finish with. I want it to be very clear to all those who are watching these proposed changes to the Labour Relations Act

unfold, to those who have grave concerns about investing their money in Ontario, about locating here, about expanding here, about coming here, to those employees, those card-carrying union members worried about their jobs, those card-carrying union members worried about losing rights to their union bosses, as this legislation will do, that I want them to understand clearly and unequivocally that they ought not, if they like this legislation, to get comfortable with it, that if they do not like it and they understand the job losses and the loss of individual autonomy it will lead to, there is hope.

As one of the first orders of business as Premier of this province, I would scrap these changes. I think it's important that businesses understand that, so they can perhaps stay in the province for a couple more years.

I'm trying to hold out a little bit of hope to investors who may have looked at Ontario as a place to invest and serve the North American market, but who on top of all the taxes brought in by the Liberals and the regulation by the Liberals and the New Democrats and now this piece of legislation may have felt: "No, I've listened to the NDP. I've listened to the Minister of Labour. I've listened to the Premier. I've heard what they have to say. They hate business. They misrepresent business's viewpoint. They will say anything at all to try and discredit the motives of businesses, large and small. That's not the kind of jurisdiction I'm going to be comfortable investing my money in or suggesting that shareholders' money should go in." I think it's important that they know we will scrap these changes.

I want to deal with some of them. Obviously I won't have time to deal with them all. This is second reading debate. We will be dealing with all the items individually. I will deal with a couple of the proposals, some of the key ones, but let me first of all just deal with the fact that this legislation is proceeding.

The Premier, the Minister of Labour and the government continually say that the reason for it is to bring management and labour closer together, to bring unions and business closer together. Yet the very introduction of it by a very anti-business Minister of Labour—never have I seen a Minister of Labour so biased one way at a time when it's important that minister be seen to be understanding and unbiased towards both sides. Never have I seen that before, just by the virtue of his appointment. If there was a mistake Mr Rae made off the snuff, it was that.

I want to add that I have not seen that before in my time in politics with Conservative or Liberal governments. The appointment as the Minister of Labour was always somebody who was seen as understanding, sympathetic if you like, one who could be respected by both sides, management and labour. I don't believe there's anybody in the House who would think that our Minister of Labour is understood by business or that he has the respect of business. He does not have that respect at all.

The fact that we are proceeding with these changes concerns me dramatically. When you look at the other provinces and the countries we have to compete with, when you look at the reality of jobs and investment today, no longer can we be an island, an island of Ontario, an island of Canada. Some might wish this could be the case.

I've heard them express that. But it is not the case. It cannot be and it will not be the case in the future. Even Audrey McLaughlin understands that.

The labour advocates, when they talk about the free trade deal, say they don't like that deal. They would go and negotiate a better one. The Liberals said they would amend the deal to make it better. I think I heard Audrey McLaughlin say: "It's so bad it can't be amended. I'd scrap it and bring in a new deal." The vision she wanted to lay out for Canadians was that Audrey McLaughlin would go to the States in an election year, take Bush, I guess, by his bootstraps, and whap, whap, whap some common sense into Bush and negotiate a deal that was in Canada's favour in an election year and against the United States's favour. If you believe that, you probably are one of the minority who think Audrey McLaughlin should be Prime Minister after the next election.

1610

But the fact of the matter is that even the federal New Democratic Party and the labour unions recognize that we must compete, that we can no longer be an island. When you look at other jurisdictions and how business, labour and government have come together to form partnerships, you really have to wonder why we seem to be about 20 years behind in our approach to labour in this province and in this legislation.

The fact of the matter is that this bill is about power: Who has more power, management or the unions? The second aspect of this bill is, who then has the power in the unions? Is it the rank-and-file card-carrying union members or the union bosses? Those are the two aspects of this bill. In both cases, it is power away from management, investors and entrepreneurs to the union bosses and it is power away from the rank-and-file workers, card-carrying union members, to the union bosses. Both of those, I suggest to you, are moves in the wrong direction.

But more important than that is the fact that it has been recognized by other countries, many of them quoted by the government—I don't know why—Japan, Germany and others, that if we have not reached the stage where management and unions are prepared to check whatever powers they have at the door—because both of them have enough power to bankrupt and destroy any business, any province or any country, as it is—if they're not prepared to check those powers at the door and come together to work for the common good of that company, or that part of the company, or this province, or this country, then indeed we're in big trouble.

This government is 20 years behind those other jurisdictions in understanding that it's not who has more power; it's how do we get business and labour coming together, forgetting what power they have and working together to solve the competitiveness problems that need to be solved in this province—the training, the retraining, the apprenticeship, making sure we can compete with other provinces and indeed with other countries. That's what's so wrong about this approach that the government, the minister and the Premier are taking. You know, I think that deep down inside they know that and they understand that. So we get down to why.

Why are we dealing in this way? Why aren't we dealing with labour relations changes the way Michael Harcourt, NDP Premier of British Columbia, is dealing with them. Mr Harcourt has recognized that the labour relations act in British Columbia is one component of competitiveness, of ensuring that jobs are there today, tomorrow and in the future and that there are better paying jobs and that there is job security. He has brought business, labour and government together to discuss the overall competitiveness of British Columbia, including a look at the acts governing bargaining. Quite frankly, I think that is reasonable and a more 21st-century approach. I applaud Mr Harcourt for proceeding that way in British Columbia. I think he will get far better results than we will in Ontario. We're 20 years behind if we think the important issue is, who has more power, management or unions?

Just as so many of your other policies are 20 years behind, you're still trying to out-Liberal the Liberals on a path of disaster. With your coalition and the taxation and the regulation, you've brought this province from the proudest province in the Dominion, from the most envied jurisdiction around the world, where immigrants from all across the world put Ontario at the top of their list as a place where you could bring up a family in safety, where you could work hard, succeed and get ahead, where your children could have a future, hope and prosperity and opportunity, knocking Ontario right off that list.

Why are you proceeding then? There is only one answer that adds up. You are scaring investment away. You are destroying jobs. Study after study has articulated that. According to Ernst and Young, the most recent study, 295,000 jobs are at risk with this legislation. That's not including those potential jobs—because we can't quantify—that are not locating in Ontario just because of this government's actions in proceeding with this labour legislation. Those would be over and above that.

The government refuses to do any studies of its own, or if it does them, it hides them. I tell you this, if you have studies and you are hiding them from us and holding back that information, then you will pay a terrible price for that down the road, because it will out eventually. If you haven't done job impact studies, then you are negligent. Shame on you for proceeding with a piece of legislation as significant as this, which has caused so much outrage and concern, without doing a job impact study.

The only reason left is that it is a sop to the union bosses. They're the ones who funnel the money through the checkoff into the NDP coffers. They're the ones who provide the free workers on election day and organize the campaigns of many of the members. They're the ones who are saying: "It's payback time, and we want this power. Whether it is in the interests of Ontario, whether it is in the long-term interests of our members is not the issue."

The fact of the matter is that in the large unions that are calling the shots with this government, that rule the day with Bob Rae, his cabinet and the Minister of Labour, those union leaders have recognized they are losing members. They are losing members because jobs are being lost in this province. They are losing members as well because of a disillusionment over the ability of large international and

national unions to represent the individual interests of workers on individual job sites.

This bill is designed to make it much easier to recruit and sign up new locals, new unions and new members. It is also then designed to give them more power once those workplaces have been unionized. It makes a presumption, which I think is very presumptuous of this government to make, that being unionized is better, even though the vast majority of Ontario workers, of their own free will, have opted not to be unionized. It presumes that this government knows what is in their best interests rather than what they themselves know and want and desire.

That presumption, I believe, is incorrect. I'm not saying that because you're unionized, you're necessarily worse off. In many cases I think they work very well. I believe in the right to unionize and I believe very strongly in the right of workers, having selected somebody in a union to speak on their behalf, to reinforce their case and withdraw their services. That is what collective bargaining is all about and what a strike is about. But this legislation wants to redefine "strike." You want to take the word "strike" and redefine it, and I disagree with that.

You also want to take rights away from card-carrying union members and give more of that power to the union bosses. Any polling that has been done has very clearly articulated that card-carrying union members think you're making a mistake, that it will cost jobs. They are very much opposed to the way you are proceeding. So it's not to satisfy union members that you're doing this, it is just the union bosses who are calling the shots.

There are a few specifics I want to mention and then I'll yield the floor to others who I know wish to debate this at some length.

One of the reasons for bringing this legislation forward, you have said, is to reduce picket line violence. You use the example of Quebec, Mr Minister, which brought in similar anti-scab proposals, as you call them, banning the use of replacement workers. Let me just say a couple of things. First, Quebec did have some picket line violence and still does, as we all know, more so than Ontario. There was another way to deal with picket line violence and that is to enforce the laws that existed, but Quebec opted to go with the banning of the use of some replacement workers. Over that same period of time, in spite of the much smaller economy of Quebec than Ontario, there have still been more picket line problems in Quebec than there have been in Ontario—still more, even with that change in Quebec. So it is ludicrous that this change is going to affect that.

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The fact of the matter is that, when you look at the number of agreements that are settled and the number of workplaces, there is next to nothing in the way of picket line violence in Ontario. There is more in Quebec, where you say this change—the reason for it here. The fact of the matter is that you are taking away some rights of some individual workers that I violently object to, ie: Striking employees cannot voluntarily return to work until the union boss says they can go to work.

Here you have the case of taking away the individual right, which we know has already been decided. We've

dealt with the Constitution today, and I think any constitution that tells Merv Lavigne that he does not have the right to direct where his union dues are checked off to is a constitution that needs amendment. I want to tell you that up front.

But hear what you are going to say to a Merv Lavigne or to any worker in a unionized workforce: (1) If you want that job to feed your family you must join the union even if you don't want to. That's the law today. (2) You must pay union dues even though you don't believe that union represents you. That's the law today; we can't change that. (3) Even though the union dues are checked off, the union boss can direct that money to the political party of his choice over your own individual objections. We now know, after the Lavigne case, we can't change that. (4) If that union you didn't believe in decided to go on strike and you still wanted to go to work to feed your family, that's illegal.

That, in my view, goes too far. That takes away an individual's right to work at the workplace of his choice, even though the person is paying dues against his will and even though those dues are being spent against his will. Even though the union voted to go on strike, this bill makes it illegal to cross that picket line and go to work and feed his family and that, in my view, goes too far. That takes away the individual rights of workers.

You want to redefine "strike." "Strike" was intended as a withdrawal of service, a collective withdrawal, to put pressure on the employer. It was not designed as a line in the sand that nobody can cross; it was designed to say, "We collectively withdraw our services and we are very important to you as a company and we're making a statement and a point with this."

I do not accept that this will stop picket line violence; I think it will increase it. I do not accept that this provision gives more rights to individual workers; it takes more rights away from individual workers and gives them to the union bosses.

The certification process: I want to briefly touch on one issue there. As I have said, I didn't want to get into too much detail on some of this, but there are a couple obviously that bother me.

The post-application petitions: Currently the only way individual employees can express their desire not to join a union will be eliminated by this bill, even though petitions always lead to a free and democratic vote on the issue of certification.

Even consumers are protected. I know, with the support of the New Democratic Party and with the support of unions, I'm sure, consumers are protected from high-pressure, door-to-door salesmen. That's what union organizers are; they get paid by recruiting. It's like selling vacuum cleaners. The more you recruit, the more you get paid or the more you keep your job. It's a high-pressure sales job to try to convince and cajole people to join the union.

Even consumers are protected by law from high-pressure, door-to-door salesmen by a three-day waiting period. If you are pressured at the door into buying something you don't want and decide up to three days after that you don't want it, the law gives you the right to say: "I've changed

my mind. I was pressured in that situation and I've changed my mind."

The petition process gives the right to somebody who felt pressured, either because of the environment he was in or the peers, the people around him, perhaps some a little bigger than he, or by whatever means he was cajoled into buying this membership, to say, "I wish to remove my name from that list." You want to take that right away.

I have a business right in North Bay, Bavarian Meat Products Ltd, where every one of the employees has asked—and I raised it with the Minister of Labour and sent in numerous letters. They are saying: "We wish to withdraw our support for the union. Here are our letters, here are our petitions. Will you convene a hearing and see that this is dealt with?" It still hasn't been dealt with and the company is going down the tubes.

To take away the \$1 union fee, one buck—a vacuum cleaner might be \$1,000; a set of encyclopaedias is probably more than that; some of these other things that you buy, we'll give them three days. But now a buck—you want to eliminate that. Now it is just your signature garnered in any way at all; your signature, not even \$1 to accompany it, and you want to take away the right of that individual overnight, on reflection in one, two or three days to change his mind. That goes too far; that takes away too many rights for individual workers, whether they are in the union or not.

I could go on at length about some of these, but I wanted to mention those two because those two take away the rights of working men and women of this province. They take away the rights of individuals. It distresses me that this government, and a party I felt wanted to defend individual rights—obviously I was mistaken—would proceed with legislation that would do that. That's not even talking about the extra power it gives to unions. The fact of the matter is that business is being scared out of this province.

I was intrigued as well—I know there are not too many Liberals here today, but they will be because their turn to speak is coming up—that they have expressed the concern that it's the wrong time for this legislation. Give me a break. When's the right time for wrong legislation? I've never heard anything so silly in all my life: not the right time for this legislation. You're either for it or you're against it. It's terrible legislation; it'll destroy jobs in this province; it upsets that delicate balance between management and labour that has existed; it will destroy as much as anything else the future for my children and for others in this province, and the Liberals say it's not the right time. No time is the right time for legislation that is 20 years behind the time. I wanted to deal with the bad timing aspect that seems to be the Liberal concern.

You NDP members all come in here with your heads in the sand. I'm going to tell you this. I want to relay one little story. I was chatting with a number of business people. I'm accused of meeting with business and trying to advance its concerns. I just want to put on the record that you bet I do and you bet I'm proud to advance their concerns. The Liberals even accuse me of this. I don't know why understanding business, its needs and concerns should somehow be seen as negative, but any time you accuse me of that I

want you to know I agree with you. I'm happy to represent the interests of business, large and small.

I was at a meeting and we were chatting on a number of issues of concern to business. The vice-president of the company said, "My president is in Japan"—it was the same time that our Premier was in Japan—"and I want to assure you, Mr Harris, that our president knows that the Premier of the province is in Japan at the same time and he's gone to great pains to make sure their paths don't cross."

I thought, "My goodness, have we sunk to this level?" We're in a country where governmental ties are seen as positives in dealing with business. Here's a business person who doesn't want anybody in Japan, the business people he's dealing with, to know. He wants them to try to forget that Bob Rae is the Premier of the province of Ontario.

1630

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): He was embarrassed.

Mr Harris: He was embarrassed. Never have I heard that expressed before by any business person concerned about doing business abroad.

Then I couldn't believe that the Premier, when he was in Japan, gave a major speech on the labour legislation, telling Japanese investors and business people what he was doing. He was a joke. I have it from many people in Japan; he was a joke over there. They said: "Can you believe it? He's actually doing it and he's telling us he's doing it" at the same time as he's trying to get Japanese investment and entrepreneurs to come to Canada to invest in joint ventures and technology. I have heard from several Japanese people who were there that they just couldn't believe the Premier was that out of touch and out of step with the perception of this labour legislation that he would go there and try to sell it as a positive.

One of the biggest impediments to investment and jobs in our province today is this government, and this particular piece of legislation speaks volumes about why this government is the problem. They do not understand that business and labour have to come together voluntarily. They cannot be legislated together. You cannot legislate togetherness. You cannot say to a couple, to a man and a woman, "I legislate you to be married." You cannot do that. You must come together of your own free will. You must come together, both understanding the ramifications of acting independently. You cannot legislate, and this is what you are attempting to do.

In doing so, you are destroying the climate of business and union relationships in this province, you are destroying the climate of individuals in understanding business and the private sector and the need for the private sector to be able to compete, the need for investors to get a return on their money, the need for a profit. Quite frankly, all of that is contributing, along with your taxation and other measures, to the decline of this province that I love so much and in which I want my children to have the same opportunity that I've had.

We will violently oppose—"violently" is not the right word—

Mr Len Wood (Cochrane North): We're trying to stop violence.

Mr Harris: We're trying to stop violence, particularly in the chamber. It unfortunately appears to be coming to that some days.

We will very strongly oppose this bill. We will fight it tooth and nail in committee over the summer. We will fight to make the best deal we possibly can.

I finish as I started, with this message of hope. To those individuals, card-carrying union members and those who are not, who want a future, who want jobs in this province, who want their children, their sons and daughters, to have the same opportunity they have had, and to investors and entrepreneurs, those who are in Ontario today and those who may wish to come here: Have hope, because come 1994-95, whenever the next election is called, I want the people to know that my plans as Premier are to scrap this legislation.

The Acting Speaker: Two minutes for questions and/or comments.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): Quite an interesting speech on the part of the leader of the third party, interesting in the sense that for a person who purports to be—no, he actually is the leader of the third party; I have to recognize that. To come out and say the type of things that he said in this Legislature about this legislation is quite interesting.

I just want to touch on one thing. He talked about Premier Harcourt in British Columbia, where there is a New Democratic government; he talked about the different approach that particular Premier is taking in that province when it comes to labour legislation and he talked about how that government is not going ahead with that legislation. They're not going ahead with those provisions because they're already in their Labour Relations Act. I wish he would make that clear.

I'll give you a couple. The professional right to organize is in British Columbia under that act. Security guards' right to join the trade union is in their Labour Relations Act. The question of labour boards to interpret all the employment legislation and other issues which he talked about are in that act. The list goes on and on.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): What about replacement workers?

Mr Bisson: Replacement workers are not there, but they are in Quebec.

The point is that about 90% of what the leader of the third party talked about is already in the legislation. Yes, he doesn't have to legislate it because it's already there. That's the point. I just find it quite ironic that the leader of the third party—I understand why he's taking the position. He's taking the position because fundamentally he is opposed, along with the rest of the people in his party, to giving workers the right to get together, to organize under a trade union and to work together with their managers to find solutions to the problems that are inside those companies to work our way out of this recession.

What we are trying to do is set the format in place, such as there is in other provinces, to give workers and

employers some sort of equilibrium within the workplace. That kind of rhetoric, quite frankly, in regard to what the member speaks about is very off line to making that happen and I think is quite regrettable.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mrs Joan M. Fawcett (Northumberland): I am pleased to comment on the leader of the third party's speech on this very controversial bill, Bill 40. Certainly I can agree with some of the comments he made and ideas and concerns he put forward, but I must say I can't agree with all.

We in our party have to wonder if the backbenchers on the government side and indeed the members of the third party really understand what the new rule changes do to us who want to speak on this important bill and other bills as well that will be put forward.

I find it really hard to believe that the third party actually voted with the government in favour of this set of rules that infringes on the democratic right of members to speak. You appear to speak vehemently right now against this labour bill, yet one wonders where the leader of the third party was when the bill was introduced. And there he was voting in favour of the rule changes that would allow this bill to pass even quicker.

We have some concerns. One that really bothers me the most is that this government feels it's the only one that cares about workers. Believe it or not, we over here do care about workers. You do not have the sole ownership of caring. We care that they are treated fairly. Our party cares whether workers have jobs so that they can look after their families and have a quality of life. We care that all legislation is fair and balanced, because legislation passed in this House is for all the people in Ontario, not just a chosen few. We are very concerned that this piece of legislation is very imbalanced. It doesn't have the balance.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Carr: Very clearly the people of the province heard the position of the Progressive Conservative Party, articulated very well. The point to be made is unlike the Liberals', who say it's a bad time. You might not like our position, but we've been very clear in saying what we will do when we form the government in 1995.

It's important, because the people who are running this province right now don't care about the job losses. They don't care that studies say we'll lose 300,000 jobs as a result of it. They don't care. They won't do their own studies. I say to the Minister of Labour, you won't do any studies because you're afraid of what the results will be. It's 300,000 jobs, and some studies have even gone higher. He says "Oh, that's not right," but he won't do his own. Will it be 50,000? Will it be 100,000? Will it be 250,000? Will it be 300,000? We don't know because he won't do his studies because the Minister of Labour is afraid of what the results will be.

I think they know very clearly where the Progressive Conservative Party stands. There's only one party that has taken a clear stand. You might not like it, but we are taking

a clear stand on this and we are saying that the provisions that take away individual rights we are going to put back in when we form the government in 1995. We are going to introduce legislation that will make it through secret ballot, through the certification process, so the true will of the people in a bargaining unit will be found out.

They won't be able to use the high-pressure tactics that are used. We all know that during a unionize drive high-pressure tactics are used, particularly against the most vulnerable people who don't understand English. They are told: "Here, sign this. We're just going to get you more money." All those tricks are played. There's intimidation towards women in the unionizing drives. We're saying very clearly that the true will of the people should be heard, through a secret ballot. That's why in 1995, if they can stay alive, we'll take these provisions out.

1640

Mr Pat Hayes (Essex-Kent): I really think this piece of legislation should be put into its proper perspective. What this legislation is really about is giving those people in this province, like women and minorities, who never had the right, or who were intimidated in the past, the right to organize for decent wages and working conditions.

I agree with one thing the leader of the third party had to say, and that was about the comment from the Liberal Party that it's not the right time. I think that's just another way of saying, "We can't make our mind up," or else, "We don't really agree with putting legislation in to truly help workers."

The leader of the third party mentioned workers wanting to go on the job when they're out on a legal strike. I just want to explain to the leader that, first of all, when we talk about the democratic process and voting, workers do vote as to whether they go on strike. They also vote as to whether they want to accept the contract and go back to work. It's not the union bosses, it's the membership of the union that actually has the vote. They have that right to vote and they exercise that right.

One of the things I think this legislation will really stop—I'm sure just about every member in this House has had someone, at one time or another, come to him and raise issues about problems in his workplace and then come back and say, "Don't mention my name," because he's afraid of being harassed or being fired. I think this will certainly help those people, especially the women and the minorities in this province.

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Nipissing has two minutes in response.

Mr Harris: I believe the member for Cochrane South, who wasn't here during all my remarks, tried to summarize. Obviously he didn't hear, so he completely misrepresented what I spoke about for 30 minutes. In case there should be any doubt, I want to be very clear that I'm opposed to this legislation because it takes away workers' rights; it takes away card-carrying union members' rights. Those were the examples I used in my remarks. It's one of the main concerns I have. The second of course is the fact

that it's 20 years out of date. It's confrontational. It will destroy investment and jobs in this province.

The member for Northumberland talked about the rule changes. She is quite right. The members of my party supported the agreement made by our House leader; the members of her party did not. That is for them to talk about if they wish. I am quite happy to defend our position. We believed the Legislature was not working very well and that it was time for rule changes. We were very supportive of that. We obviously were violently opposed to the package the government presented. We were violently opposed—I don't why I have the word "violence" on my mind today—we were strongly opposed to the government proceeding unilaterally with the package it had.

However, once the government came to the table, the three House leaders negotiated and shook hands and agreed that was the deal. We had been kept informed by our House leader throughout those negotiations and we agreed with him that it was a better deal than the NDP had before. It was better than the rules that were in place before they were there. Hopefully, the Parliament and the Legislature will work better.

We'd like to spend our time debating legislation, issues of substance, those we are for and against, and not bickering about rule changes ad infinitum. I just hope that will clarify those two positions.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on Bill 40? The honourable Minister of Government Services. I want to remind the honourable member that he has up to 30 minutes to participate in the debate.

Hon Fred Wilson (Minister of Government Services): I've listened carefully and quietly to the debate in this House on the reforms that we propose for the Ontario Labour Relations Act. I've also followed debate outside this House by people in factories, in boardrooms, in committees, on editorial pages, and yes, even what those silly billboards are saying about those changes.

One thing has become very clear. Once we peel off the rhetorical mask hiding the faces and true intentions of those opposing these changes, we see a very nasty and a very narrow vision of Ontario, a vision that indeed would have been at home in the Family Compact of the last century, but is certainly out of touch with today's world.

It is a vision of an economically stagnant world where working people aren't supposed to have any say over the conditions in their workplaces, over their own economic or social lives or over their own health and safety, a world where worker participation is opposed instead of welcomed. It's an anti-democratic world; in short, a world without unions. It is a vision held by a few select groups, and it is a vision that Ontario's many forward-looking business leaders do not share. I don't have to tell the people of Ontario that this government also does not share that vision.

I don't have to tell the people of Ontario that throughout history and around the world unionism has been a key part of democracy, from the mills of 19th century Manchester to the mines of South Africa, from the plantations of Panama to the shipyards of Gdansk, and yes, the Spadina textile sweatshops and the steel mills of Hamilton.

Then and now, unionism has been and remains a way for ordinary working people to participate in the way the workplaces function and in creating a better place for their families, in fact a place for all families, to live.

Without unions, we wouldn't have health care. Without unions, we wouldn't have health and safety legislation. Without unions, there would be no paid vacations, no pensions, no minimum wage or pay equity. To attack unionism, to suggest in any way that the playing field has been fair and that these reforms somehow unbalance it is nothing less than an attack on our democratic institutions and on an important part of our democratic way of life.

We may expect this from the Tories. They have in fact told us where they stand. Their direct political ancestors were that Family Compact to which I speak. But it must be very disheartening for the people of Ontario to watch the Liberals, whose political ancestors fought that Family Compact, lurching haphazardly to the right in a frenzy to join the modern equivalent to that compact. No wonder the faces of George Brown and William Lyon Mackenzie look so discouraged and betrayed as they gaze upon the halls of Queen's Park these days. They, I believe, would have understood that changing times call for changes in labour laws if those laws are to be fair to all people.

The face of Ontario's workplace is changing. More women, visible minorities and new Canadians are now doing the work of fueling Ontario's economy. They are looking towards unions to help give them a say in the productive planning and re-energizing of that economy. They know they can no longer look to the Liberal Party for leadership or sympathy, let alone support. But they also know their government is on their side, because it truly represents the people and not the special interests of Ontario, which is precisely why we have introduced this legislation.

There is a very personal reason why I support this legislation and why I'm in a unique position, I believe, to speak to it. Back in my office on the wall behind my desk is something very special, a framed copy of my union card presented to me by my union. I have always been proud to be a union member and I'll tell you why I first became one.

Not that many years ago, I had to make a choice. I wasn't a labour academic, nor was I a militant radical. I was a family man, a worker, a Canadian Forces veteran, a husband and a father. I was, like most other Ontarians, struggling to make a living for my family. Sure, I needed to work to make money, but I also held strong beliefs, beliefs shared by most Ontarians, then and now. I believed in justice, fairness and dignity; I still do, which is why I'm a member of this party and this government.

Because of those beliefs, my labour colleagues and I made several requests of a company we worked for through the company union. How extreme were those requests? Some of them were: We asked for a 40-hour work-week; we asked for voluntary rather than forced overtime, and we asked for the right to form—just to form—health and safety committees. The company, through the company union, said no to all those requests.

We realized that throwing out the company union and forming our own real union was our only hope to achieve those goals, which would have made us happier, healthier

and simply more productive workers. So we formed our union and within a short time the company had forced us out on strike.

1650

We paid an awful price. The strike, if memory is correct, lasted four months. Personally, I lost thousands of dollars, which I think was comparable to most of my colleagues. The tensions of course were terrible. My children, my wife and I all had to make sacrifices in terms of food, clothing, even accommodation, as well as lifestyle. On the picket line we were forced to defend ourselves against goons and guard dogs. For what? For nothing more than a 40-hour work week, a health and safety committee and voluntary overtime, right here in Ontario.

That's the Ontario the opponents of this legislation, including the opposition, would have us return to. But we're not going backwards. It's time to move forward because whether these groups like it or not, whether these groups know it or not, Ontario has changed since then and the laws need to reflect that change.

In the end, when our strike was over, we had won most of what we'd asked for, the company had agreed to most of our requests, but I asked myself then and now, what was the cost? When I think of the terrible, tragic, tremendous waste of money, time and talent the strike caused on both sides, I can only wish, as I wished then, that the sort of legislation was in place then as what we are proposing now.

I believe we have all matured since then. The company we had the strike against has certainly matured. It learned from the experience and is now one of the more progressive employers in the province.

As Minister of Government Services, I am now responsible for a ministry which is the employer of over 2,000 unionized employees. I know as acutely as anyone in the province the need for cooperation and partnership between management and labour. When we held consultations on this process we talked to everyone. We talked to the workers themselves and to their front-line managers. If I may say so, there's a forgotten breed indeed: the front-line manager. Along with the workers, they are the people who best know the need for better labour relations. May I say also that we consulted with many members of chambers of commerce and corporate executives who also understood the need to bring our labour laws in sync with the times. They are people like ourselves, like union members and other workers who do their best to make Ontario work.

If there is one word to sum up this legislation it is "maturity." This is mature, grown-up, modern legislation for a maturing and growing province. Other countries with mature, grown-up, modern economies, like Japan, Germany and the Scandinavian nations, know that a strong and responsible workforce and progressive labour-management relations are good for business because real long-term productivity comes from inclusive economies that include and respect all segments of society.

I would ask the opposition to drop its immature playground approach to economics—the goofy billboards, the silly newspaper ads, made-up statistics as we've heard here this evening and scare tactics, not to mention the reading of endless lists in the House—to be responsible, to

be adult and, for the good of the province, to finally break out of the 19th century and join us in the 1990s.

This government knows that partnerships are what makes the economy successful and productive: partnerships between government and private enterprise, like the Jobs Ontario training fund and the cooperation we are fostering between auto makers such as Ford and Chrysler, and partnerships between management and labour. Any marriage counsellor will tell you partnerships only work when both partners get involved. This legislation helps to create the opportunity for all of Ontario's workers to get involved in building our economy and creating jobs.

We are heading for an economic recovery and renewal in Ontario. We must guarantee in law, as well as in fact, the rights of all Ontarians—workers, managers, union members—to fully participate in that recovery and to enjoy the prosperity it will bring.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Questions and comments.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I appreciate the opportunity to respond to the comments of the member for Frontenac-Addington. He made the very strange comment that he felt the Liberals were verging haphazardly to the right. I had an opportunity earlier to look at the number of bills the Liberals had introduced regarding labour legislation in the past number of years, and it shows precisely the opposite.

In 1985 the Liberal government passed Bill 65, which gave newly unionized workers help in securing their first contracts. In 1987 the Liberals passed changes to the Employment Standards Act which improved the working conditions for nannies and domestic workers, a predominantly female profession. In 1987 the Liberal government passed laws that indexed workers' compensation benefits to the rate of inflation. In 1987 the government started the workplace hazardous materials information system, which gave employees better access to facts about dangerous materials on site. In that same year the Liberals improved notice of termination and severance pay through amendments to the Employment Standards Act. The Liberals also passed laws enhancing assistance to displaced workers. In 1988 the Liberal government passed a law that provided for the most progressive pay equity legislation in the world.

The government also increased the budget of the office of the worker adviser, a government body which assists injured workers. In 1990 the Liberal government passed Bill 162 which boosted benefits to injured workers. In 1990 the Liberal government also improved workplace protection for employees under the Occupational Health and Safety Act.

At the same time, between 1985 and 1990 the Liberal government created more than 700,000 jobs in Ontario. Does this sound like we're verging on the right? I think not.

Mr Stockwell: The rather vigorous defence the Minister of Government Services offered for Bill 40 is interesting. He cast his mind back for decades upon decades to discuss the perils and so on of unions and union representatives, and some of the points he made were rather accurate, I think, and fair.

But let me just suggest that what he offered in the way of a defence of this piece of legislation was absolutely nothing. He does not talk about the job losses. He does not talk about the studies. He does not talk about the effect this is having on business, the effect it's having on confidence in the entrepreneurial world about investment. You'll find as we go along that very little defence is offered for this legislation because there are simply no concrete facts with which to spin a decent argument.

We know full well that the Minister of Labour refuses to do a study that will show the impact of this legislation on jobs. I've said it before and I'll say it again: Why not? Simply because we know there are going to be losses. No one in his wildest dreams would suggest this legislation will create jobs, so there's only one way to go, and that's job losses.

Having this minister stand up here and recount from decades ago the concerns of unions isn't being very practical or isn't dealing with the issues we're faced with in the 1990s. This minister suggests we should jump into the 1990s. I suggest to this minister, sir, you've been living way, way long in the past. If this was truly needed, there would be a cry and concern from the public asking for this type of legislation.

The polls are clear. This is not accepted by the public. It's not accepted by the rank and file members of unions and the NDP. This is not accepted there and it's not accepted in the business community and it's going to cost jobs. It's shameful that you should bring this forward with an ideological bent that will do nothing but destroy this province.

Mr Drummond White (Durham Centre): I'd like to commend my friend and colleague the member for Frontenac-Addington on his points and his speech and to state that in many ways my friend exemplifies the hard-working employees throughout our province.

My friend speaks of the dangers and the risks that he and his colleagues went through when they first organized, and those are the kinds of things that this legislation is attempting to facilitate so that workers across this province will have the right to make choices. I have heard members of the opposition talk about unions as if they were some sort of nebulous, evil thing, but my friend exemplifies the kind of hard-working people who, through their choice, through their solidarity with other hard-working people, together decide to organize, together decide that as a group they have a right to speak for themselves.

I'm reminded of last weekend reading of someone in my area, a Mr Smith, who after 50 years retired from General Motors; 50 years this man worked at General Motors and he retires now at the age of 65. Every one of those 50 years he's worked hard. For him, getting up in the morning meant going to work and being proud to go to work, but he is also a very proud member of his local, Local 222 of the CAW, just as my friend is a very hardworking person. Unions are the collective voice of those people who are their members, just as my friend has said. So I again would like to commend him on those points and hope that the legislation he speaks to will produce the effects he's looking for.

1700

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I've been following this debate with some interest and watching it both here in the House and on the monitor in my office. One thing seems to come through that disturbs me and that is that in practically any other situation where we would have a debate in the House or a piece of legislation coming up for debate, people would declare a conflict of interest. One of the things that disturbs me is that everyone who is supporting this usually stands up and declares the fact that he is a member of a union. I say to you, I commend people who are members of unions and I have nothing against them, but when you have a piece of legislation that favours unions and members of unions are standing up and saying this is something that we need, we have a bit of a problem.

I want to give an example. When we had a debate in this House several years ago on extra billing there was one member of this House who was a medical practitioner and he of course exempted himself from that debate because he had a conflict. How can you possibly be proposing legislation, trying to be evenhanded, trying to propose a level playing field for all of the people of Ontario, those who are workers, those who are members of unions, those who own factories, those who are proprietors of small businesses, how can you bring forward a piece of legislation that in fact tilts the balance and is proposed by the very people who are going to be the beneficiaries?

This is a situation where there should be a level playing field. It is not "we and them," it is "us." It is for the benefit of Ontario that we have an environment that encourages investment, encourages business to expand, and when you tilt the playing field, what you are doing is discouraging all of those things from happening.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for Frontenac-Addington has two minutes to reply.

Hon Mr Wilson: It was very interesting to hear the list of Liberal legislation that was read off earlier by the member opposite. It should be noted also that most of those were put in place when we were there beside them to show them how. Some time after that they began to falter.

In response to the member from the third party who says I dwell too far in the past, I will state simply that if you don't know where you've been, you certainly don't know where you're going. That brings me to a point. I'll read just a short quote and I wonder if the member knows where it comes from. "It is in the public interest of the province of Ontario to further harmonious relations between employers and employees by encouraging," I repeat, "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining between employers and trade unions."

That happened to be in the preamble to the legislation put in place by the Conservative Party of Ontario some 20 years ago.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): I welcome the opportunity to participate in this debate. Perhaps I should see it as a particular privilege to have the opportunity to participate in this debate, since it seems that

opportunity will not be accorded to many members of my caucus who would like to be able to express their concerns to share in the debate but may be excluded from that process because this government, with its new rule changes, may introduce a closure motion and cut off the debate for members who wish to speak to it.

On behalf of those few members in my caucus who will be allowed to voice their concerns in this Legislature, I do welcome the opportunity to speak to the legislation this afternoon. I do not welcome this piece of legislation, and I certainly do not welcome the impact on the province of Ontario I believe this legislation is going to have.

The government has introduced this labour legislation with virtually no study and with even less thought to the long-term impacts on the economy and on this province's ability to attract new jobs and investment. They've done so at a time when Ontario is going through what may be the most critical economic period in its history. Yet they have brought in this most important piece of legislation without doing any kind of proper economic impact study. Business says that the changes will cost jobs and investment, unions say this is an overreaction, and the government does not and will not even try to find out the real facts.

We're concerned because this government has not given any rationale for even introducing this legislation. There's been no explanation of why this legislation is needed, and in the absence of any kind of explanation, there is no understanding of any real benefits which might emerge from the legislation. All we're left with is our consciousness of its potential costs. The reality is that in today's Ontario this legislation will not create one new job, will not lead to one new investment, will not put one unemployed person back to work.

We're concerned because the government has used the smoke of labelling all opposition as anti-worker in order to sell this legislation. What's needed here is real debate and not just continuous false rhetoric. It's a concern for me that as I rise to speak to this bill, my criticisms and the real issues of concern about this legislation that I want to raise will be portrayed by the government as simply being anti-worker, anti-union. This has been this government's constant, continuous way of trying to deal with opposition to this bill: Ignore the concerns, ignore the substantive issues, criticize the critics, and then you don't need to change direction; you can just march straight ahead. You can do what you intended to do from the very beginning.

That of course is the way this government deals with any opposition and with any criticism. It simply tries to discredit the critics, and its defensiveness time and time again is a measure of its unwillingness to deal with the realities and the responsibilities of governing this province.

Let me just take a moment to trace the way the government has handled the opposition to this particular bill. After the government released its original discussion paper on the labour changes, the Minister of Labour held what he describes as being the most extensive consultation process we've seen in the province.

That consultation was stage-managed public hearings at 11 stops during January and February, and during these hearings the minister made sure that every time he heard

from a concerned person from business, he also heard from a union supporter. This happened even though there were consistently more business people than union supporters who wished to present their concerns and their views to the minister.

Only this week, the minister has dismissed the concerns that were expressed through a poll conducted by a company in Ontario. The minister dismissed those concerns by saying, "Well, after all, only 53% of those who were surveyed actually knew about the study." Now 53% we recognize is in fact a majority of people, so a majority of people had heard about the proposals.

What the minister did not acknowledge, and if he'd looked a little more carefully, if he had any interest at all in the concerns that were being raised by the people who were surveyed, he would have looked at the study and realized that among those 53% of the people surveyed who did know about these proposals, the concerns were even greater than among the broader group. The fact is that the more people know about this legislation, the more aware they are about the proposals and their impact, the more concerned they become.

It's not just the minister who has attempted to simply dismiss any concerns that are raised about his legislation. That's also been true of the Premier. The Premier has consistently dismissed the concerns of Ontario companies certainly, which expressed their anxieties about the effect of these amendments. The Premier said to one television station: "Much of the reaction is based on the premise that either people haven't read the legislation carefully or they're creating the worst-case scenarios that are not terribly realistic." "So why should I have to listen to their concerns?" is the implication. To the *Globe and Mail* the Premier said, "You're just wrong that this is bad for business."

1710

The Premier is very clearly determined to dismiss any opposition that is raised from this side of the House. He's even tried to suggest, in what I see as being a rather desperate method to discredit the opposition, that in raising my concerns I was stepping away from the Liberal tradition established by Mowat in 1897 and that I was now defending the classes rather than the masses. He said, "She's buying into a line that no other political government in this province has bought into since the 1920s and that even Oliver Mowat couldn't accept 102 years ago."

Surely the Premier and his government do not believe that labour-management relationships today have not progressed since 1897. Surely they do not feel workers are no better off in today's Ontario than they were in the 1920s and the 1930s. If that's what this government really believes, I would suggest it step out of the dusty treatises of the NDP and into the reality of 1992 Ontario. If we do that, then maybe we can talk about the real needs of workers in Ontario today.

Workers in Ontario need fair treatment: They need equal opportunities, they need to participate in decisions that affect them, they need safe workplaces and they need access to training. But above all, workers in Ontario need jobs. They need an opportunity to work and in Ontario in 1992 access to a job is less and less certain. Today's unemployment rate in

this province stands at 10.9%. There are 581,000 people who are out of work, 265,000 more than were unemployed in September 1990. Since September 1990, 242 plants have closed. Just between the start of this January and the end of May, another 63 facilities shut their doors. A quick calculation will tell you that is a plant closure in Ontario more frequently than every two and a half days.

Since this government brought in its budget and talked about job creation as being its number one priority, 23,000 more Ontarians have lost their jobs. This government fails to recognize our very real concern and the concern of people across this province that this legislation will cost even more people their jobs, and surely that has to be seen as a concern for workers, just as it is a concern for management.

The government of this province does an injustice to the people of this province when it tries to turn this into a labour versus management debate. Yet that is what they keep trying to do. Anyone who raises a concern is against workers, against women and visible minorities, against, it seems, those who are seen by the NDP to be still exploited by a rich class today in Ontario in 1992. But I ask this government to tell us what in fact this legislation does for workers, women and visible minorities.

It allows working individuals to be put in a position where a smaller minority of their co-workers can require a vote to be held on unionization. It forces workers into new bargaining units, whether or not there is a community of interest, for example, between full-time workers and part-time workers. It forces workers in different workplaces to bargain together as if all workplaces were the same and a problem in one workplace should be seen as a problem in another workplace.

This legislation takes away the right of individual workers to decide whether to cross a picket line, and at the end of the day this legislation may cost many Ontario workers their jobs. So we ask, is this legislation helping workers?

Again, this government has never said why this legislation is needed. What problems were so great that this legislation needed to be given a high priority? Ontario's record of labour management is not exactly a poor one; 95% of contract negotiations in Ontario are settled without a strike. Only 5% of the situations where strikes occur are ones in which replacement workers are used, yet the key point of this legislation is the ban on replacement workers.

If we look at Ontario's record of strikes and labour disruptions versus Quebec's, we see that Ontario's record is actually better—fewer numbers of strikes; fewer people involved in strike situations—yet Quebec has had this same replacement legislation for 14 of the past 16 years.

The government says that one of its reasons for introducing the legislation is that it's going to reduce conflict on the picket line. Yet we look at the kind of conflict that's likely to occur on a picket line and in the workplace later, on a much longer basis, when striking workers know that their supervisor has deliberately chosen to cross the picket line, and we seriously question whether this government hasn't increased the likelihood of violence on the picket line, not lessened it.

The government says this legislation will lead to cooperation in the workplace, yet from everything we've heard, this legislation is creating a polarization that is likely to make cooperation between labour and management impossible. There is no question that cooperation is needed between labour and management more than it has ever been needed before. There are fundamental changes taking place in the workplaces of Ontario, as the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology must surely know. Every business and industry sector is re-evaluating how it operates, how it can begin to survive in these rapidly changing times. Everyone agrees that increased productivity, which can best be achieved by cooperative working relationships, is essential. On that point there is surely no debate.

I don't think there's any debate on the question that cooperative working relationships can be helped by balanced collective bargaining environments. But legislation that shifts that balance to one side can be absolutely disastrous for the cooperative working relationships that are needed. We are truly concerned that this legislation shifts that balance significantly.

The goal, surely, of maintaining a sound economy to create jobs, to keep people working and to put people back to work, is one that must be an important priority for all of us. Even the government has said this is its number one priority. Yet this government marches ahead with legislation that seems to address no pressing problem and yet threatens to make our economic difficulties much worse.

The government says: "Don't worry. It won't happen. The opposition is always talking gloom and doom. They've just been bought by the business agenda. Business is overreacting."

Yet this government absolutely refuses to do any studies of the impact its legislation will have. If the government believes what it says, if it believes the opposition concerns are just gloom and doom, if it believes that business is overreacting, why will it not put those beliefs to the test? Why won't it do some studies, look at what might happen and put the wild rumours to rest, if indeed they're wild rumours? The reason the government won't do the studies is because it knows it could not dismiss the findings of an objective study in the way it tries to dismiss the opposition voices. If they did some studies and showed that 295,000 that may be lost, or something more or something less, they couldn't just fall back on the Minister of Labour constantly telling us that he doesn't believe any jobs will be lost.

This government talks about partnerships. They claim, in the words that they write and the words that they speak, to understand that a flourishing business sector is the foundation for achieving a sound economy. They seem to realize, in the words that they use, that without a sound economy there won't be jobs for the unemployed in this province, for those who are now on social assistance, for the youth who are seeing unemployment rates at 20% this summer.

Not only will there not be jobs for people; there won't be revenues for this government to support the social programs all of us believe in. Yet this government, in spite of all its words about concern for the economy and about

support for a flourishing business sector, continues to dismiss the concerns of businesses when those businesses raise their concerns. They dismiss the concerns of the business people who are truly struggling to stay alive in these hard economic times in this province and who know what this legislation means to their companies.

This government needs to listen to these voices, to just stop a minute, to just be willing to hear what are real concerns from people who are trying to keep this economy strong, who are trying to keep people working in this province.

1720

One Mississauga business person who has written to us says, "This province is in desperate need of investment and job creation. If this legislation is allowed to go through, we will see existing investors pull out and go elsewhere." A Markham business person writes: "A proper balance between government, labour and management is necessary for a thriving economy. The proposed legislation directs the balance too far in favour of unions." Another person from Aylmer writes, "If a company my size with 24 people and the type of work we do—we're not able to hire replacement workers—I'd probably have to close my doors, in which case we have no workers." An Etobicoke person says, "The government needs to research this idea better before trying to make it law."

Surely that's what we keep saying to the government. Yet this government that talks about partnerships simply dismisses these kinds of concerns as being an overreaction. In fact, Mr Speaker, this government continues, in spite of all its words, to just dismiss the entire agenda of business as if it were somehow hostile to the needs of real people. I wonder when this government will ever understand that economic issues are people issues.

Why will this government, if it believes in partnerships, not send its labour reform proposals to that very committee made up of labour and management representatives, appointed by the government itself, so their own committee can analyse the need for reform and assess what effect these particular proposals will have? This government claims it is consultative, but it has made a commitment to bring in this legislation and it is going to go ahead regardless of the impact, regardless of what it will do to business and what it will actually do to workers.

We wonder whether this government will address any of the concerns that we know will be raised by person after person, worker after worker, business person after business person, as it goes into this next consultative phase in the legislation. We wonder, for example, whether the government would be willing at all to address the concerns of restaurants. Closure could mean bankruptcy. Would they consider the 30-day ban on the prohibition on replacement workers the restaurant sector has suggested or will they simply continue to ignore the needs of this particular beleaguered industry?

We wonder if the government is prepared to look at the impact of this legislation on the just-in-time delivery requirements of our manufacturers. Will they let shutdowns at key suppliers close down an industry that has already lost 131,000 jobs in this province since September 1990? I

wonder, Mr Speaker, what they will really do to agriculture when this legislation is passed, giving the government the right to regulate farm workers without any debate or any public consultation at all.

The government has said this legislation is no different from legislation in other jurisdictions. So what are we worried about? What's all the fuss? What's all the alarm? The statement that this legislation is no different from what exists in other jurisdictions is simply misleading. No jurisdiction has legislation that combines all the features these amendments present.

There are some proposals, like access to third party property for picketing, the provision on contract tendering or the provision for first-contract arbitration after 30 days—these are proposals, as the government itself has proudly said in its background notes, that exist in no other jurisdiction, yet this government does not think this legislation will discourage investment in this province.

Mr Speaker, let us say very clearly to this government that you cannot ignore business concerns and still build the sound economy you know is needed. You cannot ignore the concerns of business and still see hope for the future in the few businesses that still risk their investment dollars here and that the Premier and the members of his government praise so highly when they want a response to our concerns about declining investment in the province. You can't explain away this legislation, the most sweeping legislation of any North American jurisdiction, when the Premier goes to New York, Tokyo or Italy to try and encourage people to come and invest in this province and create the jobs we need.

I say to this government, from the base of all the knowledge we've gained talking to people across this province over the past months and years, business is not bluffing. Stop and listen, or all of us will pay a future price which you stubbornly refuse to measure. If you believe in partnerships, be willing to form those partnerships. If you really believe in consultation, let the consultation be real, let it have meaning. Listen to the concerns that are being raised.

If this government really wants a sound economy, let us say to it, be willing to create the kind of climate in which a sound economy can flourish. If this government believes in meeting people's needs, help people have the opportunity to work. That really is all we are asking and I believe it is the very least the people of this province have a right to expect.

Mr Bisson: It was an interesting dissertation on the part of the Leader of the Opposition. I just want to share with the leader an experience I went through when talking to some businessmen in Quebec who actually took part in the opposition to the then changes to the labour relations act that happened in that province some 14 years ago. I was invited to this through an acquaintance I have in Montreal who happens to be the owner of a number of small businesses in that area dealing in the realm of sports fitness equipment for both the industrial sector, such as hospitals etc, and the personal sector.

This person had come to Toronto in order to meet with local business people here and to try to market some of his products in the province. We got into a discussion and he

said: "It's really interesting. I listened to the debate about the Ontario Labour Relations Act and it's like being flashed back 14 years ago to what I heard in Quebec. I can tell you as a business person there, the change that happened at the time and what I see you people doing here is really nothing to be afraid of. In actual fact, we view it as something that's fairly positive for our economy."

I asked him to set up a meeting to meet with some of the people he knew within his business sector who understood and had been part of that debate, and we did that. Some months later, I was out there on a personal holiday and I had a meeting one evening with about 10 or 15 of them. What they were saying is exactly the same thing: "We opposed the legislation at the time, 14 years ago, in Quebec, the same way they are in Ontario, because we believed ideologically it was the wrong thing to do. When we looked at it some 14 years ago, we gave it the doom and gloom. We said it was going to lose jobs. We said all those things they are saying in Ontario. But we can tell you now, some 14 years later, that this legislation has worked. It has helped us to work with our employees and we see it as a positive thing."

Unfortunately, I don't have enough time to elaborate on that point. Maybe later on in the debate.

Mr Sean G. Conway (Renfrew North): I want to commend my leader for what I thought were very balanced and thoughtful observations about an enormously important piece of legislation. In my view, Bill 40 will be the most important public policy the Rae government will enact in its five-year mandate.

I want to say that when my leader spoke as she did in this connection, she spoke for the majority of men and women whom I represent in the Ottawa Valley who are very concerned about this policy and this bill, who want me standing in this place in this debate, as I do now, to oppose Bill 40, because it is in their view, as it is in mine, untimely legislation that is fundamentally unbalanced. Bill 40, as my leader has rightly observed, will hurt, not help, economic recovery and it will hurt, not help, job creation.

In Renfrew county, where I have communities in some places with unemployment rates in excess of 20%, what those men and women expect of the Legislature and the government of Ontario is that we will work together in this chamber and with partners in the community to create new opportunity, to stimulate economic growth and development. They would want me to say on their behalf that Bill 40 fails that test.

1730

As I stand in my place today to make it clear that I will not and do not support this Bill 40, I am saddened to have in my hand a copy of the government's time allocation motion, which was tabled as my leader spoke. I just want my friends in this House to know that, as controversial as Bill 40 is and as fundamentally as I object to it on policy grounds, I find absolutely objectionable and despicable in the extreme that because of the government notice of motion tabled a few moments ago, we will have only one more debating day on this bill so that the majority of members in this chamber will not have a chance to speak, even

under these rules, to this matter. Mr Speaker, this is parliamentary thuggery of the most transparent kind.

Mr Stockwell: I'm standing to respond as well. I have in my hand Mr Cooke's resolution to introduce time allocation on this. It's rather incredible for me to believe that this party has had two speakers on this important piece of legislation. It is now apparent—

Interjection: Shut up.

The Deputy Speaker: Please take your seat. With this type of language, of course we're going to lose control.

Mr Stockwell: Stop the clock, would you?

The Deputy Speaker: I would appreciate if all members would respect at least the language of this House. The member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Stockwell: I've lost a considerable amount of time in my two-minute—

Interjections.

Mr Stockwell: Listen, maybe it gets frustrating on this side, because that's exactly what you're doing to us. You're trying to shut us up. They won't shut us up. They want to introduce this kind of motion when we've had two speakers on this side of the House—two. I see the Labour minister smirking from time to time, and that certainly upsets me and upsets my constituents as well. It's shameful that you have brought forward that motion. It is equally shameful that in two days of debate, with two Conservative speakers on a motion that's as important as the labour legislation, your House leader would bring forward a motion that would call for time allocation and try to keep the opposition quiet when it comes to this piece of legislation.

I will not stand for it. And if somebody on this side of the House once in a while yells to the members opposite to shut up or be quiet, you've allowed us so little time to put our position forward, at least give us the courtesy of keeping your mouths shut when we want to offer it.

The Deputy Speaker: I would ask the members to please be careful with your language. There is one more person who has the floor on the government side, the member for Oxford.

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): I listened intently to the comments from the Leader of the Opposition as she pointed out what she thought were concerns. When we come down to the basic points of what is going on here, though, the issue has been mentioned of taking away freedom and taking away choice but I look at this bill as giving choice to people and giving more choice to them. Fundamentally, the choice that is being given to people, given to some people who haven't had the opportunity, is to decide on their own, in terms of organizing, whether a majority of people in a workplace want to come together to collectively organize into a union. I thought we'd had that specific date, about people being able to have that right, a long time ago in this province.

We heard a lot of talk about labour-management cooperation and some sense from the Leader of the Opposition that this is going to hurt that. In my view, in those situations where you have good labour-management cooperation, in unionized settings and in non-unionized settings,

this legislation isn't going to change that. There is still going to be good cooperation between them, and they are going to continue being productive for the economy of this province and for their own businesses.

I do think, though, that in those situations—and I have a strike situation in my riding right now where replacement workers are being used, and there have been some incidents on the picket line. That is a great deal of concern to me. It is a great deal of concern to the whole community, that the type of feelings and bitterness and antagonism that are left after a strike is resolved, due to the replacement workers being used, will have an impact on the overall productivity of a company afterwards, and that is not in the best interests.

While people have expressed concerns about the amount of time being spent on this, we also know there will be approximately five weeks of public hearings and of course the public will have a full opportunity to continue to comment on this legislation, as it did before.

Mrs McLeod: There is no question that the level of frustration in this place is going to get greater and greater if this government is determined to cut off debate on this most important piece of legislation. I say to this government, if this government believes this is good legislation, if you believe this legislation is defensible, if you're not afraid of the criticisms, then let this legislation be debated. This government, on this legislation above all, should not use its majority to cut off debate. It shouldn't use its majority to ram this through, to send this legislation to a consultation process that's going to take place in the summertime. This government should be prepared to let the elected representatives of the people of this province have their say on this legislation, and until that happens, I'm afraid the level of frustration will get greater and greater.

In my last minute I want to comment on one criticism of our criticism that I have heard raised by both the third party and the government, and that is that we have characterized this legislation as being not timely. Let there be no mistake: This is not Liberal legislation. It was clearly not a Liberal government that brought in this legislation, nor would it be a Liberal government that brought in this legislation. This is not legislation that Liberals are introducing. But when we question the timeliness of this legislation we are saying, even to an NDP government that believes—if you believe this is needed, if you believe it will achieve your purposes, why would you bring in this kind of legislation at a time when more than half a million people are out of work and when this legislation will put even more people out of work?

Let there be no question that this party believes that economic renewal and job creation should be the number one priority, that this government should give more than lipservice and expensive advertising to creating jobs and should get on with doing what will create jobs in this province.

Mr Conway: Mr Speaker, I have a point of order to correct the record, because one of my colleagues left me with a bit of a worry as to how it might have been—I said at the end of my brief remarks a few moments ago that the

government notice of motion, which I have in my hand, to limit debate, represents—let me say it clearly—parliamentary thuggery of the most outrageous kind.

The Deputy Speaker: This is not a point of order. Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): I have prepared notes today to speak and I will use them, but first of all I want to register my distaste—in fact, not my distaste, my disgust for this government. I am a new member of this Legislature, and in fact I have never been in politics prior to being elected to this House. The reason I ran for office was—

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Perhaps we would have a little more order in the House if the members would take their seats. If the members will take their proper seats, please. The member for Etobicoke West, the member for York Centre, please take your seats.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Then we'll wait.

Mr Conway: There's going to be a lot of frustration, Mr Speaker, because the majority of members are not going to get to speak to this bill. It doesn't make any difference what is said in this place. This government notice of motion is cutting off this debate after two days.

1740

The Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr Conway: I warn my friends opposite that it amounts to censure. You can have the new rules; we're not quarrelling about that.

The Deputy Speaker: The member, please take your seat.

Mr Conway: This House is going to come down if members are not given at least 10 or 15 minutes to speak their views.

The Deputy Speaker: Please take your seat.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order. The member for York Mills.

Mr Turnbull: I commented on the fact that I had never been in politics before and that I was concerned about the rising cynicism that exists for politicians and for politics in this country and in this province. It is a very distasteful experience to note that probably the most important piece of legislation, in terms of the economic impact Bill 40 is going to have on the province in this decade, is brought forward as the first bill after the government has rammed through changes to the House rules which limit the amount of debate members can have. After only two speakers from our party, the government House leader, in his normal way, has slunk into this chamber and put on a motion for time allocation.

That is absolutely incredible in any context, Mr Speaker, but when you put it in the context of the published data that the majority of people in this province, including many union members, do not want this legislation and are concerned about the economic consequences,

for the government House leader to come in and cut off debate at this stage is disgraceful. No wonder people are cynical about the political process.

I have to tell you I am a fierce opponent of socialists, but I never believed the party across the floor would be the party that would want to stop the democratic process. In fact that's exactly what is happening. We have had totally two hours of debate from our party at this stage, and already the government wants to cut off debate. The Minister of Labour keeps on looking up at the chandeliers. I don't know what he thinks he's going to learn from the chandeliers, but I'll tell you that you should be listening to the debate and that you shouldn't be cutting off the debate, because this is going to be the death-knell of this province.

We have seen that in the last few months hundreds of thousands of jobs have been lost in this province since you were elected. We do not blame you for all the job losses, but of late we do blame you for the job losses. I can tell you I know a lot of foreign bankers, and the German and Swiss bankers tell their clients unequivocally, "Do not invest in Ontario, because it is a very unhealthy place to put your money." That is going to drive further jobs away, and many of the jobs are jobs that won't be leaving; they just won't be arriving.

Your efforts to cut off this debate just heighten your obvious embarrassment over the fact that you're not prepared to do the economic impact studies that, we have said consistently, you should be doing.

This is a government that has spent \$160,000 on a contract with Wally Majesky, an ex-union boss, and his son to do a consulting study, a study which he suggested they should do, for which the Ministry of Transportation said it had virtually all the information and they didn't need to do it. It was unsolicited and untendered. They gave \$160,000 to their union leader boss and that's just the tip of the iceberg, because that's what this bill is all about: giving money and power to the union bosses, not to the workers. If indeed we were empowering the workers and making this a better place to be in Ontario, I think you would find the opposition parties would be a lot more temperate in their comments about this.

This is payoff time the NDP is engaging in for the support for the NDP over the years. We know that Bob White, the chief paymaster, is pulling the strings. This is a government that is embarrassed by the facts that are coming out, and you should be embarrassed. Every time we've asked you for impact studies, we've been stonewalled, and last night we had some absolutely lunatic statement read out by the minister that we would need heroic assumptions in calculating an impact study.

I would suggest to you, Minister, if you knew anything whatsoever about any impact study, you would know there have to be assumptions built in to any economic model. If you don't believe in economic models, at least have the guts to stand up and say so, but don't pay off Wally Majesky while at the same time you refuse to do an impact study of the most important legislation that we've seen and that we will see this decade. We have said consistently in my party that we will get rid of this legislation when we form the next government.

It's more than a little curious that the now Premier, Bob Rae, applauded and hugged the member for Welland-Thorold after his 17-hour debate on auto insurance and thought that was a magnificent effort, yet this is the same government that after two hours of debate by the Conservative Party is cutting off debate, and little more than that by the Liberal Party. They have had two and a half hours of debate so far. If you believe that it has been fully aired, you are dead wrong.

I have seen what socialism does in Britain, and that is why I am probably a lot more strident than other members in this Legislature. What we need in this province is jobs—jobs for people that will pay money and will give taxes to meet our social obligations. We need a strong economy. You are doing nothing to help those issues. Instead of getting the economy moving, you're polarizing labour and management. I'm going to read in some letters from my constituents a little later and give some comments as to what they think.

Mr Speaker, I want to tell you that I had a seminar in my riding and I invited two prominent NDP apologists to come and put their side of this legislation, and they did. I must say they did it well. They spoke well and I appreciate the fact that they came because I don't want to deliver a one-sided picture. But after a very full debate, it was quite clear that the people of York Mills told me, "David, get into the Legislature and make our wishes known." I'm lucky enough to be able to have half an hour to debate this, but many of the other members of both the Liberal Party and my own Conservative Party will not have that opportunity because of time allocation.

When I look across the floor and see the smirks on the faces of the people who in the last election called Premier Peterson a liar and see them smirking about the fact that they're cutting off debate, I am disgusted. No wonder taxpayers and voters are disgusted with the political process, because we're going nowhere if we engage in this kind of parliamentary games.

We know that the government has shown its preference for central government, for control and a bias against the private sector. We've seen them move against landlords, against private day care operators, and we see them now moving against private nursing home operators.

1750

They refuse to cooperate, much in the same way as they refuse to do an impact study. It's interesting that there was a recent survey that suggested there was only 1% of Ontarians who thought this should be at the top of the government's agenda. There are 5% of the people of Ontario who believe Elvis lives. That's how important it is. This ideological bias the government has shows itself more and more each day. That is not surprising given the union background of the majority of the people in the government.

We have indeed a government in Ontario that is going towards greater state control. They're clinging to a dogma that's being thrown out in eastern Europe. It is so strange to hear comments of people from Europe. I speak to a lot of people from Europe because my wife comes from Europe. They are absolutely amazed that in this day and age

we could have this kind of draconian labour legislation which is unwished for by the electorate and indeed has been demonstrated to do harm to the Ontario economy. It isn't just harm during your term of office. It's the future governments of this province that are going to have to try and persuade people that Ontario will again be a healthy place to invest.

Ontario, under successive Conservative governments, was a prosperous place. Indeed, we put in all of the groundwork that allowed it to remain a prosperous province under the Liberals. Nobody would deny that there's a world recession on and that Ontario and Canada are in major restructuring, but nevertheless, you don't go and throw gasoline on a fire if you want to put it out.

One of the major reasons the government would have you believe for this legislation is the need to stop picket line violence.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order, the member for Bruce. Order, please.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I apologize for disrupting. I respectfully withdraw the comments that caused this dislocation of our business, but this prevents a whole group of people from speaking. It just is not parliamentary. It is the most—

The Deputy Speaker: This is not a point of order. The member for York Mills.

Mr Turnbull: Normally, I would object somewhat to that point of order in the middle of my short, 30-minute time, but I don't object because it is so much to the point. This is a government that doesn't want the facts aired. The socialists are howling across the floor because they don't like it. It's the fact that you are muzzling the voice of duly elected people who don't agree with you.

Let's just look at this nonsense they are suggesting about controlling picket line violence.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Please take your seat. Order. The member for York Mills.

Mr Turnbull: Picket line violence has in fact been reduced in Ontario. We know that when we look at lost days due to major strikes in Ontario, there was—

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Take your seat. Order.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for Etobicoke West, please. I asked you to—

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for Etobicoke West, I warn you, please.

Ms Poole: On a point of order, Mr Speaker—

Interjection.

The Deputy Speaker: Order, the member for Renfrew North.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order. We're getting close to 6 o'clock.

Ms Poole: On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: I believe the rights of a member of this House have been abrogated. The member for London-Middlesex just called the member for Etobicoke West a bigot. I very clearly heard it and I believe she should withdraw that remark.

Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex): Mr Speaker, I am the member for Middlesex, and what I object to—

The Deputy Speaker: Would you please take your seat. You have raised—

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order. Please take your chair.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order. It being close to 6 of the clock, this House stands adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The House adjourned at 1758.

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for substance abuse strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie pour la prévention de la toxicomanie
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Sillipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Phillip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaitre, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

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St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
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Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/ ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for substance abuse strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie pour la prévention de la toxicomanie

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Gary Wilson, Jim Wilson, Elizabeth Witmer
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Second Session, 35th Parliament

Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Thursday 9 July 1992

Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Jeudi 9 juillet 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Thursday 9 July 1992

The House met at 1000.

Prayers.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

PLANT CLOSURE

Mr Bradley moved resolution 13:

That, in the opinion of this House, since General Motors announced its intention on February 24 of this year to close its St Catharines foundry eliminating over 2,000 employment positions in addition to 750 women and men who were to be laid off indefinitely as of March 1 and over 100 people who will lose their jobs as a result of the decision to discontinue the 3.1-litre V-6 engine; and

Since the St Catharines General Motors foundry is a cost-competitive, world-class, high-quality operation with a highly skilled and motivated workforce; and

Since the loss of these jobs will mean the loss of \$130 million in wages and salaries to the economy of the Niagara region and the province of Ontario; and

Since the implications for businesses and industries that service and supply the auto sector are extremely negative and serious; and

Since whenever a production line and a significant part of a plant shuts down, the fixed cost of maintaining the rest of the operation increases and the quality of components from elsewhere cannot be guaranteed;

The Legislative Assembly of Ontario should urge General Motors to continue the operation of its foundry in St Catharines.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Pursuant to standing order 94(c)(i), the honourable member has 10 minutes for his presentation. I will then continue in rotation after that, with 15 minutes for each party.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I appreciate the opportunity to speak to my resolution today, although I wish that I did not have to introduce such a resolution. This is a matter which has united the members from the Niagara region, the member for St Catharines-Brock, the member for Lincoln, the member for Niagara Falls, the member for Niagara South and the member for Welland-Thorold. All of us are affected and the people we represent are drastically affected by what is dealt with in this particular resolution.

As members from the Niagara Peninsula we are determined, as I am sure all members of the House are, to ensure that the Legislative Assembly will be aware of the problem confronting St Catharines and the automotive industry in the province of Ontario and that we will do whatever we can to ensure that those problems are on the front burner as far as this Legislature is concerned. Of course, the purpose of this resolution is to attempt to convince General Motors that with the support of all members

of this House we wish General Motors to keep open its foundry in the city of St Catharines.

The private members' hour allows us an opportunity—and it's done by a lottery, for those who are perhaps viewing today and are not aware of it. Today I have an opportunity, as a result of that lottery, to introduce something of importance to me. I can think of nothing more important to the community of St Catharines than the more than 3,000 jobs which will be lost in our community.

The role of members is to emphasize what is important not only for the province but in particular for our individual communities. We are elected in electoral districts. People there expect us to reflect their views and to bring to the attention of our colleagues the problems that confront us and to deal with those problems in an appropriate fashion. This resolution will allow all of us in the Niagara Peninsula and others who have a special interest to participate today.

Last fall members will recall I was raising, particularly in December of that year, in speeches and in questions to various ministers, including the Premier, the potential problems that would be confronting the automotive industry in the province of Ontario and, to be parochial, the problems that would be confronted in St Catharines. One does not want to be an accurate prophet in matters of these kinds, but I recall asking the Premier about the future of the foundry in St Catharines and the engine plant in St Catharines at that time and directing questions, I believe to the Treasurer and the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology.

Those of us who have followed the auto industry, and that certainly includes everyone who represents an area that has a significant auto factor, were aware that there was an overcapacity crunch coming in North America. All the predictions were there. People within the trade union movement, people within the industry, those who watch economically the province of Ontario and North America as a whole recognized that there were going to be problems arising.

The ominous sign, as far as I was concerned in December last year, and a very obvious sign, was that Robert Stempel in the United States announced that some 74,000 jobs would be eliminated and several plants closed in General Motors operations to put them in a better business position. One can figure out, because he did indicate at that time, that operations in both Canada and the United States would be affected. One could conclude that the potential was there to affect Ontario operations. Certainly time told us that it did affect one Ontario operation rather drastically.

Anyone who has kept a close watch on the North American market and on the auto industry worldwide knows this crisis isn't over. The announcement was made of some 14,000 job losses, and I calculate that leaves about 60,000 jobs to be eliminated yet. We're not talking about statistics. Those who have worked in industry, those who have been part of job losses, those who have represented

ridings where people have lost their jobs know we're not talking about simple statistics.

We're talking about women and men who are our neighbours, our friends, our relatives, acquaintances, people we know in the community, people we see at the supermarket, people we see at the hockey arenas, people we see throughout the Niagara Peninsula and beyond our borders. These are people who have relied upon the automotive industry, have invested their talents, have invested their time, have made a personal commitment to the automotive industry, and they are people who hope their jobs could be protected by developing good markets, by government policies which will be conducive to that.

We recognize that there is a worldwide problem out there, that the competition is stiff throughout North America and throughout the world. That is why our industry in St Catharines, our foundry in St Catharines, our engine plant and our components plants have all endeavoured to become exceedingly competitive, exceedingly efficient. We have in St Catharines what I consider to be, and I am sure it's an evaluation which is shared by my colleagues, a world-class foundry, a top-notch foundry. We have a highly skilled and highly motivated workforce working in that foundry and the adjacent engine plant and of course in the components plants in other parts of the city.

People then would be justifiably surprised that when General Motors was making its choice of eliminating plants and eliminating jobs, it would select the St Catharines foundry and the St Catharines engine plant for the loss of those jobs. But previous to that, and I think this is important for members to note, because we in the Niagara Peninsula know this, early in 1992, early this year, there was an announcement of some 750 indefinite layoffs at General Motors to take effect about March 1.

I don't want to say these people have been forgotten, but the emphasis has been on the 2,300 jobs that will be lost as a result of parts of the engine plant and the foundry closing. Somehow these 750 people on indefinite layoff—and those of you who have worked in a plant, have been part of the trade union movement or in management know what the word "indefinite" means. It's a very ominous word; you'd rather have a definite time where there's a layoff and ability to come back. Those people have lost their jobs. That's why we total over 3,000 jobs lost in our community.

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I had hoped that when I raised this issue, and it's a very difficult issue to deal with in December, that we would see those signs. The reason for raising it with the ministers and the Premier was to make those contacts with General Motors to tell them, as all of us here feel, that we have good plants here in the province of Ontario and our operation should be kept going.

What was particularly disappointing, I think, to workers in our plants was the fact that we in Canada in General Motors had shown a profit of \$323.3 million for the year 1991. Usually when you're making a profit, when you've got an operation which is efficient and when you have a highly skilled, highly trained and motivated workforce, you can anticipate that you are not going to be directly

affected by layoffs. But on that fateful day—all of my colleagues in the House would know—of Monday, February 24, 1992, the announcement was made. It's a bare announcement to come to people, but it certainly shocked our community. It was a very difficult day for those who worked in the plant, for the members of city council, regional council and those of us who sit here from the Niagara Peninsula.

All of us wondered why we in St Catharines would be affected by this. It did not make sense to us that St Catharines would be affected. That is why I brought forward this resolution today, to ask members of the House to join those of us from St Catharines, to join the Fight Back Committee of the Canadian Auto Workers Local 199, to join those in the industry who are interested—the chamber of commerce, the business associations in St Catharines, all citizens of St Catharines—in asking that General Motors reconsider its decision and keep that operation open.

We must recognize that when the foundry goes down it has reverberations throughout the plant. This has been pointed out in Local 199 News. Sandy O'Dell, who is heading up the Fight Back Committee in the Local 199 News, has outlined clearly in an article he wrote what the ramifications are throughout the plant:

"It means that you cannot control the quality of the products coming in. It means that the components that you're going to utilize in your plant are going to cost more because you have to transport them there and it may come from a less efficient facility."

For this reason I have introduced this resolution and hope to gain support—I anticipate the full and unanimous support—of members of this House. Later on during the debate I'll have an opportunity to elaborate on this matter and deal with other issues related to this. I look forward to hearing members of the House and look forward to their support for this resolution.

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): The member for St Catharines' resolution this morning pertains directly to General Motors' decision last February to close its St Catharines foundry.

The member wants the Legislative Assembly to urge General Motors to continue operation of its foundry in St Catharines for the following reasons: The decision to close the foundry will eliminate well over 2,000 jobs; the St Catharines foundry is a—and I quote from the resolution—"cost-competitive, world-class, high-quality operation with a highly skilled and motivated workforce"; the loss of these jobs will cost the local economy close to \$130 million; whenever a significant part of a production line closes down, the costs of maintaining the rest of the operation and the quality of components from elsewhere cannot be guaranteed, and the repercussions for other businesses and industries that supply the auto sector could be devastating.

This resolution should be supported because of the great history and economic significance of the auto industry in St Catharines. The garden city of St Catharines has deep traditions rooted in the auto industry. The closing of the foundry could be the first of many cuts that eventually drive the auto sector from St Catharines and area.

The downsizing of General Motors has rippled, and will ripple, throughout the auto sector in Ontario. The town of Collingwood, which I have the privilege to represent, has plants such as the Libbey Owens Ford Glass of Canada plant, the Goodyear hose plant and Reynolds-Lemmerz, which rely on a thriving auto industry.

As many members of this Legislature are aware, because I have raised this issue several times in the House, the town of Collingwood has been ravaged by the current economic recession. In 1990 the town of Collingwood, which is about one tenth the size St Catharines, lost close to 2,000 manufacturing jobs because of plant closings and layoffs through downsizing. Not only did this take a whopping bite out of the town's tax base, but morale in the town was at an all-time low. The morale was even lower than at the time the Collingwood shipyards closed, because the recession forced cutbacks in other sectors such as retail and home building, which meant workers had nowhere to turn.

One of my first acts as the member of provincial Parliament for Simcoe West was to urge the NDP government to do what it could to save the jobs of workers at the Harding Carpets plant in Collingwood. Through the Ontario Development Corp, I was pleased to announce that we were able to save many of these jobs at Harding Carpets.

However, the unemployment situation in the Collingwood area remains high, largely because of policies by the current government and its Liberal predecessors. While I support the resolution of the member for St Catharines, I find it ironic that a Liberal member would suddenly be interested in saving jobs and plants. When we look at the record, "irony" is certainly the word that comes to mind.

It was the Liberals who increased taxes at an unprecedented rate, introducing 33 new taxes over their five years in government. It was the Liberals who introduced the employer health levy, which represented one more reason why industry would want to leave Ontario and why industry would not even consider locating in Ontario. It was also the Liberals who let our infrastructure slip, which meant our transportation routes and our hydro rates are now less attractive to industry than they were during 42 years of PC government.

The NDP has followed the Liberal tendency to tax anything that moves. As well, this government has introduced its labour law reforms, which are costing, and will cost, more jobs in Ontario. Investors throughout the world now see Ontario as being closed for business.

The NDP, which came to power claiming to represent the interests of workers, has only served to deal further injury to workers. With its misguided economic policies, the NDP government has thrust worker after worker on to Ontario's unemployment rolls and stripped each individual of the dignity that accompanies meaningful employment.

The following is a list of companies that were driven out of Ontario last year or downsized because they found it difficult to compete after six years of successive taxing and spending policies of the Liberals and the NDP. As the member for St Catharines has made us all aware with his resolution, when a company leaves, there is a significant impact in a community and a rippling effect throughout the

province. The following is that partial list of companies and businesses that have left or downsized in the last year:

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Adtek Pipe and Tube Inc, 54 jobs; AKZO Coatings Ltd, 29 jobs; Amdahl Communications Ltd, 48 jobs; Ball Packaging Products Canada Inc, 61 jobs; BASF Canada Inc, 59 jobs; ASEA Brown Boveri Inc, 57 jobs; Canada Packers Inc, 125 jobs; Canadian Pacific Forest Products Ltd, 120 jobs; Caterpillar of Canada Ltd, 430 jobs; CCL Custom Manufacturing, 205 jobs lost; Central Soya of Canada Ltd, 65 jobs; Colorization Inc, 124 jobs; Commander Electrical Equipment Inc, 23 jobs; Corning Canada Inc, 134 jobs;

Fame Furniture Co Ltd, 50 jobs; Friskies Pet Care Products, 137 jobs; Grace Meat Packers, 97 jobs; Holiday Inn Canada Inc, 79 jobs eliminated through downsizing; IMI Cornelius Canada Inc, 52 jobs lost; Ingersoll-Rand Canada Inc, 19 jobs; Inglis Ltd, 285 jobs; J. Pascal Inc, Scarborough, 76 jobs; J. Pascal Inc, Brampton, 54 jobs; J. Pascal Inc, Mississauga, 49 jobs; J. Pascal Inc, Thornhill, 63 jobs; J. Pascal Inc, Newmarket, 54 jobs; Kellogg Canada Inc, 118 jobs;

Maclean Hosiery Co Ltd, 75 jobs; Murata Erie North America Ltd, 47 jobs; Norgraphics Canada Ltd, 62 jobs; Peel County Restaurant, 75 jobs; Rockwell International of Canada Inc, 191 jobs; Safeco Manufacturing Ltd, 57 jobs; Service Corp, 77 jobs; Sklar-Peppler Furniture Corp, 55 jobs; Skyline Triumph Hotel, 200 jobs; Southam Murray Printing, 445 jobs; Superior Performance Products (Canada) Inc, 106 jobs;

The Poultry Co, 158 jobs lost; The Windsor Arms Hotel, 92 jobs; Bundy Corp, 254 jobs; Cambrian Footwear Inc, 150 jobs; Domtar Inc, 97 jobs; Greb Inc, 222 jobs; Joseph Ingram and Sons, 124 jobs; Komdresco Canada Inc, 118 jobs; Novacor Chemical Ltd, 55 jobs; Newlands Inc, 42 jobs; Rockwell International of Guelph, 30 jobs; Rockwell International of Cambridge, 53 jobs; Tracon Engineering Inc, 75 jobs; WCI Manufacturing Ltd, 198 jobs.

Other plant closings include A&P retail stores; Amstel Brewery of Canada Ltd; Beatrice Foods; Bendix Safety Restraints Ltd in Collingwood, which this House has heard so much about; Fabulous Formals in Midland; Flex Technologies Ltd in Barrie; General Tire Canada Inc in Barrie, which cost 867 jobs, and Rudy Huffen Ltd in Orillia, just to name a few.

There are still many more firms that left Ontario last year. This represents a tragic and shameful record for a government that claims to represent workers.

I support the member for St Catharines' resolution because after 21 months of NDP government rule, one characteristic towers over all the others, and that is that the NDP in government is vastly different than the NDP in opposition, and workers in Ontario have been left to fend for themselves.

During the last election, the now Premier, Bob Rae, made a point of telling anyone who would listen that his party had a corner on compassion. Perhaps Bob Rae would now like to explain to my constituent, Mr Charles Hawton of Collingwood, whatever happened to the NDP's monopoly on compassion.

Mr Hawton is 63 years old. He was one of the many Harding Carpets workers in Collingwood who were laid off last year. Mr Hawton applied for benefits under the program for older worker adjustment but was refused earlier this month. He was refused not because he didn't qualify under POWA. Mr Hawton, as I said, is 63. He has been employed for 15 out of the last 20 years, which qualifies him for the program, and the layoff he was involved in had a significant impact upon the community, another criterion met. His age makes his chances of re-entry into the workforce prohibitive at best.

The Minister of Labour refused Mr Hawton because not enough workers between the ages of 55 and 64 were involved in this layoff. As a result, Mr Hawton will be forced to go without, even though other older workers in Collingwood, particularly those who were laid off at Bendix, are now collecting POWA benefits.

The rationale behind this decision is callous, appalling and at best perverse. The NDP government has now become so wedded to rules that it has forgotten to consider basic common sense and humane compassion. As a result of this decision Mr Hawton, who is an older, unemployed worker, cannot receive benefits simply because he's caught in a numbers' game and the numbers do not add up in his favour.

It appears the government has to have a certain number, and it has to be a high number, of people laid off before it's willing to take action. It's a far cry from the days gone past when we prided ourselves, as did the other party in this Legislature, to the point where we were looking for fewer workers laid off, hopefully none, and where when one or two were laid off benefits were available.

Over the past 21 months we've heard and read a lot about the NDP's commitment to labour in Ontario. However, this commitment to labour is more accurately portrayed as a willingness to enhance the power of union bosses at the expense of ordinary workers in this province.

Recently the Ontario Ministry of Labour disputed the application of four workers at Arnott Construction in Collingwood to be decertified from their union, the Labourers' International Union of North America. The labour board scheduled two hearings, one last Friday and a second one, if necessary, tomorrow.

However, these four workers, who work and live in the Collingwood area, were forced to travel to Midland at their own expense, highly inconvenient and a highly suspicious decision by the labour board. The reason given by the board to hold the meeting in Midland as opposed to a more logical and practical meeting spot in Collingwood, where it would be easier for workers and their representatives to appear, was that Collingwood lacked proper meeting accommodations. That is ridiculous, absolutely ridiculous. The largest tourism spot in Ontario doesn't have proper accommodation for a meeting? "Ridiculous" is the only word I'm polite enough to use this morning.

It would appear that the Ministry of Labour is more concerned about making life difficult for these workers, whose only crime is that they want to get out of the union because they don't agree with it. This episode, I claim, is consistent with the NDP's policy to prop up union bosses

through labour law reforms rather than doing what is best for labour, and that is creating an economic climate that results in the number one priority for workers across this province: jobs and job security.

I will be supporting this resolution this morning because I believe in maintaining jobs and I believe the greatest dignity we can give our fellow human beings is the opportunity for employment. I wish the government shared that belief. I wish they'd find the compassion they claim to have and help workers like Mr Hawton, and be conciliatory to workers who want to leave their union because they feel it's best for their own economic security. But I fear this government doesn't listen. It continues to drive ahead with a pro-union-boss agenda and is ignoring the very workers who put it in power.

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): I rise to support this resolution. I personally thank Mr Bradley, the member for St Catharines, for raising an extremely important issue for my community and really for all of the Niagara Peninsula. The members for all of the Niagara Peninsula, as he has so ably pointed out, support his resolution and in fact have been working behind the scenes on many occasions to make sure that the jobs in this community, the city of St Catharines, are assured. Let us all be very clear that the foundry, which is in my riding, affects the entire Niagara peninsula.

I would also like to take this time to remind viewers and members of this House that this factory has a long history in the community. Generations have earned their living at MacKinnons, which was the predecessor to General Motors. For more than 100 years, the auto industry has been a mainstay of the community and the peninsula. Those of us who have taken up the political banner know how widespread the net of employment is tossed in the peninsula, and I know that as many as 12,000 people will be affected by the 3,000 jobs lost. So it is of great concern for all of us to realize how much the economy of the peninsula will be affected by this one announcement in February.

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Let us be clear that major purchases, be they houses, cars or refrigerators, are currently not being made in the same way that the business community of St Catharines has become accustomed to. There is a high anxiety level because many people believe that another shoe is going to drop.

My personal concern is that the kind of quality work the foundry and its employees have done, and are doing in reality as we speak, hasn't been recognized by head office in Detroit. The frustration level of the workers is very high. They have taken great pride in their work. They know their productivity is high. They have in fact been very innovative.

Let's be clear that the foundry will be cannibalized. There are machines and technologies that are being moved out, as we speak, to provide the means for the factory at Saginaw, Michigan, to produce the kinds of products we have so ably produced in St Catharines. The morale of workers, as a result of seeing this cannibalization taking place, is low.

As the member for St Catharines has also pointed out, there is an awful lot of groundwork that has to be done to make sure the quality of the work is maintained over the next few years until the final closure is complete. It is absolutely crucial that a high-quality product is maintained because, not only for the next two years but in the whole Save the Foundry campaign, we really have to continue to convince the company we can produce a good product.

I hope everyone remembers that the Canadian arm of General Motors made \$340 million for the company; that's profit, ladies and gentlemen. It is a positive sign that this company and other plants within this province and within Quebec can in fact produce good product. It is recognized worldwide, yet what happens? General Motors in Detroit has decided to close a productive plant in St Catharines.

I would also remind members of this House that the employees, the members of Canadian Auto Workers Local 199, and the management team as well have responded time and time again to the demands for increased productivity. I'd like to take this opportunity to place on the record again the \$340 million worth of profit for General Motors, and I would like to echo my continued disappointment that the company has not revised its decision to keep the foundry open. This is a profitable plant.

I echo my sentiments, again with my brothers and sisters at CAW 199 and my colleagues in this House, to continue their efforts to save the foundry. I know all members of this House representing the Niagara ridings are working to change the mind of General Motors. Let me also remind the member on the Conservative side that CAW 199 supports this government's changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act.

The Deputy Speaker: Mr Bradley, do you wish to do it now? No. The member for Lincoln.

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): Mr Speaker, I have a real interest in the resolution of Mr Bradley, the member for St Catharines. I happen to have 26 years' seniority at General Motors and I need four more years in order to retire. If I'm not successful in my next run to be here in the government, I'll be back at General Motors, and if this happens, it doesn't guarantee that I'll be back at General Motors.

I'm a stationary engineer, which is a special trade, and if they cut down in the powerhouse, I'll get eliminated, even though I've got 26 years' seniority. So I have a real concern with this. Not only that, being elected, coming here, these people at General Motors are looking to me to speak out for them in the Legislature to protect their jobs.

I have to disagree with the member for Simcoe West when he's talking about unions. Maybe he's never worked at that plant, but there are people like Sandy O'Dell, Ron Davis and Gabe McNally who are meeting with the company, they're meeting with the chamber of commerce, they're meeting with the community on how to save the foundry and General Motors in St Catharines. If the member ever has a chance to come down to St Catharines to one of the meetings, I would welcome him to come with me and with other members of the Niagara area.

The one thing we have to take a look at is that General Motors is the engine of the Niagara Peninsula. Everyone

somehow depends on General Motors of St Catharines in the Niagara Peninsula. Taxes that are paid in Welland, the wages come from St Catharines, General Motors. It doesn't matter whether you live in Wainfleet or you live in Dunnville or you live in Grimsby or you live in Lincoln, it has an influence on the economy in the Niagara Peninsula.

The one thing is, right now a lot of the GM workers just received their holiday pay and in a lot of the stores the economy picks up for the couple of weeks in July when everybody gets their vacation pay. A lot of them spend it in the Niagara Peninsula; they don't take it outside the Niagara Peninsula.

The other thing too is that there are a lot of jobs in the foundry that will disappear. Where are iron pourers going to get another job as an iron pourer or a patternmaker? Even though the man has 28 years, it doesn't mean he's going to get a job down the road as a patternmaker or an iron pourer. Those jobs aren't all over in Ontario; they are very few. So we have a very special industry there in St Catharines.

I've travelled for General Motors, I've been to Saginaw, I've been to the plant in Buffalo, and the plant we have in St Catharines is superior to all of those plants. That is the cleanest foundry you'll find in any foundry throughout North America. The people who worked in there made it that way, improved it. The production at that plant was the first modular iron plant to produce crankshafts, so we've been ahead of time at that particular plant. As my colleague here says about moving equipment out, we're moving the technology we've built in St Catharines to other plants.

But I have to say there are some other people I'd like to mention: a fellow who has 26 years, John Wright—he's a patternmaker and he'll be gone if the foundry shuts down—and Aaron Bessems. There are quite a few of my friends who will be losing jobs there, but the thing is some people say, "I'll have enough seniority that I'll be able to retire before the plant closes down," but they're closing their eyes to where their children are going to be getting a job in the Niagara Peninsula if this is the case. We have to look forward to say, "Let's save the foundry, let's everyone in this assembly wind up getting behind the members of Niagara to save the foundry at General Motors in St Catharines." I'll be voting in favour of this resolution.

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): I will be supporting Mr Bradley's resolution as put forward today in support of the people of the GM plant in St Catharines and CAW 199. I know a rally took place a few months ago and Mr Bradley participated along with Mr Kormos and a number of other members from the Niagara area. I know they enjoyed the rally, but I think it's only one sign that has to be kept up in making sure that the plant is there. I believe the workers themselves have been competitive. As we live in the auto sector, I've eaten the word "competitiveness," but competitiveness is not cheap labour at the same time. This union has been very cooperative in looking at ways of making sure it can be more competitive.

It could be that one of the decisions behind the boardroom doors in Michigan is that there is a US election coming up and they wouldn't want to disappoint the

Republicans in making sure that Bush is not defeated in one way or another and making sure that the Democrats don't get one more foot up on him in the state of Michigan. That wouldn't be one of the cases I hope that the board members of GM are now deciding upon. But as a representative and working in the auto sector, I have a feeling it is one of them, as we've started to read a book about what is going on in the United States.

Another indication is that they talked about the plant not being cost-efficient. The upgrading of the Saginaw plant compared with the costs for the St Kitts—the St Kitts plant will cost about \$60 million and it will cost much more to upgrade that plant in Michigan. That just reaffirms the position of, is it a political decision or not?

1040

Just to let you know—and I've heard the members from the Tory party who always indicate what they always do and blame everything on the NDP, but they don't look at the federal government and its free trade agreement—one of the things the unions have done is to make sure they can negotiate a retirement package for their workers which will be offered to them this Friday, showing the willingness and cooperation of the union in making sure their workers are well protected, though the company has turned its back on them, making sure those employees about to retire with 28 years' seniority will be able to retire with a pension and that there are programs in place.

I compliment the union for making this major stride of trying to alleviate some of the worries. If you've ever looked in the eyes of an individual faced with a plant closure and seen them running with tears, wondering how they're going to provide for their families—I know what the members of Local 199 and the management people who will be losing their jobs are going through, because it's one dramatic impact and interruption of a family that could be caused by it.

The other part I'd like to lay out, as being a person of the parts supplier industry, is that it will affect the people in the riding of Chatham-Kent, because we supply to St Catharines, to the GM plants, and it will hurt us. It's not only for the members from St Catharines but also for us. I'm going to bow my time to try to let another member from the Niagara region speak, but I thought it was important that a member for southwestern Ontario speak on their behalf.

Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls): Many of my constituents in Niagara Falls work at GM and, as the member for St Catharines initially stated, there are going to be drastic effects across the whole region. Certainly there will be for my constituents. I want to reinforce the fact that's already been stated that this is an efficient plant. There is no doubt about that; it has been proved. It is cost-effective and there are many highly skilled workers in the Niagara area.

I want to note also that there has been very significant community involvement over the past few months. I attended a meeting with labour, union, the chamber of commerce, the mayor, many people, and they are all backing the call to save the foundry. I want to point out that this

type of community involvement, not just in St Catharines but across the whole peninsula, has to continue to make this successful. There was also a rally I attended when thousands of people marched to the plant, I believe, at the beginning of May. I was with my colleagues Peter Kormos, Mr Bradley, Miss Haeck and Mr Hansen. We stood together.

I also recall at this point a documentary film I saw called "Roger and Me." It showed the utter devastation of Flint, Michigan, when the GM plant closed there. I'd hate to see that kind of image of what might happen in our communities, so I urge GM at this point to reconsider this decision. I think we have to be realistic. This is a business decision. This is a North America-wide decision, and I want GM to consider it for sound, logical business reasons and see that this is the place to stay.

Mr Bradley: I appreciate the comments from members of the House in support of this resolution. My colleagues from the Niagara Peninsula and my colleague the member for Chatham-Kent, who has been involved in matters of this kind before, recognize that this has a devastating effect not only on our local community but on the province of Ontario and ultimately our country.

When I look at the importance of the automotive industry, it cannot be overemphasized. It has been estimated that one in four jobs are related to the automotive industry. I think of people from northern Ontario—for instance, the member for Sudbury is in the House. In Sudbury, where I used to live, they produce many metals which are used in industry, which are used in vehicles. The steel industry in Hamilton and in Sault Ste Marie, the plastics industry in Sarnia and eastern Ontario, the fabric industry, the rubber industry—all of these components go into the making of a vehicle and all are important to our economy because they produce not only the jobs and revenues for people themselves, but for government.

The Fight Back Committee, in a publication it put out for members called *It's Time We Had Canadian Content Laws*, had some rather interesting facts that I think should be shared with members of the House. First of all, they stated that, "A GM St Catharines worker's average wage is approximately \$40,000." That's important to St Catharines; it means those people can make the purchases of services and goods that are going to be beneficial to our community and province. And then, "3,065 jobs will be lost due to the closing of the foundry and the loss of the 3.1 engine.

Here's something rather interesting: "Payroll taxes for these 3,065 workers would amount to \$612,000 for Canada pension and \$856,800 for UIC premiums—gone. Based on employer health tax of 1.95% of payroll, Ontario's health plan would lose \$597,675. The company's Worker's Compensation Board payments of \$700,000 would also disappear.

"Lost taxes from workers would amount to approximately \$2.8 million, from lost revenue on Canada pension and UIC premiums paid by the workers.

"Finally, the government must now pay the laid-off workers UIC for an average of 40 weeks. This amounts to approximately \$52 million.

"None of this takes into account the 'multiple effect': the spinoff jobs that will be lost when these people are laid off, when GM stops buying goods from its suppliers, and when its workers stop shopping." We recognize there is a diminishing of the economy. "Nor does it include any social cost associated with unemployment or welfare. Nor does this include that the foundry alone pays for and uses 44% of the city of St Catharines hydro. Nor does this include the loss in revenue of approximately 20% of the property taxes for the entire city of St Catharines, which the foundry and parts of the engine plant account for.

"The spinoff jobs directly related to auto workers is a four-to-one ratio. This means that if 3,065 auto workers lose their jobs, so do 12,240 other workers in our community. These figures are staggering. Forget the money for a minute and think of the people struggling to find food and shelter."

In other words, the emphasis is on people in this particular document. The Fight Back Committee has led the fight, but it has had strong support, as my colleagues from the Niagara Peninsula have pointed out, and it's going to be important that we unite as members of this House and as members of our society in fighting for those who are employed in the automotive industry.

The reason I pointed out its effects on the rest of the economy is that there are some people who like to sit back and say, "It's time something like this happened," or "We should become more competitive," and "It's a natural reaction to a recession," and so on. Often they are people who are envious of some of the jobs that are there, but they have to remember that these men and women who work in these industries are making purchases elsewhere, are requiring services elsewhere and that this industry and the people in the industry are exceedingly important to the total economy, not only of the Niagara region which we represent but also of the province and the country as a whole.

I would like to look at what I consider to be some of the solutions, some of the things we can do, perhaps in the future, to try to ensure that the automotive industry continues.

The first problem we encounter is the free trade pact. Without a doubt, it had a very negative effect on the automotive industry. It was pointed out by the government and I think most members of this House in the last session of the House and in this session of the House that the free trade pact and the changes made as a result of the free trade pact—and by the way, anticipated changes if there's a free trade pact with Mexico—have an effect on jobs in North America. They have an effect on jobs in Canada and in Ontario.

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Jim Peterson wrote in the Financial Post on Thursday, March 19, an article that was quoted in the Fight Back Committee's report. I'm going to try to pick out just one part of it. I've read it into the record before. He mentions:

"Under the free trade agreement, Canada gave up the duty remission programs it used to attract Japanese and other foreign auto assemblers to Canada in the first place. Now it is clear that our secure access to the US market promised under the agreement is just one more broken commitment."

He points out the importance of the automotive industry and talks about the 1965 auto pact, which was a good document. It was a controlled trade between Canada and the United States. It was mutually negotiated. It was to benefit both Canada and US workers.

Mr Hope: Level playing field.

Mr Bradley: It was a level playing field, as the member for Chatham-Kent has revealed.

Jim Peterson, the federal member for Willowdale, the Liberal critic for industry, came up with the following conclusion in this rather lengthy article. He says:

"Foreigners should either produce their fair share in Canada or have their share of our market restricted to at least the European Community's limit of 15% to 17%. In conclusion, renegotiation is critical to undo the harm of the free trade agreement and ensure Canada a fair share of auto jobs. Canada must not sign any new deal that does not meet these minimal standards."

So in international agreements we must be very careful that we protect the auto industry, our fair share of the market.

Second, the high dollar has had an effect, without a doubt, on all industries in Canada. We are more competitive when our dollar is down. Ask people in northern Ontario about the pulp and paper industry or the lumber industry and the effect of the dollar moving upwards on those industries. The same is true of the automotive industry. In Canada, we should not have an artificially high dollar, which I always consider is an unwritten part of the free trade pact having a bad effect on our automotive industry.

Members have heard me speak at great length in the House about—well, it's passed now, but I'd like to see us remove the gas guzzler tax from automobiles. One of the things we did, and which no doubt the members of the NDP caucus did in caucus because they don't have the freedom that a member of the opposition has to be openly critical of government—except for one member I can think of, from Welland-Thorold, who occasionally does so. They don't have the same opportunity that we in the opposition have to publicly deal with matters of this kind, but I'm sure that behind the closed doors of the caucus members who represent automotive centres across the province of Ontario were saying to the Treasurer, the Premier and the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, "Please don't expand further the tax," because there was a contemplation of expanding the so-called gas guzzler tax that I refer to as the tax on auto workers. I think that's devastating for the automotive industry.

What all of us want is a win-win situation. First, we want people to be purchasing vehicles so that auto workers and others have jobs; that's stimulating the economy. Second, we want the environment to be protected. We do that by having people replace their old clunkers with new vehicles. The newer vehicles have better emission controls—better pollution controls, that is—and they have better fuel efficiency. If we can do that, we can solve the problems, to a great extent, of both the economy and the environment. So I know those arguments will continue to be made.

We must use some caution on the gasoline tax. We can't allow it to jump too high at a time which would discourage people from using vehicles all the time. We must have some moderation in that, but let's be careful that we don't tax ourselves in the future—it hasn't happen yet—out of automobiles completely. There are some people, by the way, in this province who would like to see that happen.

I also hope the Treasurer would consider, if things persist, removing the sales tax on automobiles for a short time. I could be foolish up here and say he should remove it for ever but he needs the revenue, and there isn't anybody in the province who doesn't know you need some of those taxes for the programs the people of Ontario say they want. So I would ask for a temporary removal of the provincial sales tax on vehicles to stimulate the economy. There are other taxes, of course, that I'll recommend you remove completely some day.

I also believe we should check the cost of the production of power and the availability of power in the province. That's hard to do. It's not easy to produce electricity in Ontario any more. The cheap ways are pretty well gone; it's now expensive. We work at conservation, of course, but we are losing our advantage in terms of the cost of electric power. Somebody in the automotive business said to me that we won't have any foundries, any electroplating plants or anything that requires large amounts of electricity if the rates continue to rise at the level they're rising. Second, they're concerned about the availability, well into the future, of electrical power. So that's something, as members of the House, we'll want to assess and keep in mind as we are dealing with the automotive industry and other industries.

I also believe we should promote Canadian products. One of the slogans I always liked that was brought out, I think, by the CAW back in the early 1980s was, "Buy the car your neighbour helped to build." If there's one thing we can all do, it is purchase the cars—and they're made right across the province—that your neighbour helped to build. I'm not here to tell the people of Ontario what car they must buy, but I can tell them that by purchasing vehicles produced in the province or whose components are heavily produced in the province of Ontario, they benefit the workers in those industries directly, but they benefit themselves because the revenues are coming in to the government of Canada, the government of Ontario, local governments, and of course purchases are being made in those communities.

I have always owned a General Motors product because I've always lived in St Catharines since the age I could drive a vehicle. I've always felt it was important that I assist my neighbours on my street, who for the most part worked at General Motors. I am a person who has been paid out of the public purse, as a teacher first of all and now as a member of the Legislature, and I think that's the least I can do for those who are there.

We have good products. I get tired of hearing people say that North America can't produce good vehicles, that somehow if a vehicle is produced offshore it's of higher quality. That just is not true. My colleague who worked at

General Motors in the years gone by, Ron Hansen, knows that; Cristel Haeck from St Catharines knows that; certainly Shirley Coppen, from the riding of Niagara South, has people working there; Marg Harrington from Niagara Falls, Peter Kormos of Welland-Thorold—all those people know we produce excellent vehicles in the province of Ontario and that they're easily competitive with others in terms of quality and price. We have that opportunity to be able to do something directly ourselves for our community.

Another suggestion came from Bob White, the former president of the CAW. I want to congratulate Buzz Hargrove on assuming that position. I'm sure he'll be defending the automotive industry as vociferously as Bob White. But Bob White had this suggestion that appeared under, "CAW's Bob White: Dramatic Auto Policy Required." One of the paragraphs in here says, "Ontario should establish an "Auto Department" to assess on an ongoing basis the industry's weaknesses and strengths, to keep up with international developments and to monitor and initiate policy."

I think a separate department of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Technology—or another ministry, but MITT is the logical ministry—would be a good idea because of the importance of the automotive industry, so there could be a concentration on that. All members who have spoken have described the importance of the industry and its ripple effect throughout the community.

These are some suggestions that might be helpful. We in government are limited in what we can do, but we can create a positive investment climate in Canada and Ontario. We can initiate policies that are going to protect those industries which deserve protection and we can assist workers to become even more highly skilled as the changes in technology take place.

The member for Chatham-Kent mentioned most appropriately that the CAW has been cooperative with the companies in terms of the changing technology. They recognize that to be competitive there have had to be some sacrifices made, but they've been done in such a way as to alleviate some of the concerns of people as new technology takes over. We in this province believe we have a good product. We have good workers. We have an excellent plant in St Catharines. We have a foundry which I believe is second to none in North America and the world. We have a good engine plant there.

My plea, which I think has fallen very much on receptive ears, and a plea which has been made by many in other venues, is to General Motors to reconsider its decision, to keep its foundry open in the city of St Catharines, to keep its engine plant open in the city of St Catharines and to maintain the employment levels that are so important to St Catharines, the Niagara region, the Niagara Peninsula and the province of Ontario.

The Deputy Speaker: You have an extra two minutes.

Mr Bradley: I think that for the most part people would agree with many of the contentions I brought forward, but I would like to use my additional two minutes as

an opportunity to commend people who have worked hard on this.

It's easy to simply accept the fact that a plant is going to move. People are sad about it, they're angry about it, but it's sometimes easy to simply go home and forget about it. Well, we've got a lot of people in our community who are not prepared to do that. Certainly the members who represent the Niagara region in the provincial House and the federal House are concerned about it. The local community representatives at the regional, city and town levels are united in their efforts to see this employment maintained in St Catharines. There are people from the business community and organized labour, people who have nothing to do with the industry directly at all, who have worked very hard on this.

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I want to commend the Fight Back Committee executives: Ron Davis, who is the president of Local 199, CAW; Gabe McNally, the vice-president; Harold Stubbart, who has taken over now as the chair of the bargaining unit; Sandy O'Dell, who is the chairman of the committee; Bruce Allen; Gary Martin; John Michaud; Ken McShannon and Len James. These are people who on a daily basis are working and initiating efforts to maintain this industry in St Catharines.

For the sake of Ontario, for the sake of our country, and most appropriately, for the sake of our community, I hope there are receptive ears at General Motors. We speak as a united voice, members of the New Democratic Party, the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party in this House, and I'm sure we speak for people of virtually every political affiliation in this country when we ask that General Motors look at the facts and look at an efficient, world-class plant with the best workers we could have in North America sitting there.

We ask through this resolution that they reconsider their decision and that they keep the foundry open in St Catharines; in fact, expand operations in Canada.

The Deputy Speaker: The time for the first ballot item has expired.

MOTOR BOAT OPERATORS' LICENSING ACT, 1992
LOI DE 1992 SUR LES PERMIS D'UTILISATEURS
DE BATEAUX À MOTEUR

Mr McLean moved second reading of Bill 17, An Act to provide for the Licensing of Motor Boat Operators / Loi prévoyant la délivrance de permis aux utilisateurs de bateaux à moteur.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Pursuant to standing order 94(c)(i), the honourable member has 10 minutes for his presentation.

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): I'm pleased today to present this bill once again for the consideration of this Legislature. I welcome the opportunity to provide some opening remarks also on an issue that I consider to be extremely important. It is an issue that has gained the support of thousands of people who practise safe boating on Ontario's waterways. More important, it is an issue that has captured the attention of the countless friends

and relatives of those who have been seriously injured or killed in boating mishaps.

I'm here today to urge you to give second reading to my private member's Bill 17, An Act to provide for the Licensing of Motor Boat Operators, and I'm here today requesting that you send this bill to a standing committee of the Legislature for public hearings where it could be amended in response to some of the concerns that you might have and those that have already been brought to my attention.

The focus of my private member's bill is on boater education, safety and licensing. These are the issues that must be addressed because increased congestion on our waterways and a new breed of boater who demonstrates that he does not care or does not know the fundamentals and courtesies of safe boating have made boater legislation inevitable.

There are more than one million boats on Ontario's waterways. The province has more boats per capita than anywhere else in North America. As boating activities increase during the summer months, boaters are finding greater demands made on their skills and experience.

The most common, total and fatal accidents are a result of the victim falling or being thrown overboard after a boat collision or a boat capsizing. In a large number of these fatal accidents, the victim was not wearing a lifejacket or personal flotation device, or had consumed alcohol, or had encountered rough waters or had been neglectful or careless while in the boat.

I believe many injuries and fatalities could be prevented if boaters were more familiar with boater education, safety and licensing. If they were, they would be more aware of the boating environment, their own limitations and the power of their boat and the water. In other words, boaters should be required to take a motor boat operation and safety course. Skill and experience are not always enough to prevent boating mishaps. The boater must know his boat safety practices and be willing to apply those practices in order to avoid critical situations.

Far too many people perceive recreational boating as relatively safe and they may ignore or fail to see the obvious risks. They may violate regulations designed to reduce the risks of accidents and they may fail to prepare themselves for unexpected equipment failure. Their perceptions may determine their response to dangerous situations.

Private member's Bill 17 is my response to the several factors that relate to the possibility of a boating accident. The first group of factors relates to the boat operator's character and condition, including experience, skills, physical condition, safety, knowledge and attitude. The second group relates to the environment and includes weather, water conditions, boat traffic and obstructions. The third group relates to the craft itself and includes structure, mechanics, equipment supply and fuel supply.

All boaters must be aware of potential dangers and risks and how they can avoid them. It is extremely important for us to raise public awareness of acceptable boating practices. That's what we're doing today.

Effective public awareness depends on where and with whom potential boating problems exist. I believe the boater education, safety and licensing thrust of this private

member's Bill 17 will contribute considerably to public awareness and help to reduce the number of tragic boating accidents, injuries and deaths that occur each year on our waterways.

It is interesting to note that lower speed limits, stricter law enforcement, boater education and the licensing of boat operators were among the 22 recommendations recently made by a coroner's jury in Barrie examining the deaths of a King City man and a Waterloo woman who were killed in a 1990 Labour Day boating accident on Lake Joseph in Muskoka.

Not only is the idea of licensing boat operators on our waterways long overdue, but the recommendation to make education for boaters mandatory is an issue that must be addressed.

The following is recommendation 7 from the coroner's inquest. That recommendation is:

"We strongly recommend the licensing of recreation powerboat operators. We request the Ontario government have a licensing system in place by December 31, 1992. The following is a list of minimum requirements:

"a) Must have completed an accredited boating safety course [such as] Power Squadron, Red Cross etc." There could be other avenues.

"b) The course content for an accredited boating safety program will be derived from the Canadian Coast Guard Safe Boating Guide, as well as rules 5 and 6 of the collision regulation.

"c) A written examination, possibly multiple choice, must be successfully completed to a pre-set standard of 80% correct.

"d) Licence to be renewed every three years on birth date. This would work in conjunction with the motor vehicle drivers' licensing system."

These are recommendations from this jury in Barrie with regard to that boating accident. It goes on:

"e) "Non-residents could be exempt from the licensing requirement. Safe boating guides, provincial and local rules and regulations be made available in as many locations as possible for these people [such as at] marinas, police stations, tourist information bureaus" and other appropriate locations.

"f) A licensed 12- to 15-year-old operator may only operate a boat with a maximum 25-hp motor, unless accompanied by an adult." They go on to list how the licensing system should be implemented.

As I said earlier, it's my hope that this House will give this private member's bill second reading and send it to a standing committee of the Legislature for public hearings, where it could be amended to take into account the recommendations of the coroner's inquest.

As well, I would consider amending clause 2(b) to enable non-residents of Ontario to operate a motor boat in this province for a stipulated length of time to stimulate tourism. I would like to delete clause 3(1)(b) from this bill. The other change that I want to make is to delete subsection 5(2), because this is already covered in federal law.

In my previous bill that was introduced here, the great thrust from the NDP government's parliamentary assistant to the Solicitor General was that this bill wasn't appropriate

because this was covered under federal law. I have deleted that now, so this will take the argument away with regard to it.

1110

The member who will probably speak on behalf of tourism will probably indicate there's nothing in this bill with regard to having our friends coming here and being able to boat. I want to change this in the bill to allow those people to come to this province and enjoy what we have and not have to obtain a licence if they want to enjoy our waterways.

I introduced this bill because I have received an enormous amount of support from boaters, from the police, from cottage associations and from the medical community, as well as from individuals from the public and relatives of victims of boating accidents, victims like Anne and Doug Lapp of Orillia, who wrote me a letter with regard to the death of their son. I'll tell you that the Lapps know the dangers of the waterways. They indicated when their youngest son was killed by a Sea-Doo:

"We are aware of the dangers of these machines. Like snowmobiles they are difficult to control and are used mainly for the thrills they produce. We feel they are particularly dangerous to swimmers as they are driven too close to shore and in some areas known to us, parents can't allow their children in the water, in front of their own homes."

Yesterday I was on CBC Radio Noon, and the callers related that very experience they have had with regard to their coming too close to shore. The new federal regulations are a help, but in my round-up remarks I will elaborate on that.

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): It's a pleasure to join in this debate on Bill 17 in respect of the member for Simcoe East. I can recall that roughly a year ago, when this bill was previously introduced, I spoke to this bill on behalf of the Solicitor General, to whom I was parliamentary assistant at the time.

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): So what do you do now?

Mr Mills: The member is saying, what am I doing here. I'm here today to represent the member for Windsor-Sandwich, who is the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Transportation. Unfortunately he can't be here this morning because he's in Windsor celebrating with his wife the birth of a newborn son, Anthony. So I'm here to put the point of view across for the Ministry of Transportation.

We over here certainly understand and support the member for Simcoe East's intent, and we also share the widespread concern with the deaths and injuries that occur every year in this province as a result of recreational boating accidents. We also understand the pain and emotional heartache these accidents cause families and other loved ones, and we all share in that pain and that heartache.

Approximately 60 people are likely to die in boating accidents this year in Ontario. This is completely unacceptable. Fortunately the number of fatalities per year has declined steadily over the past six years, largely due to the efforts of the Ontario Provincial Police in enforcing existing laws. In addition, the OPP, the Ministry of Natural Resources, the RCMP and municipal police forces all

carry out boating safety programs, and we strongly encourage continued effort in this regard.

At this time we feel it makes more sense to continue our efforts to promote boating safety as a means of reducing deaths rather than to attempt to establish a system of licensing operators. Licensing of boat operators is an area of federal responsibility, so this legislation goes beyond our constitutional jurisdiction.

That doesn't mean we should reject the member's intent out of hand. As I said a moment ago, we all share the same concerns. We too want improved safety for everyone using Ontario's lakes, rivers and waterways. We are looking into what we can do. We are attempting to determine the options available to us. We are not pretending the problem doesn't exist.

These efforts are still in the preliminary stages, but I can tell the members of the House that the Ministry of Transportation, the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Ministry of the Solicitor General are working together to ensure that all possibilities are considered.

It would be beneficial if we could develop a system that would improve water safety while at the same time providing funds for enhanced safety awareness and stronger enforcement programs. We are confident our investigations and our initiatives will lead to a system that encourages responsible conduct and a safer boating environment.

I can conclude by saying that when the options have been explored properly and some decisions are made, this House will be advised of that promptly. I thank the member for his concern and I assure him that we share those concerns.

Mr Sorbara: Let me begin by congratulating my friend the member for Simcoe East on bringing forward the bill he is sponsoring today, An Act to provide for the Licensing of Motor Boat Operators.

Part of our responsibility in this Parliament is to take on issues, causes and approaches to public policy that have a deeply personal concern to us as individual members. Sometimes, as in the case, for example, of Bill 143, the government's bill to put Metro's garbage in York region, they also become important provincial issues of public policy so they tend to dominate the debate in the Legislature. But so very often individual members take on projects of this type that my friend the member for Simcoe East has taken on, and they work extremely hard in order, first of all, to bring the public's attention to the issue they are trying to promote, and then to do the work necessary to actually change the law and add to the fabric of public administration in a significant and positive way.

I would say to my friend the member for Simcoe East that in that regard he's done an absolutely marvellous job. I know personally how strongly he feels about safety on the waterways of this province and how urgent he feels it is for the government to take some step to reduce the carnage—there's no other word for it—on our waterways.

I note that my friend the member for Durham East referred to 60 deaths as a result of boating incidents over the past year, and those are 60 tragedies. My friend the member for Simcoe East, who is sponsoring this bill, is advocating that we can solve the problem at least in part, if

not in total—I think he's frank in his admission that he's not going to solve the problem totally—by providing for a system of licensing for all those people who operate motor boats, save and except those boats which have an engine under 25 horsepower.

I want to tell my friend the member for Simcoe East that I'm going to vote against the bill, not because I think he is wrong in his approach—I'm going to set out the reasons during the course of my remarks—but in my own view there are reasons why we should not now at this time adopt this principle of licensing all those people who operate motor boats except of the very smallest kind.

1120

In saying that I'm going to vote against the bill, I want to make two points very quickly. First of all, that's not particularly the policy of my party in this regard; it's a personal view I have of this approach at this time.

The second point is that I don't in any way question or qualify his determination to get the Parliament of Ontario to do something important to reduce accidents and deaths as a result of the operation of motor boats. Indeed, I think there will perhaps come a time when we have a piece of legislation emanating from this Parliament that will do a very effective job of regulating the operation of motor boats in a way that will reduce deaths.

While I'm on that subject, I want to make a point that my colleague the member for Renfrew North, the deputy leader of our party, who was not able to be here at this debate, has asked me to place clearly on the record. He himself is very supportive of the bill and he himself thinks that the carnage on our waterways is one of the things we have negligently ignored in this Parliament. Were he here, he would be speaking in favour of the bill and supporting its consideration by a committee of the Legislature and ultimately its passage and incorporation into the laws of the province of Ontario.

I have some other concerns, and they really relate to three things. One of them is that I don't believe at this time that requiring individuals who operate motor boats to get a licence to do so is going to get to the heart of the problem. The heart of the problem is those operators of motor boats who, whether they had a licence or not, would be operating boats carelessly and negligently, notwithstanding that they had gone through the process of applying for a licence.

In these difficult times when every single taxpayer dollar is important, if we were to set up a superstructure—an expensive superstructure, I'm sure, when you think of all of the people who occasionally operate motor boats—when you think of setting up all of that and perhaps only reducing the problem by a fraction of a per cent, I as a legislator in this province have to ask myself fundamentally whether that's a good use of resources and whether there isn't a better way to deal with the problem. Because the vast majority of people who operate motor boats do so very carefully and very competently and with great regard to the rules of the waterways and the safety of not only their own passengers, but other people who are operating boats on the same waterways.

I don't really think we're going to solve the problem with a licensing system, yet we're going to build a very

expensive new branch of public administration, with people charged with taking the tests and issuing the licences and renewing the licences and all of the stuff that goes along with the business of operating a licensing system.

That's the first point: I don't think we're going to solve the problem.

Second, in the issuing of licences where people have to have licences, namely, in the operation of motor vehicles—your driver's licence—we have such a terrible problem in public administration in this province as almost to be a scandal. What am I talking about? I'm talking about the fact that now for the individual citizen to actually make an appointment to take a driver's test requires some three, four, five or, in some cases, six months' notice to the licensing office. I think this is patently unfair. It's one of those areas where the government has a fundamental responsibility to operate an efficient system, but over the past year or two, the system to provide drivers, young or old, who are taking their first-time test has become totally unacceptable in the province.

The government members might not think this is a very important issue, and they're not going to be defeated in the next campaign on this issue, but so what? What about your son, your daughter? What about your neighbour's son or daughter? What about your neighbour himself or herself, who is really in need of getting a licence for the first time, perhaps in order to attend a course at school, perhaps to take up a new job, perhaps as a result of a move which has the person living in a place that is inaccessible to public transportation. Lo and behold, they go to the licence office and they find out they can make an appointment for six months down the road.

This is unacceptable. We can't tolerate this. If we can't afford to operate an efficient licensing system so people can get their driver's licence, it's foolish in the extreme to think that at this point we should pass a bill in this Parliament setting up a whole new system to license the operation of boats.

On the same theme, I'd like to point out that the bill my friend the member for Simcoe East proposes provides authority for the Ontario Provincial Police, the OPP, to stop boaters, to ask for their licence and to arrest them if they don't have their boater's licence, and it provides for a fine as well.

One of the other areas where public administration is falling apart is with respect to the Ontario Provincial Police, whose budget has been cut and cut and cut so the basic services they are to provide, not only in Simcoe East but in every corner of the province, are now at an unacceptably low level. That means, in short, that we don't have enough money to provide to the Ontario Provincial Police to carry out the duties they're supposed to carry out now, which is safety and security in our communities, and this bill would have them take on the added burden of responsibility to enforce new laws on the waterways.

I think we need to enforce laws on the waterways, and I wish the government would do something about the crisis with the Ontario Provincial Police and the cutbacks in staff. We have situations, for example, particularly in our rural areas, where one OPP detachment has two officers

stationed there, perhaps on night duty, for a radius of 60 or 80 or 100 kilometres. If you have an emergency, if your house is being robbed or if you're in trouble or you need the assistance of police, you make that call and maybe an officer can get there within an hour or two and maybe he or she can't get there at all. That's unacceptable, and I'm not prepared to support a bill that would add a new burden of responsibility on the OPP at a time when the government will not provide it with enough resources to carry out its current responsibilities.

The third point I want to make is simply this: My friend Mr McLean has not yet considered the implication of his bill on the tourism industry in the province, which is suffering in a very significant and severe way. Many of the people who come to Ontario during the summer come to use our waterways; either they rent or they bring boats. But even those of us who have the good fortune to live here might take a brief holiday if the Legislature ever recesses—and if it doesn't that's okay with me—we might take a brief holiday and go down to the Thousand Islands and rent a houseboat with our family for two or three days, and that's our holiday. My friend the member for Yorkview nods in agreement. Maybe he's done that with his own family. If before I took that holiday I had to go to some location, obviously a waterway, and prove I could operate that houseboat and perhaps have to make a reservation two months in advance in order to do that, I question whether I would actually take that trip.

I'll tell you something, sir: Our tourist operators are suffering in a way they have rarely suffered over the past 25 or 30 years. Attendance at resorts all across Ontario is down. Those who operate facilities that have boat rental facilities attached to them will tell you that the business just isn't there. If we take this step in this Legislature now and make it virtually impossible for the average citizen who might use a boat for two or three days a summer to use that boat, go to that facility, rent the boat or spend a day or two or a week on a houseboat, it won't happen. Frankly, I regret to tell my friend the member for Simcoe East, the economy can't tolerate it.

If you had a system where you could go to that facility and they could quickly issue you a licence, then I might think otherwise. But if you do that, then you're not going to get the benefit you would want of making sure they are competent operators.

1130

Interjection.

Mr Sorbara: My friend says you have to have one to drive. That's right, but there are very few people in the province who have a driver's licence so that they can drive one, two or three days a year. You don't get a licence so that you can use a motor vehicle, a car, for a week out of every 52 weeks in a year, but there is a huge part of the boating population or the people who operate motor boats in the province of Ontario who do so for one week.

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): That's why they are a hazard.

Mr Sorbara: My friend says that's why they are a hazard, and I agree and I confess to him that I don't have a solution to the problem at this point.

I simply want to say in concluding my remarks that I don't think this is the right solution at this time for the reasons that I've given. Already our public administration, particularly with the Ontario Provincial Police and the issuance of drivers' licences, is dramatically underfunded and doesn't have the resources to carry it out. We would have a very negative impact on tourism in Ontario just at the time when we can't tolerate a further downturn in the tourist business.

Finally, requiring everyone to get a licence to operate a motor boat which has a motor over 25 horsepower is not going to get at the real culprits, those few people who, with disregard for the safety of others on the waterways and indeed their own safety, operate motor boats recklessly and carelessly. I am glad he has a provision for careless driving in this measure, and once again, Mr Speaker, I want to congratulate him on his enthusiasm for this measure.

Mr Jim Wilson (Simcoe West): Mr Speaker, I am very pleased this morning to rise and speak in support of Mr McLean, the member for Simcoe East, and his bill. Bill 17, An Act to provide for the Licensing of Motor Boat Operators, addresses the serious issue of safety on our waterways. The focus of the bill is on boater education, safety and licensing.

Bill 17 makes it mandatory for an operator of a boat of at least 25 horsepower to have a motor boat operator's licence. This licence would be issued to anyone who is 12 years of age and over who has completed a motor boat operator's course.

The traffic on Ontario's waterways has grown significantly in recent years. I know this at first hand because I live in Wasaga Beach. Today there are approximately 1.4 million boats in this province and 15% of all households in Ontario own one or more boats. Ontario has more boats per capita than any other jurisdiction in North America.

The member for Simcoe East, Mr McLean, would like Bill 17 to receive second reading and be sent out to committee for public hearings. This bill, members may recall, was numbered Bill 37 in the first session of this Parliament. It received second reading last year but unfortunately died on the order paper.

At that time, Mr Speaker, several NDP members, members of the government, spoke against the bill. The member for Cochrane North, the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Natural Resources, opposed the bill because he felt that boater behaviour and not horsepower was the primary cause of accidents; and, second, that tourism would suffer because no other jurisdictions in North America require motor boat operators to have licences. The latter concern was just echoed by the Liberal member for York Centre.

The member for Cochrane North's concerns and the member for York Centre's concerns have been addressed by my colleague Mr McLean, who has suggested that deleting the section covered by federal law would be a good idea, and so would amending clause 2(b) to enable non-residents of Ontario to operate a motor boat in this province for a

stipulated length of time. That suggestion, which could be studied in committee, will help offset, I believe very strongly, the concerns of tourists and of the members who seem to oppose this legislation.

I think what the member for Cochrane North and the Liberal member for York Centre failed to consider is the rising number of fatal accidents on our waterways and the tremendous need to instil boater safety skills among a rapidly expanding boater population.

In the town of Collingwood, Police Chief George Sheffer supports the principle behind Bill 17. Because he is the chief of Collingwood, he knows a great deal about Ontario's waterways. Chief Sheffer finds it curious that other vehicles must be licensed, yet we allow anyone to operate a motor boat at his leisure. Chief Sheffer feels that police forces have the resources to enforce motor boat regulations if these regulations and the principles contained in Mr McLean's bills are adopted.

My good friend Mr Cliff Martin of Wasaga Beach, a long-time member of the Blue Mountain Power and Sail Squadron, feels the legislation proposed by Mr McLean is long overdue. Mr Martin says that many people today are going out and purchasing boats without knowing how to operate them and without proper training. Operating these large boats without experience and without good judgement creates a potentially dangerous situation.

But the problem, and I agree with the member for Cochrane North, is not with the boats themselves; it is with the people who operate them. Mr Martin says that many parents just give the keys of their boats to their children and never really give it a second thought.

One of the reasons our waters are becoming more crowded is the recent surge in the number of Jet Skis or Sea-Doos. Last summer, a Sea-Doo crashed into a canoe, which caused the deaths of Danielle Burns, aged 17, who drowned, and Denise Williams, also aged 17, who died as a result of head injuries sustained in the accident. This incident prompted the Hamilton Spectator newspaper to comment in an editorial:

"No one can say that mandatory licensing could have prevented this tragedy. But it is deeply concerning to realize unknowledgeable and unskilled persons can climb behind the controls of a motorized watercraft without restriction in this province at any time.

"It seems hard to imagine that a licence is required to go fishing in Ontario, but no authorization is needed to operate motorized pleasure boats."

It's also worth noting that the 25,000-member Canadian Power and Sail Squadron has done a remarkable job of educating and training boaters. Particularly noteworthy is the work of the Blue Mountain Power and Sail Squadron. The Blue Mountain squadron, which includes Mr Martin, Jim Russell and Jim Kilgour, to name just a few, has one of the highest passing rates of any squadron in Canada.

The reason for this is that the Blue Mountain Power and Sail Squadron is peopled by teachers with a sailing background who have instructed for the squadron. It is often said that sailors know their boats, and that's particularly true with the members of the power and sail

squadrons in Ontario. I want to commend them and I believe all members would join me in commending the power and sail squadrons for doing such an excellent job.

Last month a jury in Barrie made 22 recommendations in the wake of a 1990 boating accident which claimed the lives of Grant Perry of King City and Louise Carroll of Waterloo. The recommendations included one which said all boat operators should be licensed and anyone between the ages of 12 and 15 cannot operate boats which exceed 25 horsepower unless accompanied by an adult. All of the jury's recommendations support the need for the Legislature to support Mr McLean's bill.

I want to say briefly in closing that I think it's best summed up by an editorial that appeared two weeks ago in the Orillia Packet and Times newspaper, "It would appear all one has to do is to look at the statistics to see the grim reaper has supplied all the necessary stats required to rationalize implementation of such a bill," referring to Mr McLean's bill. "Let's get unsafe boaters off our waters and keep them on shore or in the classroom where they will be safe from their own destructive powers."

I believe Bill 17 begins the process of making our waterways safer and preserving lives. This bill deserves to be supported and sent out to committee for fine-tuning. Some of the concerns raised by the previous speaker for the Liberal Party can be addressed at that time. I just want to say in closing to the member for York Centre that we're not talking about creating a new bureaucracy. We are talking about applying common sense, which is scarcely found these days in this Legislature, and using the existing structures, like the power and sail squadrons, to help us implement the principles and the work needed to be done to make our waterways safer.

1140

Mr Daniel Waters (Muskoka-Georgian Bay): I also would like to speak to Bill 17. As the member for Muskoka-Georgian Bay, an area where a lot of recreational boating is done, I too have deep concerns regarding boating and the safety of it in Ontario. While I can see the good intentions behind the member for Simcoe East's bill, I cannot fully support it. The bill has a very narrow focus since it looks at needing a licence to operate a boat of 25 horsepower or greater while most of the boating accidents occur in smaller boats. I can give you a personal example where I had two relatives drown in a canoe for the lack of a lifejacket. That boat didn't even have a motor.

Many of these boating accidents occur because the boaters are not wearing lifejackets and the boats are overloaded for the lake conditions. In addition, almost 75% of boating accidents are related to alcohol. In these cases, only boater education and awareness can prevent accidents of that type. Therefore you can see that an emphasis on boater education, not regulation, is the key to improving the safety record of boats on our waterways.

There are a number of education programs put on by the OPP, the RCMP and other government ministries as well as the private sector. The OPP has one, the "Don't Be a Sucker—Wear Your Lifejacket" program, an educational program to teach young people to wear lifejackets at all

times while they're on the boat. The OPP has a joint program with the Royal Life Saving Society of Canada, Water Smart 1992, which informs waterway users of the dangers of careless and thoughtless water usage and promotes and encourages boating safety.

The OPP has another joint program with the Canadian Safe Boating Council to coordinate a Boating Safety Week across Canada to spread the message of safe boating throughout Canada. The list includes organizations like the power squadrons and their many programs for safe boating.

You can see that education programs like these have contributed to the six-year decline in boating accidents and continuing these programs is an important part of improving boating safety.

There could also be problems in tourism. I find it somewhat difficult to understand why the member for Simcoe East feels that the people in Ontario should have to have a licence while people from outside the province should be able to come in with no licensing and no testing at all. I would also find it difficult for organizations like the Perch Festival in Orillia if indeed people from outside the province end up having to have a licence. I don't know how that would work out.

We also already have existing boating regulations, such as speed limits. When you're close to the shoreline, there's an existing speed limit of 10 kilometres an hour within 30 metres of the shoreline. We heard them talk about Sea-Doos running around the shoreline. The law exists but it isn't enforced, and therefore what you're doing again is having more laws that won't be enforced.

We need people to understand that there are laws out there, that if you are found guilty of impaired boating, first, you could lose your boating privileges for two to three years, and second, should you then be found guilty of impaired driving in your vehicle, it becomes a second offence, not a first offence. Those laws and other laws are already there, and at this time, they're not being enforced.

The OPP has 105 boats and 250 uniformed officers and the RCMP has 27 boats to patrol and enforce existing regulations. Each of these boats has safety equipment as well as alert devices to detect impaired boating.

I am confident that with persistent enforcement of existing laws and ongoing boater safety education we will continue to improve safe boating on our waterways.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for Wilson Heights, I don't believe there's any more time, sir, on the Liberal side. The member for Cochrane North.

Mr Len Wood (Cochrane North): As the parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Natural Resources, I want to speak on behalf of the minister regarding private member's Bill 17, An Act to provide for the Licensing of Motor Boat Operators.

Before I do so, I want to emphasize our government's concern about the safety of anyone who uses Ontario's lakes and waters. One boating fatality, one boating accident, is one mishap too many. While the government shares many of the concerns the member for Simcoe East has about public boating safety, it cannot support Bill 17 for two fundamental reasons: First, the bill deals with

areas under federal jurisdiction, not provincial; second, the bill does not address safety concerns of target groups that were clearly identified through an analysis of fatal boating accidents from 1980 to 1987 conducted by the Ministry of Natural Resources.

I want to outline some of the concerns about this proposed private member's bill. Section 1 proposes the licensing of vessels with motors of 25 horsepower or more. This proposal seems to connect accidents and horsepower. It's a tenuous connection. According to ministry studies of fatal boating accidents in Ontario, the profile of accident victims is one of males in their 20s, in small boats under 18 feet, who were likely consuming alcohol and who died as a result of capsizing or falling overboard. Some 80% of boating fatalities are associated with boats under 18 feet. In fact, one quarter of all boating fatalities involve canoes. This proposed bill does not target those boaters who are identified in the ministry's analysis. If there is a connection to be made, it is between accidents and boater behaviour, rather than horsepower.

Section 3 deals with the issuance of licences. It requires no written examination. The amendment to Bill 17 after first reading on May 13, 1992, which deletes clause 3(1)(b), greatly reduces the opportunity to educate people about boating safety. The process of studying to pass a written examination is a great learning experience, as everyone who has studied for his driving licence knows. A test of the candidate's ability to handle a particular boat does not provide the same opportunity. Demonstrating you can handle one boat only means you can handle a boat of that particular design, not any boat. The way a boat responds depends on its design.

Section 6 deals with licence suspension. Again, this matter is already covered by the Criminal Code of Canada, which allows for the removal of the right to operate a vessel in case of negligence or recklessness. I might add that there are other regulations that deal with such things as boating speed limits, safety, passing and lights. They are contained in the Canada Shipping Act, under the boating restriction regulations and small vessel regulations and the collision regulations.

Vessel operator licensing is clearly under federal jurisdiction, as described in section 91 of the Constitution Act, which gives the federal government exclusive authority over navigation and shipping. The inclusion of regulations for pleasure boats under the Canada Shipping Act supports this view.

In closing, while the government shares many concerns of the member for Simcoe East about public boating safety, it cannot support Bill 17.

1150

Mr Drummond White (Durham Centre): I too rise to speak on Bill 17. I want to commend the member for Simcoe East on his presentation, and of course share with him the tremendous concern we all have about the carnage on the waterways and about the unsafe use of boats, when people are intoxicated and when people are not adequately skilled.

But I would also share the concerns of the member for York Centre, the member for Cochrane North and the member for Muskoka-Georgian Bay, who have already evidenced that many of these issues are already looked after.

The cost in terms of our tourist industry, the cost of maintaining a system of policing every waterway, every creek, every lake, is enormous. I wonder that we not look for other solutions to this terrible problem.

The solution of regulation of licensing is something that would be very onerous for so many of us who use boats on an irregular basis. It would be a tremendous incursion into the family lives of so many of us. The idea seems simple, it seems to be a solution, yet I would suggest that in our communities we are already regulated well, if not too well. Here we're looking at a solution that over-regulates every part of our activities and recreation. For those reasons I oppose this bill.

Mr Turnbull: Mr Speaker, on a point of personal explanation: I would like to withdraw my comment to the Chair when you were in the chair yesterday.

The Deputy Speaker: I want to thank the member for York Mills for being so respectful to the Chair and to the House. I believe strongly that you are setting an excellent example.

The member for Simcoe East has seven minutes plus two more extra minutes.

Mr McLean: As I was saying, the Lapp family who wrote me the letter indicated the concern they have with regard to boating on the waterways. I've also had correspondence from many other families such as the Burns family and many people in the community I represent.

I'm aware of some of the things that people within the boating industry are trying to do. I have a pamphlet here put out by people who manufacture Sea-Doos which gives many of the responsibilities of people who have these machines. I believe the industry itself is starting to become more aware of the traffic on our waterways and the concern out there with regard to that traffic.

Bill 17 deserves to be put in committee where we can fully deal with the concerns many members have raised.

There are many clippings from the paper with regard to boater safety. Many articles are written with regard to disturbance of people at their cottages. We get indications in the clippings with regard to the Solicitor General, who says he won't beef up marine patrol. The problems we're having with OPP underfunding by this ministry leave something to be desired. Safety on our highways and in our boating is so important.

After the discussion on Bill 37, the previous bill I brought in, the Premier was questioned about it: "'We'll look at any reasonable suggestions,' Rae told reporters at Queen's Park yesterday. 'All of us share a concern about safety in the waterway.'" I find that somewhat hard to believe when members of the government today stand up to not support the principle of a bill that would go to committee for a full public debate in order to bring in more education for boaters.

As I've said on many occasions, as I said on the radio yesterday, I'm not a strong believer in licensing people,

but there's got to be a commonsense approach to this whole aspect of educating boaters. There is a tremendous increase in the traffic on our waterways; indications are that it may have doubled in the last 10 years. So there is a need. I thought common sense still prevailed in this province on many issues we're dealing with, but I'm not getting the feeling today that a commonsense approach is being developed here.

For the life of me, I cannot think how the member for Muskoka-Georgian Bay could not support a bill to go to committee to fine-tune the boating on our waterways when just yesterday on Lake Muskoka, whether he's aware of it or not, a 14-year-old and a 16-year-old were in a boating accident much similar to the one on Lake Joseph last year. One boat was going 35 kilometres an hour; the other one was going 40 kilometres an hour. It was raining at the time, and there was a boating accident on Lake Muskoka with a 115-hp outboard motor. There is a need for some education on our waterways. That is the main emphasis I want to relay to you today. The main emphasis is on boater education, and the place to do that is in committee.

When a jury brings forth 22 recommendations and this Legislature totally ignores that—which is happening, I gather, because if this boat bill doesn't go to committee, in essence the bill will be dead. There's no more commonsense approach I could ever understand today for boating.

In conclusion, we must give the police the authority to act, to enforce the safe operation of motor boats on our waterways, much as the Highway Traffic Act regulates the safe operation of motor vehicles on our roads. It is my hope and expectation that my colleagues here in the Legislature will put aside their partisan feelings. Step back from your political agenda, give second reading to this important legislation and send it to a standing committee of the Legislature for public hearings and amendments.

I've already indicated some of the amendments I would like to see and some of the recommendations I've got from legal people within the industry, who are telling me how important this bill is and how they deem it could be made better. There must not be any more buck-passing between the provincial and the federal governments. Someone must take responsibility for boat safety and reduce the number of boat accidents on our waterways, and in that way reduce the injuries and deaths that occur.

I understand that with the federal law that was brought out in August 1991 with regard to 30 metres from shore, if you're within that range it's 10 kilometres an hour. The recommendation from the jury at Barrie is that that be doubled, and I agree with that. Thirty metres is less than 100 feet from shore. I see no reason, especially on our lakes—not on our rivers because that's a different story and there's got to be some give there. But that has to be in that legislation. That's federal, and we realize that, but if it's discussed in committee, those are some of the recommendations we can make.

The member for York Centre talked about the licensing issue and the cost. I'm very concerned about that also. What I think we need is that we'd have books you would look at when you get your licence. The marine owners or the operators—it's simple enough. There has to be somewhere where

a person can write a test to show he knows something about boating. That's really what I'm after: some knowledge you and your boating friends know if you're on the waterway, what the waterway is all about. So I take that concern.

With regard to the issue the member raised of renting a boat just for a week or two, because of the economy, I'm concerned about that too. I'm also concerned about some of these houseboats I have seen on the waterways. I'm telling you, they do need 15 minutes or two hours of basic knowledge on how to operate a boat. I've seen them crossways in the locks, and I've seen boats hit in the locks. If you say they shouldn't have to have something, I disagree totally. There's got to be a test that people know.

In Toronto and Hamilton harbours you have to have a licence to operate a boat, and I've observed what's gone on there and how slow they're going and the care they're taking. I've talked to the police who have jurisdiction over that. The fines are minimal, because the rules are there and they know what they are.

I want to thank the members who have spoken today, Mr Mills on behalf of the PA of Transportation. I'm not sure whether he's voting for it or against it. I want to thank Mr Sorbara, who's opposing the bill, but he issued constructive views. I want to thank my colleague Jim Wilson from Wasaga Beach, who made a very good speech supporting the bill, and Mr Waters, the member for Muskoka-Georgian Bay, who's indicated that he's not supporting the bill. I find that very hard to believe when yesterday there was a boating accident there.

Further education is needed. I want this bill to go to committee for further input and constructive criticism, if needed.

The Deputy Speaker: The time provided for private members' business has expired.

PLANT CLOSURE

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): We will deal first with ballot item 17, standing in the name of Mr Bradley. If any members are opposed to a vote on this ballot item, will they please rise.

Mr Bradley has moved private member's resolution 13. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

Motion agreed to.

MOTOR BOAT OPERATORS' LICENSING ACT LOI DE 1992 SUR LES PERMIS D'UTILISATEURS DE BATEAUX À MOTEUR

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): We will now deal with ballot item 18, standing in the name of Mr McLean. If any members are opposed to a vote on this ballot item, will they please rise.

Mr McLean has moved second reading of Bill 17, An Act to provide for the Licensing of Motor Boat Operators. Is it the pleasure of the House that the motion carry?

All those in favour of the motion will please say "aye."

All those opposed will please say "nay."

In my opinion the ayes have it.

Motion agreed to.

The Deputy Speaker: Pursuant to standing order 94(k), this bill is referred to the committee of the whole House.

Mr Allan K. McLean (Simcoe East): Mr Speaker, I would request unanimous consent to have this referred to the justice committee.

The Deputy Speaker: Shall this bill be referred to the standing committee on administration of justice?

All those in favour of this question will please rise and remain standing.

All those opposed will please rise and remain standing.

The majority not being in favour, this bill will be sent to the committee of the whole House.

Bill ordered for committee of the whole House.

Mr McLean: On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: I want it to be known that the NDP caucus, except one member, totally voted agin this bill.

The Deputy Speaker: I think you are out of order.

All matters relating to private members having been completed, I do now leave the chair, and this House will convene at 1:30 of the clock.

The House recessed at 1204.

AFTERNOON SITTING

The House resumed at 1330.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

OLYMPIC ATHLETES

Mr Frank Miclash (Kenora): We have a good number of young people who are in the very final stages of training to represent this province and country in the 1992 summer Olympic Games in Barcelona.

I would like to take this time, on behalf of my constituents as well as the citizens of Ontario, to wish all of those who will be travelling to Barcelona the best in their final weeks of training, and of course all the very best in their Olympic competitions beginning July 25.

Having done that, I must draw the attention of the House to the cover of the phone book of the town of Kenora. Through this, all will see how proud Kenora area citizens are of decathlete Michael Smith, who has certainly become the home town's hero.

Michael is only one of the five individuals who will be representing this province and country. He is a person who has gained notoriety across this country and throughout the world. We could not ask for a finer young man to carry the message of drug-free competition to every corner of the world. We, the citizens of this country have much to be proud of. However, we the citizens of the Kenora riding, have even more to be proud of in Michael Smith.

Again, might I pass on all the very best to the fine young people who will join Michael in representing us in Barcelona.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): The changes to the Labour Relations Act in Bill 40 are of great concern to my constituents of York Mills.

To meet our social obligations and to have a prosperous Ontario, we must first have a strong economy. Instead of getting our stalled economy moving, the NDP government has polarized labour and management in its attempt to introduce labour law changes. This government has created a crisis on the labour front where previously none existed.

The government has stubbornly refused to have an independent research study conducted on the implications that changes to the Labour Relations Act will have on the Ontario economy, while at the same time the government refutes the findings of studies by Ernst and Young which indicate that 295,000 more jobs and \$8.8 billion in investment will be lost over the next five years if this bill is passed in its present form.

The NDP government has made changes to the Labour Relations Act its number one priority, yet in a recent survey only 1% of Ontarians wanted union rights at the top of the government agenda. That is a pretty small number when one considers that five times as many people believe Elvis Presley still lives.

Let me express what some of my York Mills constituents are saying:

"The proposals, if adopted, would seriously impair our competitive position. The thrust of the NDP concepts is to make it easier for unions to become certified and to give unions greater power during any dispute. Their proposals are 180 degrees in the wrong direction."

KITCHENER-WATERLOO
MULTICULTURAL CENTRE

Mr Mike Cooper (Kitchener-Wilmot): Today I'd like to recognize the Kitchener-Waterloo Multicultural Centre:

"The Kitchener-Waterloo Multicultural Centre exists for the purpose of fostering the unique cultural diversity which exists in this community and of encouraging the full integration and the interaction of its residents."

The goals of the centre are: "(1) to facilitate the development of ethnocultural groups in this community; (2) to provide, promote and support new programs and services where required to meet the needs of our multicultural population; (3) to encourage the improvement of existing policies, programs and services to more adequately reflect the reality of the multicultural community; (4) to inform and educate the community about living in a multicultural society; (5) to promote and develop the arts and cultural heritage representative of our multicultural community."

This past weekend, they hosted the 25th annual Kitchener-Waterloo Multicultural Festival, which consisted of song, dance, storytelling, ethnic cuisine and crafts and, of course, the Bavarian beer garden. Greetings were brought from the president of the multicultural centre's board of directors, Inci Kuzucuoglu. At that time, she presented an award to Nicholas Gehl in appreciation of all the hard work that he's done over the past few years on behalf of the multicultural centre.

I'd like to thank them for inviting me to be there at the opening ceremonies and congratulate them on all the hard work they've done in the community.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): In the speech from the throne on November 20, 1990, the Premier said:

"My government's first challenge is to earn the trust and respect of the people of Ontario. My government's integrity will be measured by the way this government is run and our relations with the people we serve. Our task is to guard against institutional arrogance and the abuse of power wherever they exist."

My remarks are about that and are prompted by yesterday's introduction of a closure motion to stop debate on Bill 40, the NDP trade union bill. I would say to the Premier that this closure motion is a dramatic example of real institutional abuse and arrogance and grand abuse of power.

I completely understand that the NDP wants to make this bill into law, but it must also understand that the opposition parties have legitimate and strong concerns about the bill. Second reading, the stage we're at right now, is the

time when duly elected members have an opportunity for a say. We deserve to be heard and we must be heard.

This NDP trade union bill will fundamentally alter the Ontario workplace. No other jurisdiction in North America has anything like it. It truly requires time, thought and debate. We are dealing with the economic future of the province. This attempt to gag the duly elected members of the Legislature by cutting off debate must end. We must have an opportunity to let our legitimate views be known on this bill.

Mr Leo Jordan (Lanark-Renfrew): This government claims to be the champion of the working people of Ontario. You can't hold that title while you proceed to eliminate jobs in this province. Bill 40 will make it more difficult to do business and that will result in less employment.

I would like to illustrate this problem to the House by reading this statement from a letter received from S.M.D. Enterprises in Smiths Falls. Mr Stuart Douglas writes:

"I strongly oppose any legislation that will give labour more power over management. As you know I have been in business for over 50 years and in that time the rights of a business owner have been steadily eroded. Today it is hardly worth being in business what with all governments breathing down one's back all the time.

"A person running a business has all the responsibility, all the headaches, all the financial risk and the privilege of working himself to death. All the employees have to do is show up for work, with absolutely no investment in money, risk or anything else, with everything provided for them to earn a living, and they can't even do that without a lot of unrest."

The fact remains that this legislation is unwanted, unnecessary and economically impossible. Why then would the government proceed with this bill? I think the answer is quite clear. They want to reward their union boss friends and supporters by giving them more power over business and over the economy.

CANADA DAY

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): I rise today to provide some personal reflections on what it means to be Canadian, based on my experiences in Oxford during Canada Day.

The first event I attended was the Springford parade. Participating in the parade, I was left with a great sense of community. Springford, a village of 200, put on a very successful parade with many participants, floats and also many people watching. Local people, in conjunction with the Springford Agricultural Society, organized a full day of activities. It was clearly evident that Springford has a wonderful sense of community.

The second event I attended was the Embro Highland Games, which filled me with a sense of heritage. Highland dancing, mass bands and caber tossing were some of the highlights of the 55th annual games. My Scottish ancestors settled outside of Embro in 1852. The Embro Highland Games are an excellent example of the way immigrants, bringing their customs and traditions to Canada, enrich our community. I congratulate the Zorra Caledonian Society for doing another excellent job in organizing the games.

The third event I attended was the celebrations held at the Woodstock and District Community Complex. Woodstock's celebrations impressed upon me the diversity of our multitasking citizens. While I was unable to attend the citizenship court, I did enjoy gymnastics displays, musical performances, crafts, food and limbo dancing sponsored by the Barbadian community.

Many people believe Canadians are not patriotic. From my experiences in Oxford and in observing celebrations across the country, Canadians displayed a great deal of pride in their country and were more than willing to celebrate their communities, their heritage, their talents and their diversity.

Canadians sent all elected officials a strong message on July 1: We're proud to be Canadian and want a united Canada.

1340

CHEQUE CASHING BILL

Mr Gilles E. Morin (Carleton East): Bill 154, the Government Cheque Cashing Act, was ordered for third reading last April. The Treasurer of this province advised me that the bill is dead.

Members on both sides of the House supported Bill 154. There was, on the part of many members of this government, a very sincere appreciation of the cheque cashing problem and a strong show of support for the prohibition of fees for cashing of government cheques. Bill 154 was fully supported by the standing committee on finance and economic affairs. This is clearly a non-partisan issue.

The Treasurer and the Ministry of Community and Social Services' advisers have their own ideas about this issue. They have recommended that Bill 154 be rejected.

In the Treasurer's letter to the president of the Cheque Cashers' Association of Canada, he states that I proposed a similar bill in 1989 which was not passed. In reality, I proposed a resolution which was approved unanimously by the House.

Last February, someone from the Ministry of Community and Social Services told me that my bill was dead when it was actually at the second reading stage. What is going on?

Social legislation in this province is being dictated by unelected individuals who can't even get their facts straight. While we, as elected representatives of the population, become involved in issues of critical importance, the Treasurer's advisers reject the initiatives we propose and submit for debate.

These mysterious advisers may have decided that Bill 154 is dead, but they can't make the cheque cashing issue go away. Yes, Minister, Bill 154 was mugged in the corridors of power.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR POLICY

Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville): The Minister of Labour has a report from the Task Force on Agricultural Labour Relations which has told him not to include agriculture in Bill 40. The task force had both farm, labour and ministry representatives. They all agreed that agriculture should be covered by a separate act which

recognizes the right to organize but prohibits strikes and lockouts.

The minister now claims he wants to study this recommendation, but he has left the option open for agriculture to be included under Bill 40. The minister and his officials have openly admitted they want to keep all their options open. This so-called option is creating a great deal of uncertainty in our farming communities.

We know the NDP shows little concern for rural Ontario. Our farm communities have seen cuts to the agricultural budget and even cuts to last year's announcement of much-needed emergency aid. We've seen the Minister of Natural Resources make an NDP-authorized power grab over agricultural issues in Bill 162. We now wonder if the agricultural labour task force was just another NDP smokescreen to keep the farm community quiet.

The Minister of Labour has had a number of opportunities in this House, upon questioning from yours truly, to clarify his position with respect to agriculture and Bill 40. He has not done so. The minister has to state that agriculture will be excluded from Bill 40 and that a separate announcement will be made at the conclusion of his review.

INTERNATIONAL WEEK

Mr Peter Kormos (Welland-Thorold): Well, 1992's very successful Welland Rose Festival is over, but that doesn't mean things have slowed down in Niagara South.

Sunday, July 12, is the beginning of International Week in Port Colborne, from July 12 to July 18. On July 12, it starts with the Folk Arts Council international luncheon; July 13 to 17, the George Badawey Memorial Soccer Tournament—you might even see the Kormos-Evans soccer team playing, sponsored by that bright young criminal lawyer Mark Evans—on Wednesday, July 15, "Dance Under The Stars" with the Jimmy Marando Orchestra; Thursday, July 16, Senior Citizens Appreciation Night. The grand day is of course July 18, with the parade at 2 pm.

A special person being commemorated this year is Rose Shymansky. Rose, who died in November 1991, commenced International Week as her Canada centennial project in 1967 and carried on with it year after year. She is a hero in that community and in this province. I know that her sister, Mary Yuskiv from First Avenue in Port Colborne, is going to be especially proud this year, as is Rose Shymansky's niece, Shirley Coppen, the MPP for Niagara South.

Friends, I'm going to be in Port Colborne enjoying some of the hospitality and friendship of people like the Folk Arts Council President, Rose Santarella; Alderman Gary Hoyle; Peter Bolger; Gary Ashenden, and Mayor Bob Saracino. So is Shirley Coppen. I hope you are too.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

HUMAN RIGHTS CODE REVIEW

Hon Elaine Ziemba (Minister of Citizenship and Minister Responsible for Human Rights, Disability Issues, Seniors' Issues and Race Relations): I rise in the House today to inform the members that the Ontario Human Rights Code Review Task Force has completed its report, which is called Achieving Equality.

In the House last December I had the privilege to inform the members that Mary Cornish, a lawyer and a long-standing human rights activist, would lead an independent task force and submit a report to me by June 30. The task force included Rick Miles from Thunder Bay and Ratna Omidvar from Toronto. In addition, there was an advisory committee made up of representatives from across Ontario.

Today, I again have the great privilege to say that Ms Cornish and her task force not only met a very short time line but provided a far-reaching report that we have made public today. Ms Cornish is in the gallery today. I wish to thank her, Rick Miles, Ratna Omidvar and all the members of the advisory committee for their outstanding work.

The task force consulted widely with the people of Ontario. It visited seven regions of Ontario, held public meetings and received over 80 presentations before preparing the report that has been made public today. The next step for us as a government is to analyse and review the report with my colleagues. We will consider the recommendations in the context of our government's other equity initiatives.

We look forward to studying the report by Mary Cornish in detail and to working with all Ontarians to ensure that the Ontario Human Rights Commission and other agencies of our government continue to contribute to our pursuit of social justice and economic renewal. Again I'd like to thank the task force for its timely report.

JURY SELECTION

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): I'd like to take this opportunity to update the Legislature on an initiative I announced on May 7, a review of the jury selection process in Ontario. As I stated at that time, our goal is to ensure that people who are called for jury duty better reflect the diversity of our community.

The issues we asked to be considered in the review were the following: whether the Ministry of Revenue source list from which potential jurors are selected tends to exclude tenants, low-income individuals and people who move frequently; whether the current selection process and procedure limits participation by visible minorities, aboriginal peoples and persons with disabilities; whether current compensation rates cause financial hardship for some jurors, and whether citizenship should continue to be a qualification for jury duty.

I advised the House in May that Ontario cannot act unilaterally. While the provincial Juries Act governs how the list of potential jurors is chosen, the federal government through the Criminal Code has total control over the procedures used to select the jury in a criminal trial.

We contacted the federal Minister of Justice and requested her cooperation in making changes to the Criminal Code which would ensure full representation of all people on criminal juries. This would address both the federal law reform commission's working paper, which sets out recommendations for allowing non-citizens to serve as jurors, and a decision by the Supreme Court of Canada which states that citizenship is not a valid basis for excluding lawyers from appearing in court. We must examine if the same holds true for jurors.

I am also pleased to advise the Legislature that at our request a federal-provincial working group has been established to review the issue of citizenship and the in-court selection process for criminal matters.

1350

While we are committed to working at the federal-provincial level, it is important to recognize that the growing diversity of Ontario's population necessitates that we also consider the issue of citizenship on our own. I am committed to making the changes necessary that will not only ensure that the justice system is as inclusive as possible but will also increase the confidence all Ontario's residents have in our court system.

One of the significant issues which has emerged from the review is the crucial need for public education about the jury process. Our information has shown the disturbing fact that 25% of people who receive notices for jury duty in Toronto fail to respond. This figure drops to 10% outside the greater Toronto area.

While more research must be done to determine why this happens, it is clear that the willingness or ability of people to perform jury service depends in part on their understanding of the jury system and perhaps in part on the lack of child care or other factors. Efforts must be made to dispel misapprehensions and fears about jury service that may result from lack of familiarity and inadequate information.

During the past 60 days we began to consult with members of the community, judges, lawyers and other government ministries. But this was only the beginning. Much more consultation will be required to find out more about the reasons why people are not included in the selection process or are not coming forward to participate. This work will be undertaken in the summer months, with a view to presenting a final report by October 1.

There are a number of ideas we are pursuing: Providing a mechanism to ensure that up-to-date information about tenants is included in jury lists, which might involve working with landlords to have the names of new tenants forwarded to the Ministry of Revenue, and working with the Minister of Revenue to consider other ways to improve the methods used to gather and update information about potential jurors.

With respect to juror compensation, we recognize that the current method of compensating jurors may cause financial hardships for low-income families and small business persons. We will need to find creative ways to ease the financial difficulties for such people, given the stringent economic times that we face. There are a variety of options which my ministry is continuing to examine.

Part of the solution must involve ensuring that the system is as efficient as possible and that the valuable time contributed by members of the public is utilized in the most effective way. This means reducing the amount of waiting time for jury selection and unnecessary trips to court. It is essential to build public confidence in the jury system and the criminal justice system. We know the judiciary, lawyers and other participants in the administration of justice will join in efforts to minimize the inconvenience to people performing their civic duty.

You will recall that the announcement of this review was made on the same day Stephen Lewis was appointed to prepare a report on race relations in this province. In making his report to the Premier, Stephen Lewis said that one of the key areas to look into is the justice system. Our review of the jury selection process is an important step in that process. It is critical that jurors are not only impartial but are perceived to be impartial.

RESPONSES

HUMAN RIGHTS CODE REVIEW

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): My response is in regard to the statement by the Minister of Citizenship on the report of the Ontario Human Rights Code Review Task Force.

I too want to thank Mary Cornish, Rick Miles and Ratna Omidvar, the members of the task force and advisory committee and all those who made submissions or otherwise participated in the consultation for their work and commitment to enhancing human rights protection in Ontario.

To ensure that this report doesn't just end up sitting on the shelf like quite a few of the other reports they have there, it is incumbent on the minister to tell us in very clear terms when we can expect the government's response to the recommendations made by the task force, and I hope they don't have to get somebody else to tell them when they can do so. To simply say that the report will be studied I don't feel is quite acceptable at all. We need to know when the government intends to act on the report. The minister can demonstrate her government's commitment, which I hear so often, to actually do something by establishing a deadline by which she will present the government's specific response to each of the recommendations made in the report.

As we know, the task force was established in part as a response to public demands for the government to act to resolve the case backlog at the Human Rights Commission. At about the same time the task force was set up, the minister announced a number of measures intended to reduce the case backlog. I'm somewhat disappointed, Madam Minister, that you still have not reported to the Legislature on the current disposition of the case backlog. If I can refresh your memory a bit, you had promised to give a monthly report.

Finally, there is the outstanding issue of the review of the code that has been promised by the minister. That is still yet to come.

There were of course very fine words on all these issues. Now we're waiting for the government to do something, not just to talk about studying, and to get some deadlines so we can work on them.

JURY SELECTION

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): I think I can follow right along on the theme of my friend the member for Scarborough North. Did anyone hear the statement read by the Attorney General? He stood up in his place and said: "We have now formed a working group with the federal government. I called the minister and we formed a

working group. There are certain things we're looking at like figuring out how to gather names and keep better records about where tenants are, and ultimately we're going to have a more impartial jury system."

Does the Attorney General not realize what's happened in this province over the past few months? I'll tell him. The black kids in my community that I talk to, particularly those who are experiencing difficulty, when they come to my office and when I go to the community, the first thing they say is, "Mr Sorbara, can you fix up that jury system?" When you talk to the kids on the street they say, "Boy, if we could only get the jury system fixed up, then we would have jobs, then we would have opportunity and then maybe we could feel a part."

The kids who were breaking glass down on Yonge Street weren't worried about the jury system; they were worried about a whole bunch of other problems that are endemic in this province, and the Attorney General standing up today and telling all the world that he has a working group with his colleague the federal Minister of Justice is nothing short of laughable.

What about the Human Rights Commission? The Human Rights Commission is in a terrible mess and we haven't seen any working group there. What about the legal aid system, which is threatened and which now tells women they can't take advantage of it? What about support and custody orders enforcement, the minister's great new plan to ensure family support? The delays for those support payments are as bad as ever, if not worse. When you phone up the office you get busy signals and recordings. That system is in a terrible mess.

He tells us today that he's got a working group all figured out now with Kim Campbell, the federal Minister of Justice, and he's going to work together with the woman a couple of rows behind him, the Minister of Revenue, to collect better data on tenants so they can have a better opportunity to sit on juries.

This is a non-announcement of the first class, and I simply plead with the Attorney General to realize that there are real problems in Ontario, there are real things to be done, and if this is all he has to say to the people of Ontario about what the Attorney General is going to do about justice in this province, he had better just forget it.

Mr Charles Harnick (Willowdale): This is really a non-statement. In May the Attorney General came in and said he was going to study the jury system. He came along and said he was going to set up a working group with the feds and it was going to study the system. This announcement today is nothing more than to say, "We've now set up the committee with the federal government and we're going to study the jury system just like we said we were going to do." It took him six pages of verbiage to do that.

What he was really telling the people of Ontario is reinforcing his personal opinion that not a jury trial that goes on in this province is fair. That's the sum total of what this statement says.

Let me tell the Attorney General that when people elect to have a jury, they do it of their own volition and they continue to do it because it's effective. The jury system is working. You don't give the people of Ontario the impres-

sion that the justice system is breaking down because of the jury system. The justice system is breaking down because there are not enough courts, there are not enough judges, there are not enough masters.

Mr Harnick: That's right. The Treasurer says, "Spend, spend, spend." When people who use the justice system have to line up and wait for two and three years to get a trial heard, that's not just spend, spend, spend; that's the reason they have no faith in the justice system.

When the Attorney General says, "Boy, 25% of the people don't show up to sit on juries," is it any wonder? Jury cases are long and they're difficult. I remind the Attorney General that people in this province go to jobs every day, they have to work, and the idea of being away from his job is not something the average person can do if he has to be away for two or three months.

So don't tell me, Mr Attorney General, that people have a bad impression of the justice system because of the way juries operate. They continue to elect to choose juries and juries continue to do an effective job.

1400

HUMAN RIGHTS CODE REVIEW

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): I too would like to thank the authors of the Ontario Human Rights Code Review Task Force report, Ms Cornish, Mr Miles and Ms Omidvar.

It is interesting to respond to the minister's statement today. I was listening very carefully and I know she made some changes to her statement from the copy I received. I'm going to respond to the copy I received and outline the fact that in the statement I received the minister said, "Over the next few months, I will be reviewing the report with my colleagues."

My concern is that the people of Ontario do not need any more delay in the enforcement of human rights. Quite frankly, the situation with the Ontario Human Rights Commission in this province continues to be deplorable. The Liberals threw \$4 million at it. This government threw \$6.5 million at it. That's over \$10.5 million since 1988, and we still do not see a resolution to the enforcement of human rights.

The issue in this province for human rights isn't that we need more legislation. In fact, it isn't that we need more reports. What we need is something more effective. We have examples in some of the offices where they are not even open on Tuesdays and Thursdays and there's an answering machine. They're open three days a week in some of those offices in this province. Is that showing a commitment to the enforcement of human rights?

This report does not resolve the problems at the Ontario Human Rights Commission. What we really have is words upon words with no action. We have to stop talking and start working. Frankly, we have enough legislation. The people who have lost their human rights do not want to know that there's another report or there's another statement by any government. They simply want to eliminate the five-year backlog at the Ontario Human Rights Commission. We don't want more numbers without solutions.

We all believe in and fight for human rights in this province. Our party established the Ontario Human Rights Code and the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Now it's becoming ineffective.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member's time has expired.

PARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Mr Speaker, I'm rising on a point of privilege; I'm hopeful that the member for Middlesex will be coming in very shortly. This is my first opportunity to raise what I consider to be a very serious point of privilege. Yesterday evening, the member for Middlesex clearly violated my rights as a member of this House. Under standing order 23(k) it states that a member shall be called to order if "abusive or insulting language of a nature likely to create disorder" is used.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for Yorkview is asked to come to order.

Mr Stockwell: As the member for Eglinton rose and made the point—and I've checked with others—the member for Middlesex called me, with respect to the debate on labour legislation and the rule changes to bring in a motion for closure, in fact she clearly called me "a bigot." I heard it, the member for Eglinton heard it, and in fact she rose on the same point of privilege, after which the House was adjourned.

Mr Speaker, this is the first opportunity I've had to bring forward this point of privilege. This is the third separate and distinct instance that the member opposite has accused one member of this party or another, three separate members, of being bigots or racists. I don't like those words. I don't think they're appropriate words to use in this House. I'm very upset about this and I give this member the opportunity today to withdraw the comment.

The Speaker: To the member for Etobicoke West, I must first say that with respect to his latter remarks I concur. I have expressed on many occasions my deep regret at the vocabulary that is often used in this chamber from both sides of the House. On occasion what happens is that language reflects badly upon our institution.

However, I must also say to the member that any point of order must be brought to the attention of the Chair immediately, which I understand the member did. I must also observe that it is very difficult for the Chair to deal with any point of order when there is general disorder in the chamber; that the Deputy Speaker at the time attempted to deal with the point of order but at the same time, coincidentally, was attempting to restore order in a general sense to the chamber. It was indeed a very difficult situation.

The moment has passed and therefore it is very difficult to deal with. However, as has been my practice when members have brought to my attention language which is abusive or insulting, I then allow the member who has been identified the opportunity, if he or she wishes, to withdraw the remark because it is an insult to the member who raised it and, in a large sense, to the chamber itself. At

this moment I would allow the member for Middlesex, if she wishes the opportunity, to gain the floor.

Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex): Thank you, Mr Speaker. I withdraw.

QUEBEC PREMIER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: It was our understanding from the Premier's schedule that he would be present in the House for question period today. I understand that he is watching Mr Bourassa's statement, and I would like to suggest, recognizing the importance of the statement which is being made by the Premier of Quebec today and the fact that all of us recognize how significant this statement could be, that you might recess the House so we could all watch the balance of the statement and resume question period, with the Premier present, on its conclusion.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Without a motion from the House to adjourn or to recess, it's not within my power to recess for the purpose that has been described by the Leader of the Opposition, although I recognize of course the importance of the event to which she refers.

It is time for oral questions.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): I move that we recess to hear the balance of Mr Bourassa's statement, and ask unanimous consent for that to be dealt with at this time.

The Speaker: Is there unanimous consent that we recess?

Interjections: No.

The Speaker: No?

Oral questions, and the Leader of the Opposition.

Mrs McLeod: Mr Speaker, I will move to oral questions. But may I just make the comment that this issue of the national unity has been one of the issues on which this House has risen above any kind of partisan politics. It's been an issue on which the Premier himself has invited the full participation of members of the both opposition parties. The suggestion to recess the House so that we can all hear the important statement Mr Bourassa is making, and hopefully have the opportunity for a statement from our own Premier on its conclusion, was one which was made in sincerity. I can only regret that the House leader felt the need to lead his caucus in opposition to unanimous consent for a few moments' recess.

The Speaker: The Leader of the Opposition, I fully appreciate that this is an extremely important event. Indeed, the whole topic is one that has been dealt with, I must say, in this House in a very non-partisan way, but your Speaker is in no position to help you. It requires a motion of the government.

It is time for oral questions.

1410

CONSIDERATION OF BILL 40

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): On a point of personal privilege, Mr Speaker: I believe my privileges as a member of this House have been abrogated. Last night, our House leader was unceremoniously given notice that today, under the government's new draconian rule

changes, the NDP plans to bring in closure to kill debate on the trade union bill and deny me the opportunity to speak for my constituents. I was elected to serve the constituents of Eglinton and to speak on their behalf. If I have no voice in this Legislature, then why am I here? Several months ago, I raised the issue in the Office of the Ombudsman—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member take her seat for a moment. I understand the member's point of order. I did indeed check with the table to determine if in fact the notice had been properly presented in accordance with the rules. I've been assured that indeed the rules have been satisfied and that the motion was properly placed. So there is no point of privilege, nor is there anything out of order, although I certainly appreciate the member's interest in the time being available for debating this important issue.

It is time for oral questions.

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): Before placing my question, may I just understand from the government House leader, as it's now 2:15 and I would assume Mr Bourassa's statement will be concluded fairly shortly, whether I can expect the Premier to return to the House when he's finished watching the statement? I ask because I wonder if I should stand down my question, awaiting the Premier's arrival.

The Speaker: Would the government House leader be of assistance?

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): I will check and find out whether the Premier will be coming in as soon as the statement is complete. I'll check now.

Mrs McLeod: Can we stop the clock, Mr Speaker, while that is determined?

The Speaker: I think it would be appropriate for us to begin question period. If the leader wishes to stand down one or both of her questions, that would certainly be in order. We could begin the business and at the appropriate moment return to your opening question.

Mrs McLeod: Thank you, Mr Speaker. As my questions were either to the Premier or to the Premier and the Minister of the Environment, I will have to stand down both questions.

The Speaker: Fine. It is time for oral questions. Start the clock.

ORAL QUESTIONS

PREMIER'S SECURITY

Mr Robert W. Runciman (Leeds-Grenville): In the absence of the Premier, I have a question for the Solicitor General. It concerns the four OPP officers who provide the Premier with personal security and are armed with semiautomatic revolvers.

The Premier and the Solicitor General have established a double standard with regard to the Premier's personal safety compared to the safety provided to the citizens and police officers of Ontario. Despite receiving a recommendation to allow police officers to carry semiautomatic weapons, the government has taken no action whatsoever.

It has not implemented the recommendation, and has indeed indicated that it is not going to do anything in this regard.

Will the Solicitor General please tell the House why the Premier of this province has a higher level of safety than what is provided to the citizens and police officers of this province?

Hon Allan Pilkey (Solicitor General): I'd like to respond to the question by suggesting that I don't think it's appropriate, in this particular forum or any other, to discuss or divulge security arrangements around the Premier of this province.

Mr Runciman: That response is nothing less than a joke, an insult not only to the policemen and policewomen of this province but to the public at large.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): From the top cop.

Mr Runciman: Yes, from the top cop of this province.

We're talking about men and women who represent us on the streets of this province who have to deal with drug dealers, who have to deal with escaped felons, who have to deal with a range of very difficult situations, and they're being told by this government and by this Solicitor General that they cannot have semiautomatic pistols but the NDP Premier of this province can have that sort of protection provided for him.

The Solicitor General is not prepared to respond to that question. I think it's important. Why is this double standard allowed? The Solicitor General should respond to that. Why indeed are you allowing the protective service around the Premier to have this kind of safeguard that you're not allowing the public at large?

Hon Mr Pilkey: I think it's quite a reasonable response and far from a joke to suggest that the security arrangements around the Premier of this province or any Premier of this province or the Prime Minister of this country are not the kind of detail that would be given in a public forum such as this. For those who don't understand that kind of concern, I think they had better stop and re-dress their thought process.

I would approach the question—

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): He is not asking for the security details; we already know them. Just answer the question.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order, the member for York Mills.

Hon Mr Pilkey: The question of York Mills, well, forget the member for York Mills.

In any respect, in order to give a response to the member, though, because I know he does have a general concern about the use of firearms in this province, I will indicate to him, although I'm sure he is quite well aware of it, that there is a section under the act that does allow chiefs of police to allow for the issue of special armament in special circumstances. In that respect, I refer the member to that section and I'm sure he can anticipate a situation from there.

I think it might be appropriate if the member wishes to speak to me on an individual basis, but beyond that, I don't believe this is the proper forum.

Mr Runciman: I still have difficulty with that response. There's no question, when you look at the police officers in Metropolitan Toronto, for example, who have to deal with extremely difficult situations on a daily basis and they're being told by this Solicitor General and this NDP government that they cannot have this kind of weapon available to them, but the NDP Premier of this province can have that sort of protection provided for him—the public at large, the police officers who have to face these stressful, extremely dangerous situations on a daily basis cannot have it provided—that it's an unbelievable double standard.

I don't think what the Solicitor General is saying in respect of security or special circumstances really holds water. I don't think the people of this province will consider it valid as well. If the OPP and the ministry and the government feel they want to provide the ultimate protection to the Premier, I think that same sort of protection should be provided to the policemen and policewomen who are out there on the streets representing all of us. We want to see a better response from this Solicitor General.

Hon Mr Pilkey: I attempted to give a very sincere and reasoned explanation to the member. I recall just two days ago in the House the member for Halton Centre opposite, who certainly is not a supporter of this government, rose in her place to raise concerns over certain security of members of this House. I think all members took to heart the very meaningful words she spoke on that occasion.

As we all perhaps know, there are varying degrees of security with respect to this Legislature and its members which, vary all the way from security guards with no armament to those with standard issue and to those with special dispensation. The notion that we would compare this to a situation outside this building may not be appropriate, but even if it were to, as I indicated, under the act the chief of police in each detachment has the authority, whether it be for special tactical teams or other special circumstances, to match the appropriate situation with the appropriate armament. I think beyond that this kind of security discussion is inappropriate.

1420

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): My question is for the Minister of Labour. Since November 1991, I have been suggesting that workers be given the right to a secret ballot vote, held under the supervision of the Ontario Labour Relations Board for certification of unions, for ratification and for strikes.

I believe this is a measure which is long overdue regardless of the failure of previous administrations to introduce it. You, as the minister now, as you have been for almost two years, are still denying this basic right to workers on the grounds that previous governments failed to act in this area.

It is unacceptable for you to argue that you have not been asked for such a provision to be included in your bill.

This matter was raised many times throughout your consultation process last winter. Your comment to me on June 23 that you have not been asked for such a provision has only added to the public suspicion that your consultation process was merely a public relations exercise.

Minister, during the clause-by-clause consideration of Bill 40, I intend to introduce an amendment similar to my private member's bill which would give workers the right to a secret ballot vote. Will you accept this amendment or do you intend to use your majority on the committee to deny workers this basic democratic right?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): Just to possibly clear the record a bit, the member has raised a number of times the fact that I said I hadn't had any request for this. Her last statement ties into that. I've had no request whatsoever from workers for this secret ballot vote. I can tell you that it's been in place for 50-some years. Her government put it in place—I know she doesn't like to be reminded of that—but it is far from one of the important issues facing workers and at the moment it's not one of those things we're seriously discussing.

Mrs Witmer: I have received many letters from individual workers. In fact, I read one of the letters this week in the House in my presentation on Bill 40, from a worker in Guelph asking for that basic democratic right. Obviously you're not listening or you don't want to listen.

I want to tell you that I'm concerned about the five weeks of public hearings that are planned on Bill 40 and many other people are concerned as well. I suggest there may be a waste of time and taxpayers' money if you refuse to accept any significant amendments to your bill. Many people feel you didn't listen to them during the consultation process. You haven't listened to them when they've written to you and they're asking, "Why should we spend the time and the effort on preparing presentations to the committee if the government's going to disregard our concerns once again?"

Minister, in order to restore some confidence in the province that the committee deliberations this summer are not just another public relations exercise intended to stifle opposition, will you at least give us your comment to seriously consider accepting an amendment to Bill 40 which would give workers the right to a secret ballot vote?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I'm sure that if there are a number of workers who want that right, we'll hear from them in the course of the hearings. I'm a little bit disappointed to hear that five weeks of hearings that are being set out are somehow or other an entire waste. I would ask the member—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I would simply—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Minister.

Hon Mr Mackenzie: It's unfortunate, but if ever there was a setup for a hard-line position, we're hearing it from across the way. The point I am trying to make is simply that we went through a process over a number of weeks

and through a number of communities and that more than 20 changes were made, including 10 major ones, to what was in that original discussion paper.

Mrs Witmer: Unfortunately, Minister, you did go through a process of so-called public consultation but I can assure you that although there were many excellent suggestions put forward by others in opposition to some of your points of view, not one of the suggestions from the other side was incorporated. There is nothing there. The original union agenda is still there.

You have continually said the business community is unwilling to work cooperatively with you on this issue and that it's not willing to accept any amendments to the act. Yet, earlier this year, members of the All Business Coalition, Project Economic Growth and More Jobs Coalition jointly provided you with a list of 10 alternatives to the provisions in your discussion paper.

Minister, people in this province are concerned about the five weeks of hearings. They're concerned that you're not going to really listen and incorporate changes they suggest. Can you give us an assurance that you are going to be willing to accept substantive amendments to Bill 40 and not just housekeeping or cosmetic changes, or are we wasting time and taxpayers' money to hold hearings on Bill 40?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I find part of that question, once again, rather offensive. Let me tell you clearly that we listened. We made more than 20 changes, at least 10 of which were substantive. I will raise one alone. It was one of the three major ones from the employers, that is, the matter of supervisors, and we are told that not a single change of substance was made. How many changes have they made over there, or how many positions are they willing to look at? Not a single one.

CONSIDERATION OF BILL 40

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): Since Mr Bourassa's statement has been finished for some time, I'm not sure when to expect the Premier's return, so I will proceed with our lead question. I'll direct the question to the government House leader.

Yesterday, as I rose to debate the most controversial legislation this government is likely to introduce, the government House leader dropped a motion that effectively shut off all further debate on the bill. This draconian move so dismayed and so frustrated those of us on this side of the House that the anger reached a level I have never seen before in this place. I, for one, am even angrier today than I was yesterday. It was only after seeing the intensity of the reaction he provoked that the government House leader withdrew his closure motion for the moment. Clearly it takes drastic measures to make this government listen.

I would ask the House leader for his assurance this afternoon that this is not merely a temporary reprieve due to the unexpected level of heat in this House. Will he permanently withdraw this draconian motion that shuts off debate on the labour relations bill this session and the next?

Hon David S. Cooke (Government House Leader): I'm not going to go into all the things I'd like to say at this

point. Suffice it to say that I met with the House leaders of the opposition parties today. We're trying to work this matter through. It's going to take all three political parties to try to work through the problems in this House right now, and I mean it's going to take all three political parties. Right now I'm finding it difficult to know who to negotiate with in the Liberal Party. If we want to try to find some solutions to arrange for proper debate on legislation in the House, then I'm willing to do that.

1430

Mrs McLeod: Will the House leader please explain what kind of allegations he's making about the behaviour of any member of this caucus?

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): To the leader of the official opposition, I understand her concern, but it is not really a point of order or privilege, rather a difference of opinion and one which was expressed by the government House leader. She may, however, wish to include that in her supplementary, which she now has the floor to place if she so wishes.

Mrs McLeod: You can see why I was particularly concerned to hold this question until the Premier arrived, because I wanted to place this question to the Premier to know whether he in fact condones the behaviour of this House leader.

It seems to us that the very sad message we received from this government yesterday is the message that the only way the people who live in this province can get this government to listen, whether it is people on Yonge Street or in York region or in Durham region, whether they're members of the public or members of the opposition of this House, is to resort to unprecedented levels of anger.

It is a very sad comment on this government, which is so anxious to ram this particular bill through that it's prepared to shut off its debate even when it comes back to the Legislature this fall and before the public hearings have started.

Regarding his response to my first question, the government House leader knows well that there was indeed an agreement, after we had to work with those draconian rule changes which he brought in, on how many days of discussion on that labour relations bill there would be this session. It was totally unprecedented and uncalled for that he tabled a closure motion which would shut off the debate in the next session on third reading of this bill.

I would ask the government House leader, if his government believes this legislation is good legislation, if it's needed legislation, if it's defensible legislation, why are he and his government so determined to cut off the debate on this legislation? Why will you not allow the voices of the opposition to be heard?

Hon Mr Cooke: The discussions we've had among the three House leaders have included things like five weeks of public hearings with three evenings a week included. The time allocation motion that was tabled also called for eight sessional days for clause-by-clause, two more days in committee of the whole for clause-by-clause and two more days on third reading. We would have had a total of four days on second reading, which was not

entirely out of line with the types of time lines that we were talking about in the House leaders' meetings. That is many—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: That is not right and is patently corrupting the truth. I will not stand for that man saying things like that, because we were talking—

The Speaker: I understand the member's concern.

Mr Elston: I'm sorry, but—

The Speaker: I'm sure the member will recognize that in the heat of debate sometimes unfortunate phrases are used.

Interjection: Which one?

The Speaker: The one that the member just uttered. I would ask the member to withdraw.

Mr Elston: I withdraw the phrase "corrupting the truth." But what is a suitable substitute?

The Speaker: The minister completed his response, and there is a final supplementary allotted.

Mrs McLeod: I appreciate the rules and the privileges of this House, but I simply don't understand what defence we have against misstatements of what actually occurred, and that is our frustration.

Perhaps the best way I can attempt to put my final supplementary is to try to put the House leader's allegations into the context of what observably happened. The day that the labour legislation was introduced into this House, the government House leader, without notice, without consultation with either of the opposition parties, tabled a motion to change the rules of this House in a way that none of us had ever seen before. That provoked a significant debate and a significant reaction from the members of this House.

Following that and following the passages we knew would ultimately happen if those rules change, there was an agreement worked out amongst the House leaders for the days of debate that would take place at this particular stage of second reading of the labour relations bill. Yesterday again, in the middle of the debate, the government House leader tabled another resolution without consultation, which would effectively cut off debate not only on this session but on the fall session.

This is unheard of in the history of this assembly. There is just no question. All the observable facts say this government is so determined to ram through its labour legislation that it is going to use its majority to cut off debate in any way it can. The government House leader assured us and assured the third party that he would have nothing to gain by closing off debate on this bill, so we had nothing to worry about. "Trust me," he said. Yet yesterday he brought in a motion doing precisely what he said he would not do.

The Speaker: Would the leader place her supplementary, please.

Mrs McLeod: My question is a very simple one. I would ask the government leader why indeed we should trust him, how we can trust him, how we can trust this government not to shut off debate not only on this piece of legislation but on any other piece of legislation. This is the party that ran on a campaign of commitment to openness and honesty and accessibility and integrity. They've betrayed those trusts. How can we trust this government on anything it says?

Hon Mr Cooke: The three House leaders are trying to work out an arrangement to deal with the OLRA. I would simply say to the Leader of the Opposition I've been at the meetings where the three House leaders have met all along. I've dealt with the opposition parties. I've mentioned to the opposition House leaders—in fact, I talked to your House leader yesterday and said I was going to be tabling a time allocation motion. It did not come as any great surprise. But the difficulty I have is that the Leader of the Opposition hasn't been at the House leaders' meetings, and the kinds of statements she makes today do not reflect what's been happening at the House leaders' meetings at all.

The Speaker: Second question.

Mrs McLeod: I'm at least here sitting with my House leader who keeps me fully informed of those meetings. I'm prepared to defend the actions of our House leader on behalf of this caucus. As I move to my second question, it's with regret that I suggest that this government seems to find democracy rather inconvenient.

LANDFILL

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My second question is to the Minister of the Environment. I would say to her that the people of York region are another of those groups of people who feel that their right to voice their opposition has been cut off. This is a government which acts unilaterally and arbitrarily. It is not a government that listens to reasonableness, and one of its most unilateral acts is the one that forces York region to take Toronto's garbage.

Interjection.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The member for Durham West, come to order.

Mrs McLeod: Last Tuesday the Minister of Environment said in response to a protest from a group of people who feel that their ability to voice their concerns has been denied, "I regret the presumption that large rallies of people—and I know people feel very strongly about this issue—are the way to change public policy." But as we have seen with this government, unless you create a disturbance, you don't get any attention. I would ask this minister, how far is her government now prepared to go to defend her unilateral actions under the Waste Management Act?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): I take offence at the continual description of the legislative process as being a unilateral action. The way parliamentary democracy works and the way Bill 143 became the law of this province was that the government made a policy decision. The government enshrined that decision in legislation. That legislation was brought before this House. The

legislation, at the request of the opposition parties, was sent out for consultation and hearings right across this province. It came back to this House, it was debated, and the majority of the members of the House voted in favour of it. That's how things work in a parliamentary democracy.

1440

Mrs McLeod: If this Minister of the Environment is not prepared to listen to people who will be affected by her actions, perhaps she will listen to the courts. As the minister is well aware I'm sure, today court action was launched over the minister's garbage bill, and the statement of claim under that action alleges that the garbage bill is contrary to section 15 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms because it violates the rights of the residents of York.

York region is asking the Interim Waste Authority to consider alternatives to landfill under the Environmental Assessment Act. This legal action could have been avoided if this Minister of the Environment had been prepared to listen in the first place, and now the Interim Waste Authority will spend tens if not hundreds of thousands of taxpayers' dollars on consultants and lawyers to fight this challenge.

Minister, it is time to push the pause button. Will you not admit that this garbage bill is draconian and probably unconstitutional, and will you now repeal the garbage bill, if not in the interest of listening to people and considering the alternatives, at least in the interest of saving the court costs ahead?

Hon Mrs Grier: Mr Speaker, I don't quite know what position I'm in. I've been informed by the Leader of the Opposition that a court challenge has been launched; I was certainly aware that one was being considered. If in fact it has been launched and if the Leader of the Opposition is asking me to determine in response to her question whether this bill is constitutional, that is not my prerogative and that's not something I'm going to even hazard a guess at at this point if her facts are correct and a court challenge has been launched.

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I think it is quite incredible that this week we have learned from the minister, first of all in response to my colleague the member for York Centre, as has already been said, that demonstrations and manifestations of different kinds will have no impact on the minister. She as much as said to me yesterday that the environmental bill of rights will do nothing to protect the rights of the residents of York region with respect to Bill 143. She says that Bill 143 went through a democratic process and that it was voted on and the majority carried.

This we listen to from the party that claims it speaks for the minorities. This from the party that claims it fights for the rights of people to come forward, when what is clearly there in Bill 143 is that the dump site is going to go into York region and there is no protection against that.

My question to the minister is very simply this: Minister, it is true that a bill went through the House, but you have put in your legislation very clearly that the dump site must be in York region. There was no ability to go against your fiat. Where in the environmental bill of rights can we find any protection, and will you not accept that in the suit

that has been launched today under the charter you ought to do everything in your power to make sure that the case is heard and heard soon and that you'll now direct your legal advisers to ensure that there are no blocks put in the way of York region in moving forward with that case and that it be heard as quickly as possible? Will you make that commitment so that the minority, if you will, in York region can have their day in court?

Hon Mrs Grier: Mr Speaker, the member is incorrect. Bill 143 does not say that a disposal site must be in York region; and as to the rest of the member's question, that's something I'm not able to comment on.

INCOME TAX

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): My question is to the Treasurer and I guess it's really a request for some help.

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): Consider it done.

Mr Phillips: Thank you.

The businesses out in the province appear to be deliberately disobeying the Premier's instructions and ripping off the workers of the province. The Treasurer will be aware that on June 8 in the Legislature, the Premier said:

"The net impact of the measures that have been put forward by the Treasurer is that for lower- and middle-income taxpayers—that is to say, individuals who are earning less than \$53,000—there will be no increase in the combined federal-Ontario income tax as a result of the federal and Ontario 1992 budgets."

Unfortunately, we're now actually getting phone calls from people who were happy with the Premier's announcement that they would be paying no more taxes but whose employers are telling them that they will be paying more taxes. We've had one person who earns \$25,000 and was told by his employer that the federal government has reduced his taxes by \$15 but the province actually increased his taxes by \$45 in the next six months.

Another married person with two children earning \$48,000 was told by her employer—obviously incorrectly, Treasurer, because of what the Premier said—that her federal taxes were going down by \$40 but her provincial taxes were going up by \$120 in the next six months.

Obviously something is wrong. The Premier assured these people earning less than \$53,000—

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member place a question, please.

Mr Phillips: These companies obviously are ripping off their employees. I want to know what the Treasurer is going to do to ensure that they carry out the instructions of the Premier and that nobody pay more taxes if they're earning less than \$53,000.

Hon Mr Laughren: I appreciate the question from the member for Scarborough-Agincourt. He started off his question by saying he wanted some help and I'll try to provide that to him in my response. Whether or not I can give him all the help he needs in my initial response—I may need a supplementary to accomplish that, but I will attempt.

I wasn't in the assembly when the Premier made that response but I think the confusion arises from the fact that the 1992 budget implemented some tax increases that for the taxation year 1992 will cost some people more money, commencing on July 1, 1992. They'll be paying more taxes for—

Interjections.

Hon Mr Laughren: Let me finish. Because it takes until 1993 before the full impact of federal and provincial tax changes fall into place, what he said was 100% true for 1993.

Let me put it in perspective for 1992, if I might. For a one-earner, married couple with two children for 1992, for someone earning \$20,000 there's a reduction in taxes paid; for someone earning \$25,000 there's a reduction in taxes paid; for someone earning \$30,000 a year there's a net amount of about 60 cents a week increase in taxes paid; for \$40,000 a year there's about \$1 a week increase in taxes paid. It goes up on a progressive scale because that's the way the progressive income tax system does work and should work in the province of Ontario.

Mr Phillips: The point I'm trying to make is that you've got to come clean with the people of the province. If you've got to increase taxes, they understand.

Mr Speaker, you will recall that we had the member for Dovercourt in on this very same matter. You are misleading the people. The Premier was wrong and he should have come back to the Legislature and said he was wrong. He told me he would come back to the Legislature; he never did. He was wrong.

I will remind you, Treasurer, that in the Agenda for People you said, "We are proposing that individuals living at or below the poverty line should not pay Ontario income tax," and you were going to move on that right away. I understand that in tough times you may not be able to eliminate it, but it came as an enormous shock to people living at or below the poverty line that their taxes actually were going to be going up.

Treasurer, will you assure the House that we will not again see—I thought we'd gotten rid of this because the member for Dovercourt had been told to send out a correction on this matter, but then two weeks later the Premier misstated himself. He said that in 1992 people earning less than \$53,000 will pay no more taxes. That is wrong and he didn't come back and correct it. Treasurer, will you assure the House that we will not see again the NDP members, particularly the cabinet members but any of the members, distorting the facts and that we will see the truth in terms of income tax to the people in this province?

Hon Mr Laughren: I certainly hope so, but I would reinforce what I said before, that if there were members of the government who inadvertently said 1992 instead of 1993, I regret that. We've tried very hard to correct that. I just gave the numbers to the member for Scarborough-Agincourt for 1992, but for 1993—

Interjections.

The Speaker: The member for Simcoe West, order.

1450

Hon Mr Laughren: I know the Conservative Party of this province is opposed to progressive taxes, period. That's why they try to shout me down when I try to respond to an intelligent question from the member for Scarborough-Agincourt.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. With the cooperation of the member for Leeds-Grenville, we can get on with question period.

Hon Mr Laughren: Mr Speaker, I will try very hard to refrain from teasing the bears any more.

For 1993, what the Premier said is absolutely correct. When the full impact—

Mr Phillips: He said '92.

Hon Mr Laughren: I agree he said 1992. I understand that. For 1993, the same income earner—a married person, one income and two children—for \$20,000 will pay \$25 less tax; for \$25,000, \$95 less tax; and between \$30,000 up to about \$60,000, no increase in taxes at all. It's only when you get above approximately \$60,000 that there are increased taxes dropped into place. People across the province are telling me that they're willing to pay those levels of tax increases in order to preserve essential services in this province.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): My question is for the Minister of Labour. Minister, probably the most contentious aspect of your package of changes to the Labour Relations Act is the provision banning the use of replacement workers. Unfortunately this provision, more than any other, is contributing to the loss of jobs and investment.

According to your own documents, more than 95% of all contracts are settled without a work stoppage, and of the 94 work stoppages which did occur in Ontario in 1991 only 19 involved the use of replacement workers. Further, as few as five work stoppages in the manufacturing sector would have been affected.

Minister, given the fact that the use of replacement workers is so limited in this province, given the fact that we did not experience the same bloody picket line violence they did in Quebec and given the fact that there's no demonstrated need for a ban on their use, will you agree to remove this provision from the bill and help restore the shattered investor confidence and jobs which your bill has created?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): There are few issues that cause more long-term problems in labour relations than the use, in a legal strike situation, of replacement workers. I think the evidence in the province of Quebec is very clear. Much of business in Quebec says it has been a better situation than before and that this is why it dropped its charter challenge.

Mrs Witmer: Minister, we know that's not true. We know the reality is that the anti-replacement-worker law in Quebec has failed to create the labour-management harmony that you claim. Since 1978, Quebec has lost one

million more days to strikes than Ontario despite the fact that it has a significantly smaller workforce. Since 1978, Quebec has had 20% more strikes than Ontario despite the fact that it has a smaller workforce. It's also important to note that in 1991, Ontario received 75% more investment dollars than Quebec.

Minister, there's no demonstrated need for the use of replacement workers. Will you tell us why you are so intent on pursuing this provision at the expense of the jobs of the workers you claim to be helping?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: One of the issues that can do more to change the labour relations climate in the province of Ontario and make it clearly a more cooperative one is the confidence of the workers themselves. Few issues have caused more problems in a legal strike situation than the use of replacement workers. I can also tell the member that I don't think there's any accuracy at all to her charge that it will hurt investment capital in Ontario.

DEVELOPMENTALLY DISABLED

Mr Paul Klopp (Huron): I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

Mr Klopp: I repeat: I have a question for the Minister of Community and Social Services.

Many people in my area have worked hard with the developmentally handicapped. Donna Greb, who has been a member of the board of ARC Industries in Dashwood for many years, informed me the other day that the Ministry of Community and Social Services has informed their board that the sheltered workshops for the developmentally handicapped will be phased out over the next three to five years. Is this true? If it is true, where will the clients who are there now go when this place is closed down?

Hon Marion Boyd (Minister of Community and Social Services): I'd like to thank the member for the question because it gives me an opportunity to clear up a misunderstanding that has prevailed across the province; other members have asked me about this problem.

Over the next three to five years, the Ministry of Community and Social Services will be consulting and working with members of the community that serves the developmentally handicapped to explore with them ways to find more appropriate ways to work with people who have developmental handicaps in both vocational and non-vocational ways.

We believe that progress for people with developmental handicaps is important to really make an opportunity for them to move out of the sheltered workshop program as the only alternative. We have been successful in this province in building supportive employment opportunities for people. It's a continuation of this kind of action that we see as important and that we want to consult with the community on. Obviously, in three to five years, there is no possibility that sheltered workshops could be phased out entirely. I really regret that that misunderstanding occurred.

ENVIRONMENTAL BILL OF RIGHTS

Mr Carman McClelland (Brampton North): My question is to the Minister of the Environment. It concerns yesterday's announcement of the draft piece of legislation—I remind you that it was not a bill but rather a draft and will still be up for consultation—the draft environmental bill of rights.

There's a misconception, Minister, that appeared in the article that I can only presume maybe your office helped draft for yesterday's Globe and Mail, that people in Ontario will be given new rights to launch prosecutions for pollution offenders. Minister, neither you nor your spin doctors have done anything to correct this blatant misconception. It simply isn't so.

I'm going to ask you today, Minister, to stand in your place and acknowledge now that the people of Ontario have always had the right to launch private prosecutions under provincial environmental law; that your continuing to allow this misconception is cloaking your new environmental bill of rights to give the impression that it's providing something that is not in fact the case, and that it is not a new remedy available to the people of Ontario. Will you confirm that here and now, please, Minister?

1500

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): No, I won't, because the member I think is incorrect in his reading of the task force report. People have had the right to launch an action, but the question of whether or not they had standing before the courts has always been the issue. They had to prove they were somehow either uniquely or personally affected or their property was affected.

There are two elements of the draft bill of rights that increase access to the courts. One is with respect to the law of nuisance and the broadening of the ability under that to take court action by an individual, and the other is the creation of a new statutory cause of action, which is damage to the public resources of the province.

Mr McClelland: As to what you said in your answer, Minister, the question is this: The article I come back to, and it has certainly been held up by your ministry and your people as factual, says this: "The bill of rights released by Ruth Grier gives the public the right to sue for the first time." I'm not talking about any additional things. I'm talking about that misconception out there that you're doing something that in fact you are not doing. You are not providing the right to sue for the first time.

I hasten to remind you and refresh your memory. You'll recall that your Cabinet Office environmental honcho, Mr Shrybman—you know him; he's the one who tells you what you can and can't do, along with the other minions who run around and give you advice. Years ago he privately prosecuted Toronto Refiners and Smelters with the full cooperation of the Ministry of the Environment.

Minister, I'm asking you to confirm that your proposed so-called environmental bill of rights gives no new powers in that respect in terms of private prosecution, as put out by your spin doctors to your friends in the Globe and Mail article.

Hon Mrs Grier: The way in which these questions are constructed is really quite unbelievable. The member appears to be asking me to answer and be held accountable for the way in which a reporter in a newspaper interprets factual information that is presented to him in the form of a task force report. All I can do, if the member doesn't understand what is in the task force report, is to refer him to that report, particularly pages 84 and 85, which talk about the issue of the right of standing and increased right of access to the courts.

LOTTERY TICKETS

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): My question is for the Minister of Tourism and Recreation. On June 10 I asked a question regarding the introduction of lottery ticket vending machines. The minister responded by saying that as far as he knew, no decision had been made on the installation of these machines. Furthermore, a report the following day in the *Toronto Sun* quoted a lottery corporation spokesman as saying, "A decision will be made in the next few weeks as to whether to proceed with a pilot project." Minister, exactly what decisions have been made regarding the introduction of lottery ticket vending machines?

Hon Peter North (Minister of Tourism and Recreation): My understanding is that there's been a decision made that we will proceed on a basis that would test, much as a pilot project would test, these machines in a number of different areas in the province.

Mr Arnott: I must come to the conclusion that the Minister of Tourism and Recreation knows absolutely nothing about what's going on at the Ontario Lottery Corp. One month ago the minister informed the House that this was an option that was under consideration, but if the decision was made in the last month, the Ontario Lottery Corp has done a phenomenally quick job of preparing promotional material. It defies belief that a decision had not been made when I asked my last question. I have here a brochure from the corporation which outlines the machines in some detail. It includes a detailed commission structure and toll-free numbers for more information on the program.

Minister, it is obvious that the Ontario Lottery Corp is running its own show and that you are completely removed from the operation. The corporation is accountable to you. However, no one seems to have your telephone number there. My question is, Minister, how does this obvious breakdown exist between your office and the Ontario Lottery Corp?

Hon Mr North: There is no obvious breakdown between my office and the lottery corporation whatsoever. We have an opportunity to work with the lottery corporation on a daily, weekly, monthly basis. They make decisions that are operational decisions. We help in decisions that involve policy. We have a very good relationship and there's no breakdown in communications whatsoever, sir.

ONTARIO HYDRO RATES

Ms Margaret H. Harrington (Niagara Falls): I've just come this afternoon from a meeting with my colleagues Ron Hansen and Peter Kormos and the local and regional abrasives companies, their managers and their

union representatives. These companies are concerned about proposed hydro rate increases for 1993. They believe that because electricity is such a large part of their production costs, further increases next year will affect their ability to compete, and there is a possibility they may be forced to close. These extraordinarily difficult economic times call for all options to be investigated for the sake of jobs. We did discuss many options. Mr Minister, are you pursuing options to keep the 1993 hydro rates lower or keep them down?

Hon Brian A. Charlton (Acting Minister of Energy): It's an extremely important question about an issue that has caused some concern in a number of sectors across the province. I've said a number of times in the House that the largest part of the problem around hydro rate increases is unfortunately unavoidable because it's associated with Darlington, with the nuclear program and decisions that were made many years ago.

However, that doesn't specifically address the member's concern. The new energy directions the government set out in its first throne speech will significantly reverse the rate trend in this province in the long term. As a matter of fact, the initiatives taken to date will knock about \$9 billion of Hydro borrowing out of its original plans tabled in 1989.

In addition to that, Ontario Hydro has been working very hard to reduce its operating costs by renegotiating western coal contracts, the changes and cancellations in the uranium contracts at Elliot Lake, the collective agreements it negotiated, \$32 million in operating and maintenance cost reductions and about \$250 million in capital cost reductions. In addition to that they need to do much more and we'll continue to push them to do that.

Ms Harrington: First of all, I would like to thank the minister for meeting with us over the last two months, and also the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology. I would also like to say that over the short term there is going to be some hardship. I really hope we can continue to sit down and work with the people who know what the industry is all about and the difficulties it faces so that we can look at this together.

Yes, Mr Minister, I do know that the major rate increases we are looking at right now are the result of absolutely ill-conceived, inefficient, reprehensible decisions made by Tory and Liberal governments that led to outrageous cost overruns at Darlington. Other governments would not act in the past. Mr Minister, what is this government going to do to bring Ontario Hydro under control, to make it more efficient and more responsive to this province?

Hon Mr Charlton: I've set out for the member a number of initiatives that Hydro has already undertaken on its own initiative to substantially reduce its operating costs. Hydro will continue to seek out new ways to take that further.

But in terms of this question of making Hydro more efficient, we also have to address the issue of making industry more efficient and therefore more capable of being competitive. For example, with some of the companies she's meeting and having discussions with, the Ministry of

Energy and Hydro have identified about \$2.8 million worth of energy efficiency gains that could be made in those companies, which average about 8% of their electricity consumption. I think it's not just a question of continuing to pressure Hydro to become more efficient, but of sitting down with those industries and working out some reasonable, competitive packages for them as well.

RED HILL CREEK EXPRESSWAY

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): My question is for the Minister of Transportation. While his colleague the Minister of the Environment is wreaking havoc and inciting near riot in York region, I want to put it to the Minister of Transportation that his policies in respect of York region are doing an equal amount of garbage.

Let me just review the history. For 25 years the region of Hamilton-Wentworth has been planning to build an expressway called the Red Hill Creek Expressway. Three months after that government took power, it said that as a moral matter it was going to cancel the expressway, but it at least did Hamilton region the credit of saying, "But we'll do a study to look at alternatives, including alternatives that would include the Red Hill Creek original alignment." The study was done.

The study is here; at least notes on the study are here. There are three recommendations, three alternatives: One, the most reasonable, includes part of the expressway going through the valley; another has an alignment along Highway 20; another, remarkably, has an alignment along Fruitland Road.

After all this study, the Minister of Transportation went to the region of Hamilton-Wentworth and told them they might as well forget about the first alternative, that no expressway was going to go anywhere near the valley. Can the Minister of Transportation simply confirm that this was his decision and that he's advised Hamilton region of his decision in that regard?

1510

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): I welcome the question from the distinguished critic and member opposite, although it has a sense of a *déjà vu*, a perennial and residual attachment to it. You will recall, Mr Speaker, that when the Liberals were in opposition in the 1980s at the beginning of the decade for the first five years, they were opposed to encroachment, to any proposal on the Red Hill Creek Expressway: No encroachment on the valley. They have flip-flopped. This administration does not flip-flop. We have been consistent throughout. It's been a tough decision from the word go, but we're here to make those tough decisions: No encroachment on the valley.

We would welcome alternatives. First and foremost, generations in the future will thank this administration for being consistent and for being a friend to the environment. I invite the member to share with us some alternatives that we can develop together.

Mr Sorbara: I honestly cannot believe it. Is this a minister in a government talking about flip-flops on Sunday shopping, on auto insurance, on dumps, on casinos, on gambling, on taxes against the poor? Did I hear correctly?

Did I hear this minister talk about flip-flops? I have a supplementary.

The only good news in what the minister has done in Hamilton-Wentworth is that after the next election there will be a new member in Hamilton-Wentworth, in Hamilton Centre, in Hamilton West, in Hamilton East, in Hamilton Mountain and in Wentworth East, because the people of Hamilton-Wentworth are so outraged by what you have done that they have decided, or are considering, that their only alternative is to pay for the expressway themselves and ensure that those six New Democratic members are eliminated and that hopefully a new government will make a post-construction contribution.

Why in the world did the minister commission the study and allow the study to be done and then summarily say, "I don't care what the study said; you're not going near the valley"? How in the world do you expect that your government can have any credibility at all when you deal so flippantly with elected local officials who have worked for 25 years to solve their transportation problem?

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member conclude his question, please. Minister.

Hon Mr Pouliot: The criticisms are harsh indeed, very harsh. You will recall that the reason for turning down the original proposal to encroach on the valley was made by this government because it was not friendly, was not what we wished to happen to the environment. Then we saw some alternatives. We said, "If proposition A is not acceptable, we recognize that we might have to build something," and we were looking forward to it. But when you come back with a facsimile, with a proposal that is a semblant of the proposal—

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): That's not what you told them. Admit that he misled them.

The Speaker: The member for Oriole.

Hon Mr Pouliot: —in the first place, you have to look at the other two and possibly three or four—

The Speaker: Would the minister take his seat, please. The honourable member for Oriole knows not to accuse a member of the House of misleading anyone. Would the member please withdraw the remark.

Mrs Caplan: I don't know how the people of Hamilton-Wentworth can come to any other conclusion. The minister made one statement in the House. He has then made another. They are feeling betrayed. But if it is offensive to the Speaker, I will.

The Speaker: Could the minister conclude his response, please.

Hon Mr Pouliot: Simply put, in conclusion, any encroachment on the valley is not acceptable to this government. There is no point wasting any more money on any further study, but yes, spending Ontario's money on an acceptable alternative, no more, no less.

PETITIONS

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a petition to the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas the report of Mr John Brant, arbitrator for the greater London area, has recommended a massive, unwarranted, unprecedented annexation by the city of London; and

"Whereas the arbitration process was a patently undemocratic process resulting in recommendations which blatantly disregard the public input expressed during the public hearings; and

"Whereas the implementation of the arbitrator's report will lead to a destruction of the way of life enjoyed by the current residents of the county of Middlesex and will result in the relevant portions of Middlesex potentially not being economically viable;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature of Ontario as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

It is signed by 189 residents of the county of Middlesex, and I've attached my signature.

GAMBLING

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I have a petition signed by about 100 people from places like Dundas, Toronto, Guelph, Kenilworth, Arthur and Woodstock and it reads as follows:

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the abovementioned implementations;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a 'quick-fix' solution to its fiscal problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I have affixed my signature to this petition.

LANDFILL

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly:

"Whereas the town of Georgina has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural and residential land, both areas which would be drastically affected by a megadump; and

"Whereas the town has a significant tourist area from which much of the town's economy is generated, the tourism industry is now being threatened by plans of the Interim Waste Authority to create a megadump in the heartland of this tourist playground; and

"Whereas the people of Georgina depend on groundwater for their drinking water; and

"Whereas the effects of a megadump on the water supply of this area and Lake Simcoe would be catastrophic; and

"Whereas the land currently labelled 'potential landfill site' is prime agricultural land;

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land in the heart in this tourist town of Georgina and turn it into Toronto and York's megadump.

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew their efforts to seek and entertain alternatives to landfill and implement aggressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

I have affixed my name.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I have a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, signed by a number of concerned individuals:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

1520

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rule changes imposed upon the Legislature by his huge majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

This is signed by a number of interested people, and I have affixed my signature thereto.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex): I have a petition signed by 50 Middlesex constituents who urge the members of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to reject the report for the greater London area by arbitrator Mr John Brant.

This petition was sponsored and circulated by the county of Middlesex and its constituent townships. I can only assume that they, as well as the citizens of Middlesex, would like to see a reduction in the size of the annexation and the protection of farm land.

I too have signed my name to this petition.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mrs Elinor Caplan (Oriole): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rule changes imposed upon the Legislature by his huge majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

This petition is signed by a number of interested citizens. I add my name to the petition and submit it to the Legislative Assembly.

LANDFILL

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): "To the Legislative Assembly:

"Whereas the town of Whitchurch-Stouffville has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural and residential land, both areas which would be drastically affected by a megadump; and

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has identified sites in the town that would consume large tracts of class 1 and 2 farm land, the areas identified by the Interim Waste Authority would severely disrupt the vibrant agricultural community, the farm families in these areas which have always and continue to invest large sums of money into their farms, these communities would be destroyed by the Interim Waste Authority putting in a megadump; and

"Whereas most of the people of Whitchurch-Stouffville depend on groundwater for their drinking water, the dump would threaten their supply of clean water; and

"Whereas the megadump would destroy the local economy of these communities,

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land in the heartland of this town to turn it into Toronto and York's megadump;

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew their efforts to seek and entertain alternatives to landfill and to implement aggressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

I sign my name.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I regret that the Premier is not here to hear this. He was in for a cameo appearance, but he's not here now to hear this.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as the leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rule changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

This is signed by a number of interested citizens in Ontario. I have affixed my signature to it in agreement with the petition.

LANDFILL

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): "To the Legislative Assembly:

"Whereas the town of East Gwillimbury has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural and residential land, both areas which would be drastically affected by a megadump, the town possesses a significant amount of land which has historically been and remains devoted to primarily agriculture; and

"Whereas the historical significance of our area typified by the Sharon Temple and its many patrons and the pastoral quality has considerable significance to this area; and

"Whereas the effect of a megadump on the water supply of this area would be catastrophic for the town of East

Gwillimbury, the water supplies of Newmarket and the Aurora area,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's turning prime farm land with the historical significance of East Gwillimbury into Metro and York's megadump;

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew their efforts to seek and entertain alternatives to landfill and to aggressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

I signed my name.

PROPERTY ASSESSMENT

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I have a petition signed by constituents in Eglinton and I am pleased to read it, since I can still read petitions, even though I've been forced out of debate in the Legislature.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas it is arbitrary and demonstrably unfair to use market value as a basis for property tax assessment in a volatile market such as Metro Toronto; and

"Whereas market value assessment bears no relation to the level of services provided by the municipality; and

"Whereas the implementation of such a measure would work undue hardship on the residents of North Toronto, on our long-term home owners, our senior citizens and our tenants;

"Whereas Toronto businesses are already paying the highest property taxes in North America and will be devastated by increases of up to 50% more,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario not to impose market value reassessment on the city of Toronto against the wishes of the people of Toronto and to consider another method of property tax reform for Metro Toronto."

I have affixed my signature.

STUDENT SAFETY

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I have a petition signed by some 200 residents around the province. It is addressed to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

"Whereas Matthew Morten died tragically at his residence at York University as a result of a severed brachial artery caused by a shard of glass;

"Whereas the glass which caused Matthew's death broke free from the door of his residence and was not safety glass;

"Whereas the regional coroner from Metropolitan Toronto has refused the family's request for an inquest and has indicated that it was economically unsound to make universities replace non-safety glass, although a 'recommendation' has been sent to universities by the coroner asking only that they consider replacing such glass;

"Whereas there are other issues which should also be addressed, including the late response of the ambulance because it became lost on campus, and the inability of the attendants to carry Matthew out on a stretcher due to the narrowness of the stairs;

"Whereas ignoring the abovementioned circumstances may lead to another death or serious injury,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That an inquest into the death of Matthew Morten be ordered immediately to ensure the safety of other Ontario students is safeguarded."

It is signed by 200 constituents around the province and I have signed it myself.

1530

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rules changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

It's signed by a number of residents of the province, and I've added my signature.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): The time allotted for the presentation of petitions has expired.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

EDUCATION AMENDMENT ACT (EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND MINISTER'S POWERS), 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT LA LOI SUR L'ÉDUCATION (COMMISSIONS INDIENNES DE L'ÉDUCATION ET POUVOIRS DU MINISTRE)

Mr Silipo moved third reading of Bill 21, An Act to amend the Education Act in respect of Education Authorities and Minister's Powers / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'éducation en ce qui concerne les commissions indiennes de l'éducation et les pouvoirs du ministre.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Does the minister have any comments? Debate?

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I don't intend to speak at great length, but as you will recall, when we were dealing with this bill in second reading the other day, it was shortly before 6 of the clock, and there are a few additional remarks I'd like to make. As I indicated at that time, we would be supporting this bill. The brief remarks I want to make concern the part of it that will have boards develop anti-racism policies and ethnocultural equity.

Last week I was particularly reminded of this and of its importance for teachers by a course my wife is taking for English-as-a-second-language accreditation and a number of the very interesting documents she has brought back from the course about experiences in other jurisdictions in developing these programs. In talking with her and others who are following this course, clearly a lot of the literature is trying to indicate to people that we are looking as well at structures and how we develop, not only within our school boards but within society in general, a way of dealing with anti-racism strategies.

A lot of the material that is now being made available to teachers, particularly, as I mentioned before, experiences in other jurisdictions, I think is useful and important. I think it can show us places where, without meaning to, we can create ways of doing things that may be very difficult for people coming from different cultures to understand or to handle. If we go back to the development of the heritage languages program—and the minister knows that very well, having been on the Toronto school board—as he knows, the Toronto school board was really one of the pioneers in developing heritage language programs.

A number of the principles behind that program were in part to assist young people to develop a better self image, a better sense of themselves within their own culture, within their own language, and that by doing that they would then be better equipped to deal with this new society they had come into. When we look at the success at the heritage language program over the years in helping young people from different countries maintain a sense of who they are while sharing with the greater Canadian context, I think that is important. We're going to continue to have problems around racism if young people do not have a good sense of themselves, their own ethnic, racial, linguistic and cultural background.

I think we want to underline that while this particular legislation does not set out how the boards will go about doing this, clearly we want people to use common sense, we want them to be inclusive, to develop structures and strategies that are going to work. It is very important because if we can have an impact on young people—particularly at the elementary level, I think the literature and experience would show—that is going to assist us in dealing with problems of racism that are in our society and in any modern society. They exist. To admit that is not to say that our society is fundamentally bad or any of those kinds of comments, but simply to recognize that it's there. As legislators we have a responsibility to begin to deal with it.

I want to reiterate that expanding through this bill the request of school boards to develop an anti-racism policy

and an ethnocultural equity policy—in many cases, as our colleague the member for London North noted last week or the week before, a number of boards have already done very innovative things. Hopefully one of the things the ministry might do is to make that information available to various boards. Again, that's what was done in terms of heritage languages. It was also done at the time when there were questions around the use of prayers in the schools and a number of school boards had worked on some very interesting approaches making use of our multicultural heritage and multireligious heritage in providing a variety of activities for students.

I think we want to underline that a lot has happened, there's a lot of good work that has been done, a lot of good experience that I think can help all boards. If we are able to implement this particular bill in a creative and positive way, it will have a very good and salutary impact on the development of anti-racism policies in this province.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Questions and/or comments?

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I certainly agree with the remarks made by the member, but my question relates to the new rules in the Legislative Assembly that Premier Rae has brought in to limit the opposition and how they might relate to a bill of this kind, and specifically this bill. I know the member would like, if he had the opportunity, to deal with the rules and how, were there a more controversial bill in the education field, they might prevent him from doing so.

The House used to sit at least two more weeks a year. The member for Windsor-Riverside, the government House leader, wanted the House to sit three weeks fewer, and that means less in the way of question periods, it means fewer days where the cabinet ministers are subject to scrutiny on a close basis by members of the media in the hallway of this Legislature, and it allows for fewer days to debate the kind of legislation that is coming before the House, the kind of legislation the member brought forward. I'm wondering what the viewpoint would be of the member for York North on this and how it would relate to a bill of this kind.

Now, this has proceeded rather quickly. There is a consensus in this House. I suppose if the opposition wanted to be obstinate about this, we could on every bill debate the full time until the government brought in its closure. However, the member has been reasonable in the way he has brought in the bill. He has had consultation with both of the opposition critics and I think there is a general consensus that this bill should pass rather expeditiously.

This is the kind of legislation, by the way, that the government House leader could have brought in several weeks ago when he didn't have anything to speak of on the order paper. It would have gone through the Legislature, I'm sure, in just a few minutes.

I want to associate myself with the remarks of the member for York North in agreement with the bill and express the concern that the minister, if he'd wanted to, could have come into the House and allocated the specific amount of time we would have to debate this. But he had

the consensus of the House, so he didn't have to do it. That's the way the House has always worked well in the past.

1540

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? Seeing none, the honourable member for York North has two minutes in response.

Mr Beer: I think the points raised by my colleague the member for St Catharines are ones to reflect on. It has always been my experience, both as somebody on staff here when Dr Stuart Smith was the leader of the official opposition and then when I was a member on the government side, that the way in which critics and ministers work together goes a long way to expediting legislation. When I reflect on my own time as minister and the importance of that relationship—I'll use one example in the education field: the deaf education bill that was proposed by the former member for Scarborough West, Richard Johnston, who worked with the then Minister of Education, Chris Ward, talking about the kinds of things he would like to see in that bill. I believe there was some very useful discussion and various things were agreed to simply through that process.

I think this House works best when critics and the minister can cooperate, can have discussions. As my colleague the member for St Catharines has said, we have had that kind of cooperation and discussion around this as well as other pieces of education legislation. I think that is the way to go. Clearly any kinds of rule changes that block debate or make it more difficult to have good solid debate on any number of issues in the education field—certainly there are areas where there will be disagreement and where there will be conflict, and that needs to be expressed. I think that's the critical thing. We need to ensure that those of us who are in this House are going to have the opportunity to debate the issues whatever they may be. I would associate with the comments of the member for St Catharines.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on the third reading of Bill 21? Seeing none, would the honourable minister want to wrap up?

Hon Tony Silipo (Minister of Education): I will resist the temptation to comment about the rules and their impact on this particular piece of legislation. I will just say that I am pleased, obviously, about the cooperation that's been shown by the opposition parties with respect to this bill, both in the process and, even more so, in the content. I think the fact that we are able to pass this legislation is significant. We know that, as I think has been noted, this will go a long way towards ensuring that there is a greater appreciation for the multitude of races and cultures that exist in our school system and taking some very active steps within our school system to promote a very strong anti-racism approach.

I just want to indicate, as I've indicated before and as the member for York North has talked about this afternoon, the need for us to look at these issues by being very conscious of the many good things that already are happening on this front. I want to reiterate that point because it's certainly my view on this and on other issues that we don't need to completely reinvent the wheel. A number of

good things are happening, from which we can learn, that school boards are doing. I think part of our job in implementing this policy and assisting school boards to implement this policy will be to take those things that are happening and try to encourage the sharing of that information throughout the province.

I can assure the House that, through the new assistant deputy minister position and through the division we are pulling together to assist with the implementation of this policy, we will be doing exactly that and will be providing, I expect, a great deal of assistance directly to school boards in preparing and implementing these policies, which will obviously be for the betterment of the school system and for the education of our young people.

Motion agreed to.

SCHOOL BOARD FINANCE STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LE FINANCEMENT DES CONSEILS SCOLAIRES

Mr Silipo moved second reading of Bill 27, An Act to amend the Education Act and certain other Acts in respect of School Board Finance / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'éducation et certaines autres lois en ce qui concerne le financement des conseils scolaires.

Hon Tony Silipo (Minister of Education): There are four measures contained in this bill, essentially. They're all of a financial nature. The first amendment will allow corporations without share capital and corporations sole, such as the archdiocese of Toronto, to allocate their property taxes to public or separate school boards as they determine. That's a choice they presently don't have.

Similarly, the second amendment will direct that the property taxes paid by the crown, federal and provincial agencies, boards and commissions, municipal corporations, local boards of municipalities and conservation authorities will be divided between public and separate school boards in the same manner as property taxes paid by corporations whose shares are publicly traded. This continues the process begun in 1989 with Bill 64.

The third amendment in this bill will permit a school board to borrow more than it expects to receive in current revenue if the administration of the board is under the control of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. This additional borrowing authority will be subject to the approval of the Minister of Education.

Finally, this bill contains an amendment regarding the levies against telephone and telegraph companies. Those levies are moneys paid in place of property taxes on their lines and poles. The amendment will adjust the allocation of those levies between public and separate school boards in areas where education is provided entirely by the public school board.

These, then, are the four amendments contained in this bill.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Questions and/or comments? Further debate?

Mr Charles Beer (York North): Just one point; I may have missed this: Did the minister mention that there

was also an amendment to the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board Act contained in this? I'll make some comments on that but I didn't hear him refer to that amendment.

Hon Mr Silipo: I did.

Mr Beer: Did you? I'm sorry. I must have been asleep at the wheel.

This is one of those acts that I think all of us enjoy debating in the Legislature. I'm taking it, at the opening of my comments, to page 4 of the bill, which in a very traumatic way takes me back to school. If I can share this with members in the House, there are a whole series of mathematical calculations that appear in this bill.

I don't know quite how many of us would have done on the various international math tests that have been held over the course of the last year, but I think we legislators are always frightened when we come to section 5 of the bill. It has things like $A \times B$ over C and then goes on to define just what A , B and C are. We're afraid we're going to get asked a question as to just what that will amount to.

That being said, this bill does contain a number of important provisions, some of which in effect flow from the discussions around what was known as Bill 30, which extended public funding to separate schools. So a number of these changes are important in making sure that we have greater equity between the funding of the public and the separate systems, both of which of course are publicly funded.

We will support this bill but there are a number of points that I think need to be mentioned. The first one, and one that I think arose all during the discussions over the extension of funding to the separate school system, was to ensure that as we were moving to bring the separate schools into greater balance, the public school system would not at the same time be losing money and that what we had to try to develop was, if you like, a win-win situation whereby the separate schools would be brought up to the same level as the public schools.

We're told by a number of the organizations that there is a concern among the public boards that they would stand to lose something in the order of \$80 million when this legislation comes into effect. I would simply say to the minister I think it is terribly important that as we go forward this does not happen, because again, what we're trying to do is to really ensure that the separate system, in terms of its funding, will come and be equal to that which the public system receives. The figure of \$80 million may or may not be correct, but I think it is an issue that needs to be addressed. While we support this bill, we want to make it clear that we feel the matter needs to be addressed.

1550

There are some technical problems that I understand have been raised with the ministry, some of which concern changes the Ministry of Revenue would have to make to bring about these changes. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to exactly how easy or how difficult that might be.

I gather, with respect to identifying ratepayers and making changes to assessment roles in terms of the

non-share capital corporations, that is not in every instance going to be an easy thing to do. Again, I just think sometimes one ministry will move forward in one area without the appropriate consultations with another ministry which is key in ensuring that these reforms are brought about, Revenue obviously in this case being a very important one. It makes little sense if non-share capital corporations are able to direct their taxes in a certain way if there are problems in identifying them and making sure that happens.

Specifically, as to the date at which this would come into effect, we're told the Ministry of Revenue feels it would need until 1993 to carry out all these changes. I think some direction from the minister as to just when this would begin, and what kinds of discussions and consultations have been going on with the Ministry of Revenue, would be helpful to hear and to know exactly at what date these changes would occur.

In a more fundamental sense, while clearly this bill is in the form of a housekeeping bill, it speaks to two basic issues we need to put on the table today. The first is the major problem facing school boards today in terms of the resources they have. The minister has spoken—and we're now involved in estimates—about the Fair Tax Commission, about his own advisory council and work being done within the ministry looking at everything from property taxes to where the moneys come from to fund our system and how they ought to be expended.

Again, I think we have to underline that if school boards are only going to be receiving 1% and then 2% in terms of the moneys they have from the province in increase, it is very important that there not be any offloading, that costs the ministry is causing school boards to take on are in fact borne by the ministry.

This has been one of the fundamental problems I think we in opposition have had with the government throughout its period in office in terms of the variety of programs being placed on school boards without appropriate financial resources especially when, as is happening with this bill, you are making some changes in the way corporation tax is going to be allocated to the two boards. Any sense of inequity, any sense school boards would have that a heavier load was being placed on them is going to cause a great deal of difficulty.

One can only say to the minister that we hope his timetable for educational financial reform will be realized. He has said he hopes by earlier in 1993 he will be able to take some proposals before cabinet and that at the beginning of the next budget year, in April, 1993, at least some specific major important changes will come about.

I want to make those comments. While they are not specifically in the amendments, I think it's terribly important whenever we're talking about educational financing to go back and remember that we are working on basic reform of the system and it is important that continue.

The other comment I think needs to be made here in terms of opening remarks is with respect to the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board Act. There have been, since the inception of that board, problems around funding and financing. As the minister knows and as we were discussing in estimates the other day, those problems

have led to the ministry taking over the operation of the French-language public board, and whatever the reasons were that led the ministry to do that, there is a situation there now where we have had for over a year a special trustee who in effect is running the affairs of the board.

It simply is not healthy in terms of the longer perspective, because parents and the elected trustees themselves find that whole process very frustrating. I would hope and would say to the minister through this debate that as changes are made to that act, it is important that we deal with the more fundamental problem so that in effect the democratically elected school board can again take over the running of that board and the financial difficulties can be resolved.

We know there are a number of school boards in the province, including the French-language public board in Ottawa-Carleton, that are in deficit situations for a whole series of reasons. Clearly the government has a responsibility to work with those boards to find ways to bring them into balance, and obviously the boards themselves have responsibilities as well. But I think, in looking at this particular bill, and being supportive of the changes that are proposed, none the less we have to recognize that there are broader funding problems and those need to be addressed.

I have a few questions and queries when we get into the specific clauses of the bill, but in general, as I said at the beginning, a number of these changes flow from the changes we launched in the mid-1980s to improve the funding of both the separate and the public systems and we will be supporting this bill.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments on the member's participation? The honourable member for Brampton North.

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): South.

The Acting Speaker: Brampton South.

Mr Callahan: I'm going to move to the north, because everybody says Brampton North.

I understand what my friend has said, that this is housekeeping and that it's really a reshuffling, I guess, of money, but at this time I'd like to inquire of the minister, in light of what's taking place here, why under proposed Bill 37 he is going to be eliminating the possibility of hard-to-serve children being treated in the way they're presently treated. As I understand it, the elimination of the hard to serve from the Education Act by Bill 37 will place them in a situation where they cannot receive the benefits they now receive.

I urge you, Mr Minister—even though it's just shuffling of money, it's going to give perhaps greater amounts of money to school boards—that you would consider very seriously the section in Bill 37 that eliminates these opportunities for those young people who are found to be hard to serve.

As you know, that deals in the main with young people who have learning disabilities, who after a rather extensive hearing by those who can best determine that, find that a school board cannot possibly deal with that young person and therefore he or she is allowed and is financed to be sent to a milieu or an educational system where the number

of students in a classroom is perhaps less than it would be in an ordinary classroom.

By eliminating those sections by your proposed Bill 37, I suggest to you what you're doing is leaving these people as the flotsam and jetsam of the future generations. I would certainly encourage you and urge you—and I'm sure you've been urged by many parents who are concerned about this—that you not allow that to happen and that when we get to Bill 37 you will rethink that and leave those provisions in the Education Act, as they are an opportunity for these young people to be retrieved and to be helped and not to become the statistics of the correctional facilities in the future.

The Acting Speaker: I wish to thank the honourable member for Brampton South. Further questions and/or comments?

1600

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): I rise to speak very briefly about the issues of funding and financing the system that were addressed by my colleague the member for York North and ask if he has read the newspaper report wherein the Minister of Education was purported to have said that he is telling the teachers of the province that they must pull back on their request for salary increases and benefits as well to assist his ministry in gaining control over finances.

It's no secret that the members of the third party, our party and the New Democratic Party, as people who have been in government from time to time, have wrestled very strongly with trying to get the best value for the dollars put into our system. Very few can argue that there isn't a lot of dollars going into the system. That is of course causing all kinds of interesting concerns out in the taxpaying world we all represent, from which we've heard a fair bit of objection over the last several years.

When I hear the Minister of Education saying—at least when I read what is purported to have been said by him in the paper—that negotiations must come in at a lower level of reimbursement for teachers, both with respect to salary and benefits, I wonder if he is not intervening in the collective bargaining situation. But it's an interesting step forward by a person who used to chair a very important public school board in a very important city in this province.

I want to raise only one other item for the attention of the public, and that is that the new call word for the current government is "restructure." What I wish to assert in the last couple of seconds is that this really is a euphemistic description of "cutback," and that's what I'm afraid is about to occur not only to education but a whole series of other administrations.

The Acting Speaker: Further participation, questions and/or comments? Seeing none, the honourable member for York North has two minutes in response.

Mr Beer: My colleague the member for Brampton South has raised quite appropriately the question around special education and some of the concerns. Quite frankly, I say to the minister, that bill is very much long overdue and one that I think should have been brought before this House in the current session. A number of issues and

problems have been discussed for some time around those with learning disabilities and those with other special needs, but I think it is important that we make some changes. I hope we will be able to see that fairly soon. The concerns raised by my colleague certainly have been brought to my attention and I'm sure to the minister's, but we are not going to be able to deal with those until we have changes before us.

The matters raised by the member for Bruce clearly are issues of direct concern not only to school boards but to all taxpayers. We on this side of the House have been saying to the minister that as long as you're providing 1% and 2% you have to provide real leadership around the question of salaries and benefits and work with school boards in really making sure we're not looking at 5%, 6% and 7% increases, because what happens then is simply that meaningful programs get cut, particularly programs around special education and certain kinds of special busing programs that exist for students with special needs.

It is very critical that the minister make sure he is saying the same thing to all boards, working with them and indeed laying out in a much clearer fashion what the government is prepared to accept in terms of wage and benefit settlements.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on the second reading of Bill 27? Seeing none, would the honourable Minister of Education have some comments in summation?

Hon Mr Silipo: I was hesitating because I thought there was going to be some further debate, but if not, I'll be happy to sum up.

I would just say briefly by way of sum-up that the concerns the member for York North has expressed are ones I certainly understand and ones I think can be addressed.

First of all, with respect to the concerns around implementation, the Ministry of Revenue and the discussions that have been going on, I think he is aware, as he has indicated, that we expect the implementation of this to occur in 1993; we are working to see if any improvements to that can happen, but I think that is at this point the sense we have.

I certainly share the concern from the public school boards around the potential loss of further revenue or the shift of revenue as a result of some of the provisions in this bill. We will be making some adjustments to the provisions around the phasing in of pooling that are already in place, making adjustments to take into account the changes in this legislation; so we'll be making some further adjustments and additions to that.

The last point I want to make is with respect to the provisions in this bill that would in effect affect the Ottawa-Carleton situation and to recognize there, again as I've indicated in the standing committee on estimates, that I believe we need to come to a resolution of that situation but we need to do that in a planned and coherent fashion. This piece of legislation will assist us in that because, in allowing the board to borrow beyond the present limit it can borrow, it will facilitate the planning of the elimination over a reasonable period of time of the deficit that presently

exists and which, through the supervisor, plans are under way to eliminate.

We're conscious of the concerns in the Ottawa-Carleton situation. I know the member opposite and I have spoken and will undoubtedly continue to talk about this. As I say, this piece of legislation will assist us with that.

I think that, along with the other piece in the bill, will allow us to do both some housekeeping things but also some useful tidying up of other pieces of legislation that needs to be done. I thank again the opposition parties and the critics for their cooperation in this bill.

Motion agreed to.

Bill ordered for third reading.

CO-OPERATIVE CORPORATIONS STATUTE LAW
AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS
EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOCIÉTÉS
COOPÉRATIVES

Mr Charlton moved third reading of Bill 166, An Act to amend the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act with respect to Co-operatives / Loi modifiant la Loi sur les sociétés coopératives et la Loi sur la location immobilière en ce qui concerne les coopératives.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Would the minister have some opening remarks?

Hon Brian A. Charlton (Minister of Financial Institutions): It gives me a great deal of pleasure to deal with and speak on third reading of the Co-operative Corporations Act amendments that we have here before us today.

This bill will encourage the development of more co-operatives in the province of Ontario, especially housing and workers' cooperatives. The cooperative movement is one of our best—perhaps even, because there are so few of them, the best—self-help tools we have in this society. Cooperatives provide valuable services to millions of members across Ontario already, and we're determined to ensure that access to the kinds of valuable self-help services that can be provided through the cooperative model is available to many more Ontarians in the future.

Our changes remove roadblocks that have prevented cooperatives from achieving their full potential. This bill enhances the role these community-based democratic institutions can play in rebuilding our economy here in the province, creating jobs and in positioning Ontario for a significantly different future that has a much more focused community base.

The amendments in this bill recognize that cooperative housing is a unique form of housing. Residents of co-operatives were not adequately served by the Landlord and Tenant Act. This bill recognizes the special relationship among occupants of a housing cooperative. These changes provide improved protection to the occupants of non-profit housing co-ops while maintaining the distinctive and democratic characteristics of this type of housing and of the member control it represents. These changes will also preserve the non-profit nature of housing cooperatives which receive government assistance. I think that's an ex-

tremely important aspect, and it's one we've neglected for far too long.

1610

The changes to the Co-operative Corporations Act will also simplify the incorporation and business operations of cooperatives owned and operated by workers. The bill will allow all co-ops to operate with powers similar to other businesses, and that's going to substantially level the playing field in terms of individuals, groups, communities and others in community organizations to become part of the mainstream economic fabric of this province. They will now have greater flexibility in setting the rates of return on the capital they raise. We are also easing the financial burden imposed by annual audits for smaller cooperatives.

Right now Ontario needs to harness the power of the cooperative movement because it's such a vital and important movement in terms of refocusing some of our thinking and our endeavours into the communities across Ontario. Government alone cannot achieve economic renewal; business can't achieve it by itself either, and neither can labour. Collectively we believe that those three components can work together to start us down a road of economic renewal, but there's another component, another group that can help with economic renewal in this province. The cooperative movement has demonstrated a commitment to strong local community economies, reflecting a wide opportunity for community involvement and support for individual initiative and participation by communities and community groups.

I'd like to take a moment to thank my parliamentary assistant, the member for Scarborough Centre, for his assistance with this bill. I'd also like to thank particularly two members of the staff of the Ministry of Financial Institutions, George Alkalay and Imants Abols, for their very hard work on this legislation. This bill is the result of extensive consultations and collaborations with groups representing the cooperative movement all across the province. As well, my thanks to the opposition for their kind and useful assistance as we moved through a number of amendments to the bill in committee of the whole.

In closing, these changes enhance the role of community-based democratic institutions and the role they can play in the rebuilding of our economy, creating jobs and positioning Ontario for a useful future in a way that will also start to move some of the decision-making back into communities, where it rightfully belongs.

Bill 166 is our first shot at what we hope will be in the very near future an extensive additional package of initiatives around promoting cooperatives and other community-based initiatives. Thank you for your support on Bill 166.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments on the minister's opening statement? Seeing none, further debate on the third reading of Bill 166.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): I've assisted in this legislation before, as we took it through not second reading but committee of the whole, and I know a little bit about it from my days at Financial Institutions.

Let me give a little bit of history, first, on some of the things that have happened with this bill, because it is one

of the first bills which began under what are to be described now as this Parliament's old rules and will have reached some conclusion under what are now described as the new rules; or at least the rules as we know them now, because as you realize, Mr Speaker, there are plans by this government to again add to the standing orders after a legislative committee reports back on the other series of suggestions that were made by way of resolution by the member for Windsor-Riverside.

I want to give a little history because I want to tell the people a little bit about something that maybe they don't know, that is, with respect to the amount of time it's taken for us to deal with this particular piece of legislation.

This legislation, which most of us know about, has some very worthwhile objectives. It's designed to encourage people to move into cooperative fields. You yourself, Mr Speaker, are a noble, outspoken advocate on behalf of the cooperatives in your area with respect to farming activities. I, like you, have a whole series of cooperatives that work very well in relation to the job that they seek to do for their members and for the public in general, because there is a broader interest associated with cooperatives than just the very specific personal interest of each of the members.

I happen to have the Pine River Cheese and Butter Co-op in my area. Mind you, it now makes cheese and it wished it could make more, but that's a matter for the Minister of Agriculture and Food to deal with, more particularly than me.

But the essential piece of information for all of us who live in rural Ontario is that we have a long-standing association with the cooperative movement. In fact, many of us are beneficiaries of participation by our families in the cooperative movement, because we found it an essential part of our long-term success in the farming business and other places over the years when it became much more difficult to deal with the economies.

While there seem to be a whole series of discussions in the background about my history lesson or something, I do want to say that because the objectives of this bill were such that there were a number of us who wished to see it go forward, the amount of time that was spent on this bill was very limited. We wanted to see it move forward. Five minutes for first reading, which is of course not too abnormal; every once in a while we find a bill which takes some extra length of time. But then on second reading there was very little discussion which delayed the passage of this bill.

I might add that it was not only because of the objectives of this bill, but also because there had been some discussion between the minister and his critics—and, I might add, the member for Scarborough Centre, who was parliamentary assistant—dealing with the issues surrounding this particular bill. It came as a bit of a surprise after second reading was done that we had to go to committee of the whole and deal with what we thought was one amendment and which later turned out to be a whole raft of amendments.

Anyway, under those rules by which the NDP government said it could not prosecute business of the House, second reading took roughly 40 minutes. Not very much

time was spent at all. A lot of our people would have wished to say more so that they could have put on the record their support for the essence of the cooperative movement's notion of helping its members and the public interest. But as a reasonable opposition we said, "We will help you prosecute your business," and we did.

Then we went into committee of the whole House, where some of us were surprised to find, unexpectedly, that there were a series of amendments which were in fact quite thick. I have the package, which I discovered was to be passed by the parliamentary assistant—who was filling in admirably, I might say, for the member for Hamilton Mountain, who was unable to attend. In any event, we could have done a whole series of funny pieces of procedural movements which would have held up this bill. But we chose not to because we were helping the business of the day under the old rules.

In fact, not only did we not do something funny to hold up this bill, but we in effect helped by asking for unanimous consent of the table. I think even the current sitting Speaker was at the table that day. We said, "With unanimous consent, we would like to have all of the amendments taken as read," as opposed to wasting the time of the House on that day, although the member for Scarborough Centre read very ably. It was, if I might say so, with due regard to the honourable gentleman, a little bit tedious. So we allowed ourselves the opportunity to vote on all the amendments in a very reasonable and quick fashion. In fact we didn't spend very long at all in the end, maybe 45 or 50 minutes more in passing all of these amendments, and there were a huge number of amendments.

We might very well still be listening to the member for Scarborough Centre reading these amendments even to this day had he been given the consecutive days to deal with these amendments. But we let this thing go through and we helped it to go through because we saw the need to promote the cooperative activities in this province, and that's very reasonable. It's a very rational thing to do. The objectives of the bill were such that we felt it should go quickly.

1620

There was in some sense some disagreement with parts of it, I think. It's fair to say there had been discussions between the critics. But we were not prepared to hold the bill, because there had been some reasonable discussion between the minister, his parliamentary assistant and the opposition party people. So we understood and were well prepared, with the exception of number, for the amendments which ultimately came to the committee of the whole House. We assisted, and that with the rules described as the old rules that would not let this government do its business.

While I have just given a brief history lesson on how the old rules helped this particular bill through to third reading, where we are now, I'd just like to read something about how the old rules were used by a New Democratic Party opposition with respect to only two second reading debates on two bills in 1989. Those bills were the following, and most of you will recognize them because they are bills which, I'm sure, even now kindle the imagination of

opposition blood still racing in the veins of those people elected for the New Democratic Party in 1989.

I refer to Bill 208, the Occupational Health and Safety Act. Here are the dates: On October 12 the honourable member for Hamilton East, Mr Mackenzie, spoke to the bill, on second reading, for one hour and 30 minutes—first speaker; on October 16, 1989, the honourable member for Nickel Belt, Mr Laughren, spoke for 30 minutes, and on October 18, on second reading, Mr Laughren continued to speak for another one hour and 40 minutes to the same bill.

Two people from one party spoke for over three hours, but that's not all. On the next day, October 19, 1989, Ms Martel, the member for Sudbury East, spoke for a full two hours. That's under the old rules, by the way. Of course anybody who sits in this House now knows the new rules would prevent this because you would only be allowed to speak for 30 minutes.

To top all this off, on October 23 there was a speech by the member for York South, who is now the Premier. Do you know how long he spoke in wrapping up the debate on second reading of Bill 208 on behalf of the New Democratic Party? He spoke for two hours and 25 minutes. I recall the member for York South, having spoken that long, was given a rousing greeting by the people in the New Democratic Party, who were here then—that under the old rules, which these people used in a way that would prevent Bill 208 from going out.

I only raise this one example because it lets me deal with one of my own, as we talk about how the business of the House can be processed and how people help business of the House to be processed, as we have just processed Bill 166. I refer to Bill 68 in 1989, which was a bill I know a little bit about. Bill 68 was the so-called auto insurance bill. I only bring your attention to the speakers on behalf of the New Democratic Party because the length of the interjections by the members of the third party, the Progressive Conservative Party of the day, were likewise fairly long.

I will read the dates and times attributed to the New Democrats on Bill 68 in 1989: 14 November, two hours and 20 minutes, the member for Welland-Thorold; on the following day, 15 November 1989, the member for Welland-Thorold continued for two hours and 50 minutes on second reading. That is over five hours. On November 28, three speakers: the member for Nickel Belt, who also spoke on Bill 208, by the way; the member for Nipigon and the member for Rainy River spoke for a total of two hours and 50 minutes on second reading.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): Are all these New Democrats?

Mr Elston: All New Democrats. On December 4 there were two speakers, for a total of two hours and 50 minutes: the member for Etobicoke-Rexdale and the member for Sudbury East. Finally, on December 5, 1989, on second reading, wrapping up, not only did the member outdo his leader, the member for York South, who spoke on Bill 208; he surpassed just about everybody but Mr Kormos, the member for Welland-Thorold. Mr Farnan, the member for Cambridge, in 1989, December 5, spoke for three hours on second reading debate. The time of that

second reading debate on behalf of the New Democratic Party alone was some 13 hours and 50 minutes, eight speakers. On Bill 208 there were eight hours and five minutes expended by five NDP speakers.

I only refer to that in contrast to what has happened with a particular piece of legislation that has been introduced by the member for Hamilton East which is being done fully under the new rules, with the exception of first reading debate. Under the first speaker's time limits on second reading or third reading in this House, one hour 30 minutes is maximum for the leadoff speaker for any of the parties. I can tell you that—

Mr Stephen Owens (Scarborough Centre): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I wish you would ask the member to suggest somehow back to Bill 166.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. I want to remind the honourable member for Bruce that we are on third reading of Bill 166.

Mr Elston: I was comparing the progress of Bill 166 here in this Parliament under the old rules to the third reading debate which we now are in under the new rules, and the whole suggestion by the New Democratic Party that the old rules would not permit them to pass legislation. Mr Speaker, I repeat myself: We have spent probably less than an hour and a half on the whole bill for all of the members, the Liberal members, the Conservative members, and the minister, in fairness, and his parliamentary assistant, that being Bill 166.

I now bring us back to the suggestion that this bill didn't progress quickly enough and that the rules had to be changed as a result. The rules didn't have to be changed at all, and in fact if we had required the member for Scarborough Centre, as parliamentary assistant, in committee of the whole House to prosecute his amendments one by one, reading every word, and then had required the Chair also to repeat those, as is the right of the members of this House, we would still be here doing the first dozen or so of the amendments.

So that the people in the province can understand, there was an agreement in principle with respect to this bill that there was a powerful and needy public policy needing to be passed and it was agreed among the three of us, in terms of parties, that the bill go. This bill could very well have, I think, been given a third reading under the old rules, with one exception. I had requested on behalf of the Liberal Party that, because there were so many amendments, the bill be reprinted in its entirety with the amendments being displayed so that we could read the whole thing in one place at one time.

Otherwise we would have had third reading right away under the old rules and it would have taken us less than three hours' time to do the whole bill with the huge number of amendments that put us into committee of the whole House—which were brought, by the way, not by the members from the Liberal Party or by the members from the third party but by the government, because there were certain deficiencies which were discovered.

I don't wish to take issue with the fact that there were some deficiencies discovered after first reading was given.

It is in fact a necessary part of the legislative process that after first reading there be a sober reflection on the bill that is dropped before the members in this House and that there be a reflection again after second reading so that the members can decide whether or not the public interest is being served by each of the sections which have been provided for us to review.

It is necessary that time pass so the distillate of that discussion can result in exactly what occurred in Bill 166, that instead of passing bad legislation, which all of us would have hurriedly put in process had it not been for the ample and very helpful interventions by the ministry officials, and perhaps even by some of the interest groups—we would have had legislation which would have been bad. It would not have served the public interest in a way it should serve the public interest, all of us having agreed in principle that this bill should go quickly through the process.

1630

Time alone between first reading and second reading, and the discussions between the minister, his parliamentary assistant and our critic, the honourable member for Essex South, Remo Mancini, and the honourable critic from the Conservative Party resulted in these amendments coming forward in committee of the whole House so that the bill could be improved and so that we as legislators could be saved the embarrassment of coming back here, having been informed by the people who really work in day-to-day life with these legislative pieces and prizes that we put together that it may not have worked at all in its first form.

It is as a result of that passage of time that the preparation of this bill has been aided. Mr Speaker, I bring to your attention that this legislation to help the cooperative movements in Ontario prosper, something the Liberal Party has been in favour of, the Conservative Party is in favour of, and the New Democratic Party is in favour of, is in a better form legislatively only because time passed and people could distil the essence from each of the printed sections in the first-read bills put before us. If this bill had come forward under the new rules, it is quite possible that the government, knowing it could prosecute this with reckless abandon quickly through this House, might very well have ended up with a piece of legislation that would not have been workable in the community.

On second reading and on third reading the leadoff speakers for each of the parties can take 90 minutes in total now. I just bring to your attention that the leadoff speaker for Bill 68 for the New Democrats took two hours and 50 minutes on November 14, 1989, and two hours and 50 minutes on November 15, 1989, for his leadoff remarks, well over five hours. In fact, it sounds desperately close to six hours of debate by one member on one bill for second reading.

One hour and 30 minutes was consumed by Mr Mackenzie on his first reading. That complies with the 90-minute strictures which are put on us now as leadoff speakers, but while the second and following speakers now can speak for but 30 minutes, in the old days of 1989 New Democratic Party opposition on Bill 68, the next speakers took considerably longer. Actually, on Bill 208—it's a better

example, in my view—fully two hours and 10 minutes were taken by the member for Nickel Belt on his second reading intervention, almost five times as long as we now can speak on second reading.

It is not necessary for the government to claim that it needs to muzzle the opposition. Oppositions in this place have been heard for over 100 years. I can attest to the fact, because I've read my own Hansard, that a lot of bad speeches have been made in this place. I've made a number of them myself; I fully admit that. But it is not for the government of the day to say it is trying to save any particular elected member from making bad speeches. It is for this House, this chamber, to listen to the speeches made by any member on any subject; sometimes, as under Bill 166, as we deal with third reading and about which I wish to pledge my support of the government's position and of the ministry's position to have it amended so that it will actually work when it gets out into the real world.

But yesterday and on previous days, on a bill about which we know there is tremendous angst in the province, the government decided that it would not only use the rules that were in this House but that it would create rules to be used to buffet the opposition members who would speak about the angst and controversy they have found in the community; not out of a sense of concern that there are some things to be changed in the Ontario labour relations amendment act, which will come again to us next week, but out of a sense that whatever we wished to say, there was not a single pearl of wisdom to be gleaned prior to us even making the statements.

I understand disagreements about important pieces of legislation. The member for Hamilton Mountain who sponsors the legislation we speak on today, Bill 166, was a critic of mine with respect to Bill 68, although he was slightly overshadowed, by a member whose name at the moment escapes me, in terms of length of speaking. Make no mistake, the member for Hamilton Mountain and I disagreed quite fervently about Bill 68. To his credit, he continues his opposition to the principle of that bill, as he has now placed himself in the minister's role of examining that legislative scheme. He has proposed Bill 164, which actually adopts Bill 68 in a sense but is—as he smiles at me knowingly—really a bit of a trap so he can dismantle the so-called Ontario motorist protection plan.

I did not stop the second reading debate on Bill 68 after three speakers by the New Democrats. I just read through that. To the New Democrats, Bill 68 had eight speakers. You know something, Mr Speaker? I didn't stop them after seven of those people had spoken for half an hour. Those people spoke for 13 hours and 50 minutes on a bill about which there was considerable disagreement. Let there be no misunderstanding. It was fully known by me, because before we got to our second reading debate, I had the privilege of replying to a whole series of interrogatories from the opposition of the day.

By the way, that 13 hours and 50 minutes was just New Democratic Party interventions. It was not counting the interventions of the member for Leeds-Grenville, whose opposition in some ways was much more heated than that of my friend the member for Hamilton Mountain.

I knew considerable time would be consumed, but we let those rules stand because we knew the public had to be included in a debate that would go through the entire bill to such an extent that we felt all its adequacies in our view, and inadequacies in the view of the opposition, could be discovered.

But that is not the way of the new world, of the rules that have been introduced by the current, sitting New Democratic Party, the government party of today, 1992, less than three years from the time we spoke about in regard to Bill 208 and Bill 68.

In a democracy, there can be agreement and there must be agreement. In fact, there has to be an agreement that when the majority speaks there will be an opportunity for the minority reasonably to join the discussion. Sometimes there are people who would debate whether some of the discussions around Bill 208 and another bill, which my colleague the member for York Centre was the minister for, Bill 162, were very reasonable at all. But at no time did you see the type of clamping of the opposition that you now see.

I bring Bill 166 forward as a very good example of how helpful the opposition can be under the old rules. We can help move forward things that are agreeable. We can help move forward things that don't have the controversy that is attached to other pieces of legislation. That there will be controversy is of course no surprise when major pieces of philosophically charged legislation are brought to this chamber.

It is the will of the government to bring its policies forward. It is in fact their responsibility. We have seen it bring forward its policies on Sunday shopping, which are interestingly contrasted in debate against those that were pledged in the election of 1990. They should bring those forward. Sunday shopping should be brought forward.

By the way, Mr Speaker, I ask you for assistance in this regard: Is the Sunday shopping bill still in front of the House? I've heard nary a word, since there has been some report that perhaps the government caucus is a little bit unsettled about having a second reading debate on that and ultimately a vote. I only ask for your assistance when you have a moment, not to press you to do anything particularly now.

1640

To get back to Bill 166, it is the way of this place to agree from time to time and assist, but when there is disagreement then there must be the forum for public debate. This is nothing more than a giant council chamber. We are nothing more than councillors from our area, if you want to compare us to municipal government.

I represent the riding of Bruce—a great county—on the shore of Lake Huron, with people whose interests are very precise, not always the same inside my own constituency. As I'm sure you find, as an elected member from S-D-G & East Grenville—whatever happened to Stormont, Dundas, Glengarry?—we know there isn't always agreement in our own areas, and the public knows there isn't always total agreement in our own constituencies, but we are charged to come here and represent their views in front of this chamber.

If I were speaking with respect to Bill 166 and its efforts, I should have been reminded, in second reading and committee of the whole and other places, about the noble history of cooperative activity in the riding of Bruce, and in my home county of Huron where the cooperatives have had a successful history, although a history not without its problems because the economy afflicts cooperatives every bit as much as it does the other types of business organizations.

I can't understand, if the government is prepared to accept our assistance and accept our invitation to suspend the rules so that we could deal with the very large number of amendments the government wishes to put in committee of the whole House, why it would not be more generous with respect to the areas in which we have legitimate disagreements. They are legitimate disagreements.

I don't ask every member of this House to believe the things that I believe. It's not possible. I come from my history. I've been raised in my environment. We grow because of that and we have particular biases because of that and we understand things because of our environment. I don't ask everybody to think the same way as I do, just as I don't expect anybody to agree with me all the time. In fact, as a House leader and as a minister you get to know rather quickly that this is an impossibility.

I do expect that when my disagreements are legitimate and my views are legitimately held that there is some ill which may be associated with public business brought here by the government, I can at least intervene in a way which is, although maybe not helpful to the government, helpful to me and my constituents. My intervention on Bill 166 in committee of the whole House, I think, was not only helpful to me and my constituents but also to the people in the government party because, I'll tell you, it was going to be a long afternoon if we had to insist on all those amendments being read word for word, time and time again by the member for Scarborough Centre, as lyrical as his attempt was to make those amendments sound.

From my point of view, because Bill 166 is an important piece of legislation for the cooperative movement and because we agreed here in this chamber, we moved it quickly under the old rules because of consensus and because there was a working relationship established between the minister, his parliamentary assistant and the people in the opposition. But the suggestion by the government party that where there are disagreements with respect to principle on bills, that where we assert there will be job losses if the existing package of reforms is brought forward by the member for Hamilton East, and because they disagree with that they will not allow us to put the case, seems to me to be a very bad expression of support for the parliamentary assistant being made by the New Democrats.

This bill is but an example of good cooperation. Bill 208 and Bill 68 from 1989 are examples of how long opposition parties could speak in the past on second reading; eight hours and five minutes by the New Democrats on Bill 208, 13 hours and 50 minutes by the New Democrats alone on second reading of Bill 68. But that is not the same affliction, which took me in Hamilton on a February night, which is afflicting me now. The audience is getting

bored and somebody says that it's her turn to speak. I would never give a note like that to a friend of mine, which the member for Mississauga South is. I can't believe it.

But I will sit down. My point is made. The old rules allowed this bill to go quickly. It will be passed under the new rules not because of the new rules, but because of a genuine sense of consensus, a genuine understanding that the public policy needs to be implemented and an understanding that the people from the ministry were able to take long enough to distil the sections that they first proposed and then discovered weren't workable. So the amended Bill 166 now takes its place, after our vote on third reading, as a good piece of public policy to aid in the cooperative movement in Ontario.

Bill 166 is an example of a great lesson when it comes to consensus. But when there is disagreement, what good examples Bills 208 and 68 from 1989 are that where there are genuine disagreements as to public policy and whether they are worthy of the public or not, then the lesson is: Let the debate carry. Let the members speak. If the policies are so vile, so bad, the problems will be found. If in fact there is nothing to be afraid of with respect to the policies, if they stand the test, then why can't they be allowed to be debated? What is the government afraid of with respect to the labour bill?

We all know the new rules have nothing to do with Bill 166. That bill could have passed anyway. It is all about jamming, pushing and shoving the Ontario Labour Relations Act amendments through this House so that nobody in the public will have time to distil the essence of the changes that are being proposed to the current bill in front of this House. In fact, we won't have time to do anything with respect to this bill whatsoever.

What we're talking about is an unwillingness of the government to let us disagree with it. They are quite prepared to take advantage of our goodwill and our cooperation under the old rules and pass Bill 166, but they are unprepared to allow us to disagree with them. In fact, they put new rules in place to prevent us from speaking, to prevent us from airing the problems we believe will beset this province if that bill goes through without change.

That's the lesson of Bill 166. It simply will stand the test of time when people review the record, that where there is cooperation and consensus, business can be done here quite quickly, but where the government decides in its wisdom that because there is some disagreement anticipated, it will shut debate away, that this place cannot work, no matter what the rules and no matter what the connivance at speeding our business. This is serious work, and just because one group thinks it is right doesn't mean it should shut us up or prevent us from airing our constituencies' opinions.

1650

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Owens: I'd like to thank the member for Bruce for his comments. While they were long and rambling and sometimes not always on topic, they were listened to closely.

I'd also like to thank the member for Bruce for his Siskel and Ebert analysis of the TV performance that took place, through the committee, of the whole process. I certainly agree it probably wasn't the most stimulating television that people could have been watching that evening. They could have been watching the constitutional debate or something more stimulating at that point.

I'd also like to take this opportunity to thank some groups that were involved in the process, the Cooperative Housing Federation of Toronto, the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario and the Ontario Worker Co-ops Association. Without their help and their assistance, the process that was begun when the member for Hamilton Mountain was sworn in, we would not be at this point today, which is to give third reading to this bill.

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): I caught most of the comments of my colleague the member for Bruce who over the course of the past, I guess it's now almost a month, has had probably the most challenging job in the entire Legislature: the job of serving as opposition House leader. Although I think his comments on Bill 166 were entirely appropriate, I think it's not too much to re-emphasize once again the major themes of his speech, that something very bad happened in this Legislature on June 4. From all accounts, the reason it happened was because the government had certain marching orders from the trade union movement to get the trade union bill passed as expeditiously as possible.

I don't know why that had to be done, but I know one thing for certain: The government's action in redesigning the rules of this place specifically to deal with the expeditious passage of one bill has poisoned this place in a way that I have never seen it poisoned. The great shame of it is that the Legislature had been operating relatively well, at least if you compare it with some of the other more controversial debates.

Second—again I reiterate this—in my own view the trade union bill has a number of strong things to commend it. It also has a number of weaknesses that I think will be debated when the government calls it back. But there was such a high degree of—I can only call it paranoia—that somehow the agenda of the Minister of Labour and the agenda of the trade union movement would be slightly diverted through the democratic process. That poison still infects us, and I simply want to commend my colleague the opposition House leader, the member for Bruce, for reiterating that fact in his remarks.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): I think what was most interesting about the comments made by the member for Bruce relates to the brouhaha, the dust-up that took place yesterday, the comments he made with respect to some of the members opposite and the length of time they took to comment on bills that came through the House when they sat in opposition. What I discovered was that this is a government that believes in opposition when it's in opposition. When it's in power it has no use for opposition. It has no use for anyone who wants to debate

or obstruct, or in some instances oppose legislation it brings forward.

I'm still very upset that yesterday the House leader for the government chose to drop his closure notice on the House because he didn't feel that the debate was proceeding as quickly as he'd like. The real joke of the whole situation was that he had the audacity to come in here and move a closure motion on this Parliament, on this House, when this party had but two speakers to the trade union bill, one of the most controversial, regressive bills they've brought forward to date, because they don't want the public to know. The new rules had been written, the ink wasn't even dry on those new rules and the government is already using them to usurp the opportunity of opposition to offer fair and credible debate to the bill.

I applaud the member for Bruce for putting forward those comments because when this government was in opposition, it wholeheartedly believed in opposition. The hypocrisy is astounding. Once they achieved government they wanted nothing to do with opposition, which is typical of socialists I've crossed paths with.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant, the honourable member for Cambridge.

Mr Mike Farnan (Cambridge): I sat in my place and I listened to the two-minute rant we've just heard from the member for Etobicoke West—

The Acting Speaker: I want to remind the honourable member we're speaking on the presentation of the member for Bruce.

Mr Farnan: That's precisely my point, Mr Speaker, that the comments of the previous speaker bore absolutely no relevance to the issue before the House. It really is disconcerting to hear opposition members claiming they don't have time and when they are given time they in fact refuse to address the issue that is being debated.

The Acting Speaker: This terminates questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Bruce has two minutes in response.

Mr Elston: I think what the honourable member for Cambridge forgot to say in his remarks was that since there are very few times when we're allowed to speak in this place any more, we will try at every turn to remind the people that this is not a place for debate. That is the lesson of Bill 166.

Bill 166 is going through this place and it's going through because we agree. There has been a lot of work done among the parties, and it works well that way. No matter what is done to the rules, unless there can be agreement and a free expression of concern, opposition in some cases and total opposition in other cases by people in this House, you cannot have a good product.

All I was saying was that Bill 166 benefited by the fact that it was allowed to sit for a while and people were allowed to digest what was being proposed. It wasn't me who found there was a need for amendments; it was in fact the ministry, which was doing its job, looking at it and receiving the replies from various people around the province who let it know there were things that wouldn't work practically.

In relation to the Ontario labour relations bill, there are things we want to put on the record that would suggest that the bill will practically be of no help to a current Ontario ravaged by unemployment, to an Ontario ravaged by a frustration with an economy that has turned down, to an Ontario and its economy which is turning people out of their homes and out of their jobs.

That's what we want to say and if we cannot say it in this place under the time for debate on that bill, then we will take every other opportunity to remind the people that we are not allowed to speak. That's what the member for Cambridge didn't understand about interjections by way of a two-minute speech by the member for Etobicoke West. I only hope we can learn the lesson Bill 166 has given us.

1700

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on third reading of Bill 166?

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): In rising today to speak to Bill 166, I must say that I appreciate very much the graciousness of the member for Bruce who actually curtailed his wonderful presentation to this House in order to afford me this opportunity. I am very grateful for that, Mr Elston, because as you so well expressed, it becomes increasingly difficult to rise in this House now and speak on any matter, let alone the matter before us right at this moment.

When we deal with the subject of housing cooperatives, as Bill 166 does, I think it reinforces once more, at least for us Progressive Conservatives, the concern we have about the whole approach this socialist government has on the subject of housing.

The problem with cooperative housing schemes is that the people who are in the greatest need are not looked after. As I've said so many times, we all recognize that Queen's Park isn't a money tree. There are no money trees outside on the front lawn. There's no way the members of any party in this House, I would suggest, let alone the government of the day, whichever that government happens to be from time to time, have extremely deep pockets with no bottoms which they can just keep reaching into and getting more and more money. The fact is that the money any government has to work with is the money earned by the people in this province who, through their income tax, provide the government with revenues.

Of course there are also other forms of revenues the government has, but whether it's through income tax, employer health tax, tire tax or highway traffic licensing requirements—motor vehicles, driver's licences—whatever it is we pay to the government of Ontario where the cheque says "the province of Ontario" on it, that's money out of the pockets of the people who work here to the province, namely, the government of the day, to do the business of the province.

When we recognize that this money is earned by the people of this province through blood, sweat and tears in a lot of situations, and in a situation such as we have in the province today with a very high level of unemployment, then the burden for those people who are still working becomes even greater.

What we have to do if we are a responsible government is decide how best to spend the money we have. What is the best approach to deal with the needs of the people of the province with the money we have? I would suggest that the government we have today has a very serious difficulty in recognizing that simple fact. They have a great deal of difficulty in recognizing that the government cannot spend more than it takes in in revenue from all the tax sources out of the pockets of the people of Ontario.

Having said that, we have an even greater problem with this socialist government because it has a particular ideological bent, which means it wants to be in a situation where everything is government-owned and government-run and generally encompasses its very strong ties to the unionized workforce.

When we look at this subject, Bill 166, and look at the subject of cooperative housing we have to decide whether even in the provision of affordable housing this is working. I'd like to tell you why it isn't working. It isn't working because of the number of reports that have identified that if the government is going to provide cooperative projects, housing projects are not the way to go.

In case the government members might suspect that these ideas are my own, I think it's fair for me to relate to other sources of confirmation of this argument I'm presenting.

First of all, when we're dealing with non-profit housing corporations, let's bear in mind that I stand here as someone who would rather see direct shelter subsidy programs than rent controls. I mention that because the government is always in this position where it says, "The government has to build housing because the private sector is not." I simply say that nobody in his right mind in the private sector would build housing while there are rent controls in place.

But I also say, very quickly following up on that, that there are many people who have to be protected as to the cost of their housing. While rent controls are a blanket protection on an entire building, rent controls do not look at the people who live in that building. So we have situations where a rent-controlled building has people in it for whom even the existing rents are too much, but we have in the same building double- and triple- income families living in those rental apartments; maybe the income is \$100,000 or \$150,000 in some cases, but they're in a rent-controlled building.

What we say is that this simply isn't fair. It isn't fair because while those people are all protected, the people with the six-figure incomes unnecessarily, we are not having any other new construction of rental housing. So what's left? What is left is the government thinks it has to get into the housing business?

Part of the housing business the government gets into is non-profit housing and cooperative housing. Bill 166 before us today deals with cooperative housing. Non-profit housing corporations have a very different ratio of subsidy than does cooperative housing. For the most part, since 1986 both municipal and private non-profit housing corporations have been required to allocate their new units as follows: 40% deep subsidy, another 40% shallow subsidy and only 20% market rents.

I haven't been able to ascertain the rent-geared-to-income ratios for co-ops, but I plan to get this information very soon. I did not know until about the middle of today, perhaps two to three hours ago, that the order for today's business in the House had been changed. As you know, the order that was printed for today's business in the House was that we were to debate the motion of closure.

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): Draconian.

Mrs Marland: The draconian motion for closure, as my friend the member for Mississauga West so well says, the motion for closure shutting out the debate on the bill that was before the House yesterday, namely Bill 40, the amendments to the labour laws of this province.

Having recognized that the business for the House today was to debate the closure motion, I came into the House expecting to speak on that motion. That's the explanation about why I'm now speaking on Bill 166—because the government House leader changed the business of the House—and I do not have all the facts in front of me.

What I want to say is that although I don't have the rent-geared-to-income ratios for co-ops, none the less I have a very interesting article in a tabloid called Eye magazine. It states: "An internal government study shows that only 20% of poor people in 'deep' need of assisted housing get into government-subsidized co-ops. Instead, more than 60% of co-op residents have salaries ranging from \$35,000 to \$50,000 per year." In other words, the government's recent allocation of 6,500 non-profit units to the co-op sector only is a subsidy to the middle class rather than to those most in need of assisted housing.

1710

I know we have one member in this House, a government member, who lives in co-op housing and I know, since that member is a parliamentary assistant, that his income is probably in the range of \$75,000 a year. Obviously this is proof that we have facts to support the argument this magazine makes that there are people, in fact 60% of co-op residents, with salaries ranging from \$35,000 to \$50,000 a year. It's simply outrageous that 60% of co-op residents are not in deep need.

It's also important to understand that we have to find an alternative to co-op housing and, as our Progressive Conservative Party has been saying for about 12 months now, we have that alternative. We have the alternative where the public is protected when they need help with their rent. They are protected in a far more realistic way than rent controls and the good part about this is if we phase out rent controls and give direct shelter subsidies to the people who need them, then we open the free market system and the private sector gets back to building rental accommodation.

One of the quotes in this article from Eye magazine dated July 2 is attributable to the Housing minister, Evelyn Gigantes. She actually "acknowledged that the province now spends more than \$2.5 billion"—billion dollars, I emphasize—"per year on shelter allowances for Ontario's 281,000 recipients of social assistance, but said that public

housing was needed because the private sector was not building any rental accommodation."

Every time the Housing minister says the private sector isn't building rental accommodation, it's a slam on the private sector. I don't care whether you have \$25,000 or \$250 million to invest, I don't think anybody in their right mind would put one penny in private sector rental accommodation as long as the rent controls restrict any growth on that investment. You'd be better to leave it in your bank account, even at today's rates.

This slam about the private sector not building any rental accommodation is very misleading for the public, because the public has to understand that it will never happen. Private sector rental accommodation will never be built again in this province unless there is some return for the investment. It's like anything else, it's a business. Why should somebody put their money in any kind of business if there's no return for that investment?

The point is that with this socialist ideology we're dealing with on the subject of housing, which again is emphasized in this Bill 166 before us this afternoon, it is what the Housing minister, Evelyn Gigantes, doesn't say.

"What she didn't say was that government-subsidized housing is some of the most expensive housing around and that her government's policies would be of little help to the 53,000 families on waiting lists for affordable housing across Ontario."

I've given examples before in this House about exactly what those subsidies are, and I just want to quickly put three of them on the record.

"The new United Achievers project in Brampton will cost \$1,151 per month for each of its 152 units. In Etobicoke, construction has started on 336 new units that will have an average subsidy of \$1,140 per month.

"But the most expensive recent example is the Woodgreen Community project on Coxwell Avenue that was opened in April by ex-co-op dweller and local cabinet minister Marilyn Churley.

"There are 11 bachelor apartments, each subsidized by neighbouring taxpayers to the tune of \$1,924 per month," while the average rent for a bachelor apartment in Toronto right now is \$490 a month. While I say that's what the average rent is, I tell you also that the vacancy rate is 4%, so it isn't that this housing doesn't exist. Why is it that we're interested in cooperative housing—and I've already said that 60% of the people who get into our housing co-ops aren't even in deep need financially—that we're subsidizing building new bachelor apartments at \$1,924 a month when you can go out and rent them for \$490 a month? Where does the government get off spending the public money this way? When we're talking about that being the subsidy, if all of the units in a project aren't subsidized, then that isn't even the total rent.

Here is the big crunch, and this really applies to this bill before us today. This article goes on to say:

"Of course, all these subsidized units are being occupied by poor people, right? Wrong.

"According to the Social Assistance Review Committee (SARC), chaired by former judge and now Deputy Attorney General George Thomson, only 18% of social assistance

recipients get to live in publicly subsidized housing." Isn't that interesting?

On the one hand, the government says, "Oh, you know, we can't let the private sector build rental accommodation, because we can't help them in their business by giving direct shelter subsidies to people to go and rent their own apartment in a private building." At the same time that the government says, "No, it's wrong, because we just can't spend government money in a private building for rental accommodation," we have confirmed that of all the millions of dollars and thousands of people who are subsidized through the social assistance system, they are subsidized in private sector housing.

The thing I've said before is that I think it's totally wrong that we force people who cannot afford their own housing to live in government housing, "the building down the street that's built by the government," the building that's recognized by everybody as being the government housing project. People have to move out of their own communities to go and access an apartment in a government housing building if there isn't one in their own community.

If we had rent subsidies, direct shelter subsidies, for people who are eligible through a means test, the people who are in the deepest need would get the help. If we had that system, those people could go and find the apartments where they want to live.

Maybe they're elderly. Maybe they're young people with a family and they don't want to move their children out of their school or their church community or they want to be near stores or transportation, or whatever it is. They have a choice of where they live. They have a choice and I don't think we should be controlling poor people who can't afford to buy their own accommodation or can't afford the full rent. I don't think we should be saying to those people: "Well, you can only live in one place. You can only live in a government-owned apartment building."

1720

I think another thing we have to recognize is a very important quote in this Eye magazine of July 2, 1992. It says here:

"A senior Housing ministry official, who asked not to be identified, said 'not many black single mothers get into co-ops.' This official called co-op housing a massive subsidy to the middle class, who can afford to pay market rents.

"On the other hand, non-profit housing sponsored by churches and municipalities, which contain a minimum of 40% of people in 'deep' financial need, will get fewer units because co-ops will get a bigger share."

Isn't that unjust, to think that anyone is placed in a position, because of their own inability to pay at the time, that when they can't afford market rents, we are saying to them, "Well, of course we have housing co-op programs such as referred to in this Bill 166 but really they're for the middle class"?

I want to tell you of something else this article refers to, because I think this is one of the really scary parts of this whole system of cooperative housing projects that this bill refers to. "In the past," according to this article—and this is not, of course, the first time I have read this; it's not the first time we have heard this—"all proposed projects

went through a rigorous process of review by ministry officials to decide which ones would get approved. Under Gigantes, the minister's office now approves all projects. Her office deletes projects that have gone through normal channels and adds others that have not.

"One official says people who are turned down by the ministry just 'laugh at us and say they will go to the minister's office to get approved.'"

"As reported last month in Eye weekly, Minnie DeJong, special assistant to Gigantes, participates in decisions about funding allocations to build government-assisted housing. A major recipient of this funding, in the form of 'sector support fees,' is the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario...where her husband, Richard Tyssen is the manager of policy and program development."

I simply say to you, Mr Speaker, that when you hear some of the stories that are going around and you read some of the research that has been done by some journalists about what's going on in the Housing ministry and in the housing policies of this socialist government, I would suggest that it's pretty scary, discomfiting stuff.

There are two other quotes that I want to give, and then I want to be very brief and tell you about a concern that Bill 166 has overall in the provision of housing.

As part of the pre-budget consultations, a delegation from the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario met with Gigantes and other senior officials to make its case for more government-assisted co-ops. Yet despite the cost to taxpayers, poor people on waiting lists for housing will get fewer of these new units than they need because the co-op sector will get more. Once again, poor people who truly need subsidized housing are being pushed aside in favour of co-op dwellers who can afford to live elsewhere. Something is wrong with government-assisted housing programs that subsidize the middle class, while those in real need are ignored.

This article is written by a former senior government official and lobbyist at Queen's Park and the concerns that are referred to in that article that I have to get on the record are not only his. When we talk about co-op housing as a provision of affordable housing in this province, as this Bill 166 addresses, I think it's important for us to look at how this money is being spent.

I cannot emphasize enough that in the Progressive Conservative Party we want to help the most number of people it is feasible to help with the amount of money that's available. What we're simply saying is that isn't what's happening today in Ontario. We spend government money building co-ops and 60% of the people in them don't have to live there; they can afford to live somewhere else.

The Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp is the oldest and largest non-profit housing corporation in Canada. They have a policy whereby the people who most need to be in their units are the people who are in them. They don't have a policy where 60% of the residents could afford to live elsewhere. I have here a press release of June 23 where the Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp is very concerned about the fact that—I'll just tell you the statement that's made here because the statement is made by the president of the Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp, Councillor Maja Prentice, who

is the councillor for ward 3 in the city of Mississauga and on the region of Peel council.

Maja Prentice says: "Ontario Housing Minister Evelyn Gigantes's recent announcement that the province would subsidize the building of 6,500 new non-profit homes in the co-op sector only is a major disappointment for Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp....

"The allocation"—I'm continuing to quote her statement—"of a total of 469 units to private non-profit and co-operative housing organizations...in the region of Peel was welcome, but this fell far short of recognizing the growth in needs in Peel."

Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp did not receive any units in this recent round of allocations or in the previous 3,500 units announced last October. "According to Roger Maloney, commissioner of housing and general manager of PNPHC, this decision is hard to accept when PNPHC has a waiting list that has climbed to 8,300 households"—not 8,300 people, 8,300 households—"clearly demonstrating the immense housing needs of the growing region" of Peel.

1730

What is the answer? Is the answer Bill 166, where we facilitate housing cooperatives? I don't think so. The answer, as I have said before, is direct rent subsidies, direct shelter subsidies for those people who need it most. But if this government isn't willing to do that, then at least it must be foremost and very honest with the public and say, "Look, we're going to give as much money as we can afford to the people who need it the most."

But that is not happening. When the Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp doesn't receive any of 3,500 units announced last October and doesn't receive any of 6,500 announced recently this year, and all of those are going to co-op housing projects, then I suggest it's time this government, particularly the Housing minister, got out into the real world and understood what is going on.

"All housing groups in Peel combined received only 7% of the total provincial allocations...while groups in Metropolitan Toronto received 58%." If you want to know why these figures are so significant, it is that: "In contrast, Peel has a population one third the size of Metro and has grown by 24% in the last five years—six times Metro's 4%. Peel has also added 140,000 new households, 80% more than the 83,000 new households in Metro." Isn't that interesting? Metro has grown by 4% and the region of Peel has grown by 24%.

Mr Sorbara: Yet they're not getting the trade union dollars.

Mrs Marland: As the member for York Centre has said, maybe it's because Peel isn't getting the trade union dollars. That's quite possible.

"Maloney also questions the ministry's decision to allocate the bulk of this allocation to the cooperative sector, stating that the municipal non-profit corporations such as PNPHC serve the broadest community needs possible and target the highest percentage of households in need."

It's really depressing to have people who are out there trying to provide housing for people who need it most and

who understand what's going on—I mean, the people in Peel who know that their growth has been 24% in the last five years while Metro's has been 4%. How is it then that Metro gets this major allocation and the allocation is only to cooperatives? It's not to non-profit that looks after the larger and deeper needs of people who are poor. We're not talking about people who earn \$35,000 to \$50,000 a year; we're talking about people who are poor.

I also have a letter from Roger Maloney as president of the Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association. I didn't realize until I received this letter that Roger, who is commissioner of housing for the region of Peel and also general manager of the Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp—maybe, Mr Mahoney, you knew this, but I didn't know this—is president of the Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association. Did you know that?

Mr Mahoney: Yes, I did.

Mrs Marland: Since I told you, you knew it, right?

Mr Mahoney: No, no. I knew before. Roger and I are very close.

Mrs Marland: Anyway, this letter is dated April 27, 1992, and he's referring to the Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association's Update on the State of Housing in Ontario from the Perspective of Renter Households. This report "highlights the devastating impact the recession is having on people, thereby creating a greater need for non-profit housing. The report shows that a record number of people have lost their jobs—20,000 permanent jobs were lost in 1990, close to double the number of workers laid off in 1982 during the last recession.

"The report further states that Ontario's unemployment rate has increased from 6.3% in 1990 to 9.6% in 1991. Welfare rates have also increased dramatically by close to 72,000 people in 1991. A result of all this is the fact that non-profit housing waiting lists are soaring—up 17% from last year to an estimated 117,000 households. We estimate that more than 400,000 households in Ontario need non-profit housing.

"At the same time, studies show a need for 17,000 to 25,000 new rental units per year over the next four years. If this need for rental units is to be met, it will have to be done primarily through non-profit housing."

This is where Mr Maloney and I part company. First of all, I don't question the facts he's given here about the number of unemployed and the number of people who need subsidized housing. Those facts are absolutely accurate. But what Mr Maloney is saying is that if the need for rental units is to be met, it has to be done primarily through non-profit housing.

I say to the member for Etobicoke West, who was making a comment while I was speaking a moment ago—since he's one of my colleagues I think he was concerned about where I might be going with Mr Maloney's letter. But what Mr Maloney's letter points out is that the non-profit housing system is not the answer, because it's simply not affordable. It's not affordable for the overall taxpayers in this province.

However, as I keep emphasizing, we do have an alternative. We're saying, "Give us those dollars and we will

find for people accommodation of their choice." In other words, if we need 17,000 to 25,000 new rental units per year for the next four years, the way we can get it is to phase out the rent controls while we protect the people who need protection.

If we do that, then two things happen. The government doesn't have to spend money building rental apartments, and the millions of dollars—from the minister's own words, \$2.5 billion that is spent supporting non-profit housing projects that exist today—that money—obviously not all of it. The money that's already with existing buildings has to stay with it, but rather than putting new money into new buildings owned and operated by the government, we take that money and we give it, through a direct shelter subsidy program, to those people who need it.

In other words, if I can afford \$200 a month rent and the rent in a private sector building is \$600, or whatever the figures are—the figures don't matter, I'm just giving an example. Maybe my income is \$45,000 a year and I have three children to support and I can only afford \$200 or \$300 a month rent, but the apartment I need to house my wife and my three children is \$600 or \$700 a month. For \$500 a month subsidy, the difference between what I can afford and what I need to rent that apartment, \$500 a month, I can rent the apartment, first of all, that I need. I can choose where it is. I can choose where I want to live, and the government doesn't have to invest tax dollars building another apartment building. The private sector will build it.

If we're looking at people on fixed incomes—our seniors, our elderly, our frail, our disabled, all the categories of people we agree we need to support and protect—if we look at all these people who need support and protection in terms of the cost of housing, it can all be done through direct shelter subsidies and the government can get out of this business of housing.

1740

For people like the Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp, who have 8,300 households—Mr Maloney says in his letter. How many does he say? He's got 400,000 households in Ontario that need non-profit housing. What Mr Maloney is saying is that 400,000 families can't afford to pay the rent that is in the market today for their accommodation. They can't afford it.

We acknowledge that but we're saying, don't have the government build and the public pay for that construction and the ongoing subsidy of those units for ever. What we're saying is, of those 400,000 households, let the private sector build the units and we'll give those individual households the difference between what they can afford and what the rent costs in these private sector buildings.

What difference is there between renting accommodation in a private sector building, as I said a few minutes ago—if you're on social assistance and you can find an apartment building in a private sector building, social assistance will give you the cheque for your rent if you're eligible for social assistance. They don't give you a cheque and say, "You can only rent in a non-profit building." Do you know the reason they don't do that? It's because there aren't enough and there doesn't need to be.

They can rent where they choose to live, in the community where they choose to be, with their family, friends, relatives and churches, whatever. As I've said, they can live in the community of their choice with a government shelter subsidy if they can't afford the rent.

In the meantime, of these 400,000 households that supposedly need non-profit housing because there's no other alternative, 8,300 of those households are on a waiting list today in the region of Peel. Today in the region of Peel they're shut out for any units of allocation from this socialist government that's decided it's more equitable to allocate units for cooperative housing projects in which, as I have already addressed, some 60% of the people do not have to be there. In other words, 60% of the people in cooperative housing units today could afford to be somewhere else.

I simply say that something is wrong with a system where we are subsidizing bachelor apartments at \$1,924 when you can rent them in the marketplace for \$490 a month. Why would we consider spending taxpayers' money building more of these buildings so we can subsidize fewer people, because we'll never be able to build—what have we just heard, that the allocation right now is 6,500 units? We've been told there are 400,000 households on the waiting list, so we'll never be able to meet the need in this system we've got going now. We'll never be able to look after the people who need this housing. They need it so desperately because they can't afford any other housing.

We'll never be able to meet the need with the system that's going today. It's not working, so if it's not working, let's find something that will work, and take the same taxpayers' dollars and look after four or five times the number of people.

If you spend \$1,924 a month, government subsidy, taxpayers' money, for that bachelor apartment, and I've just said you could rent four apartments for that same price right away, it is criminal that we are not managing—excuse me; not us, it's that this government is not managing the existing resources it has. It's totally irresponsible for them to play this game where they want the world to think it's the only political party that ever cared about the public and that it's the only political party that ever worried about where we were going in terms of caring for the people who have the greatest need.

It's a sham when you spend \$2,000 on housing for one person, when for the same investment you could house four families that could afford to pay maybe \$200 or \$300 a month themselves. Give them \$500 a month to go towards what they can afford, and for \$800 or \$900 a month they could probably rent a luxury condominium. We had an example where luxury condominiums were being rented for \$900 and \$1,000 a month.

I simply say, in reference to this bill before us today, that anything before this House that deals with housing co-ops is not something we support, because it's an absolute sham. It isn't working. It's using taxpayers' money to house a percentage of people, and in the case of co-op housing it's not even a percentage of people in deepest need. That's the criminal part. That's the totally irresponsible part. Not my figures; not my argument—reports support that

argument. It's not a politically partisan statement I'm making here. There are enough reports out now that will tell you we are not housing the poor; we are housing people who can afford to house themselves elsewhere. Is that just? I would suggest to you that it is not just.

Do you remember when Jack Layton and—

Mr Sorbara: Dale Martin.

Mrs Marland: Dale Martin was in a co-op? No, pardon me.

Mr Stockwell: Churley was too. She still lives there.

Mrs Marland: Jack Layton lived in a housing cooperative and the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, Marilyn Churley, lived in a housing cooperative. When Ms Churley, the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, lived in a co-op, I don't know what her income or what her husband's income was.

Mr Stockwell: She was a cabinet minister.

Mrs Marland: Oh. I've just been told she lived in a housing co-op when she was a minister, and a minister earns \$84,000. So if a minister who earns \$84,000 a year, or when another one of the great friends of this New Democratic Party, Jack Layton, the former councillor for the city of Toronto, with his income plus that of his wife, Ms Chow, was living in a housing co-op, doesn't it show you something? Doesn't it tell you that the system is a sham? It doesn't work. The people who need that housing are not in there. A minister who earns \$84,000 a year is living in a housing co-op.

Interjections.

Mrs Marland: Mr Speaker, I'm getting lots of help and lots of coaching with my speech. I'm glad I'm coming to the end of it, and in fairness to the members in the House who want to respond to my wonderful presentation—ho, ho, ho, ha, ha—I think I would like to finish at this point and simply say that the system isn't working, the money isn't being spent properly. Most people are not being looked after who could be for the same money, without adding any more money. I'm simply saying that we could house four or five times the number of people without housing co-ops. We don't need Bill 166.

1750

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Ms Christel Haeck (St Catharines-Brock): Normally I would just allow these comments to fly—

Mr Mahoney: Your mike isn't on.

Ms Haeck: I noticed that.

The member who has just spoken has perpetrated a number of comments which I note reflect very negatively on co-op housing. I will state my bias right up front. I was for four and a half years the president of the incorporating board that in fact created St Catharines community co-op, 412 Louth Street in St Catharines, which is a very successful co-op housing 60 families with a range of units, housing seniors, the disabled community and a number of people who are in very serious economic need.

But the overriding premise in creating any co-op housing project is to create a neighbourhood, to in fact create a

community of mixed incomes, so that not only do you have, as the member for Mississauga South would like to indicate, those people who have a deep need, as many Ontario housing projects do create, but you have a mixed community which provides a range of supports for people who have problems.

Problems with finances allow people to take responsibility for their housing, and everything that has been said so far would allow the public to believe that somehow these people are getting something they don't deserve. In fact that is far, far from the case. These projects are successful and should be continued.

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: The member for St Catharines-Brock had a problem with her microphone and was deprived of 30 seconds of time. I for one, and I think many opposition members, believe the right to speak in this place is very precious. Would you reinstate that 30 seconds on the clock for her?

The Acting Speaker: It is not a point of order. I believe the member for St Catharines-Brock—

Ms Haeck: I would concede to give it to the member for Eglinton actually.

The Acting Speaker: Thank you. Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Robert V. Callahan (Brampton South): I'd like to comment on the question about Peel Non-Profit, because I can tell you, as I think can any member of whatever stripe who serves in Peel that when the call goes out to help families with children where the alternative is some seedy hotel, Roger Maloney comes to our assistance. Peel Non-Profit is probably the classic corporation that deals with serving the region of Peel in terms of non-profit housing.

I had to say to myself, when I looked at the allocations that were being made, as were referred to by my colleague the member for Mississauga South, that there had to be some reason why Peel Non-Profit did not get its share of cooperative housing. I have to think to myself that there can be no other reason than perhaps this was a way of strapping the people of Peel for having not voted for an NDP member.

Could it be that the Premier of this province would allow that to take place, that in fact he would allow allocations to take place throughout Metro because that's where he thought he won a few seats, instead of doing it in Peel, where the need was great? There are 8,300 households in need of housing in Peel. Shame on the Minister of Housing for using pure political reasons to allocate housing when there are people who can't get housing in the region of Peel and can't be serviced through a corporation that has shown in its track record that it can effectively create and monitor along the lines of not allowing people to remain in there if in fact their income goes up. That housing is for people who are in need, not for people who are not in need. When you create cooperative housing, if you don't have that policing, how can you possibly undertake that those people will in fact be those in most need?

I suggest to you, Mr Speaker, along with my friend the member for Mississauga South, that Peel Non-Profit

should have got its fair share. The Minister of Housing should not have played rotten politics with the allocations.

Mr Stockwell: I'd like to compliment the member on her short speech about cooperative housing and the problems with it.

I think this is going to be one of those issues that will come to the front in the 1990s. Co-op housing simply doesn't work. In my opinion, it will actually rival in a few short years that of the Workers' Compensation Board. It will become a black hole, a cesspool for taxpayers' money. Its deficits in future years will become legendary. You can just look in the budgets at its growth in previous years. It was a few hundred million 10 years ago and it's literally rivalling the billions. By the time they leave government, it will be \$2 billion, \$3 billion, \$4 billion.

The difficulty is that those people who need the help aren't serviced in cooperative housing. They're not being served. If your subsidy level is 25% to 40%, most people who are in there are predominantly middle and upper-income-earning people who don't need subsidies, who are getting subsidies from the government to the tune of thousands of dollars per month. Any system that supports wealthy and middle-income earners in their lodgings is absurd.

Third, this government won't do away with cooperative housing because the groups are made up predominantly of or inundated with the NDP. The people who facilitate, the consultants, all the people throughout the cooperative housing programs are NDPers. They are socialists and they use this as a springboard to organize and co-op certain areas of ridings.

It will be uncovered in the next couple of years. The money will astound taxpayers, and it will be proved to be what it is, an absolute sham. It's a total waste of money; not total—there is some assistance—but it's a colossal waste of money and it will be uncovered in the not-too-distant future.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant. The honourable member for Yorkview.

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): I don't know where the previous speaker got his information from, but I'd like to find out. If they're New Democrats, I'd like to know who they are, because I certainly would like to sign them up in my community.

I will tell you, Mr Speaker, as well as the previous speaker, that I've always been an advocate of co-op and non-profit housing. I've been an advocate because I know that 25 or 30 years ago we made a mistake. By segregating people, we made a big mistake. I know that at first hand, because my community has a lot of public housing and I know the repercussions that come out of public housing. There's no question about it.

I can tell you that the walls that have been built over the 25 or 30 years between ratepayers and the people on social assistance, those who need subsidized housing, are immense. Those walls are huge. And I can tell you that previous governments have not done anything to break those walls down. However, we are. Co-op housing takes those walls down. By understanding the culture,

by understanding the person, by living with the people, you understand them. Putting them into a corner and saying, "This is your spot, this is the area of the city you have to live in," is wrong. It was a mistake 30 years ago; it's a mistake now. Co-op housing is a way out.

Personally, working for the Ministry of Housing for 14 years, I have been an advocate of perhaps even converting our Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority complexes into co-op, non-profit housing.

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Mississauga South has two minutes in response.

Mrs Marland: I say to the member for St Catharines-Brock that the people she's concerned about—she mentioned seniors, disabled, single parents, families—those are the people, had she had the opportunity to hear what I was saying, that I'm concerned about. But I'm more concerned, I respectfully suggest to her, than she is because what I'm saying is, instead of building a unit that is subsidized at \$2,000 for one family, don't build it, let the private sector build it, and give those families the rent subsidy they need between what they can afford and what the private sector rent is. It's not a difficult formula.

The member for Yorkview suggests that I'm in favour of segregation. That's the absolute opposite to what I'm saying, but when you build housing cooperatives and non-profit housing projects—whatever name you want to give it—it is equivalent to Ontario Housing. Is it right that those people are segregated and is it right that when you have a cooperative housing building, every single unit in that building is subsidized? If you don't understand that, then you don't understand how it works.

The member in this House, whom I've chosen deliberately today not to identify, told us, when we discussed this two or three weeks ago, what the subsidy was on his co-op. I think he said it was \$91 a month. This is a member who earns \$75,000 a year. I simply say to you, is it right that all units are subsidized when those people who are living in them can afford accommodation elsewhere?

The Acting Speaker: Is there likely to be further debate on the third reading of Bill 166?

Interjection: Is there any further debate?

The Acting Speaker: Is there likely to be further—

Mr Sorbara: Oh, yes.

The Acting Speaker: There is likely to be further debate. Therefore, I am looking for the chief government whip for next week's schedule.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Hon Shirley Coppen (Minister without Portfolio): Pursuant to standing order 53, I would like to indicate the business of the House for the coming week. On Monday, July 13, Tuesday, July 14, Wednesday, July 15, and Thursday, July 16, we will deal with the following items:

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 40, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Collective Bargaining and Employment; resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 23, An Act to amend the Colleges Collective

Bargaining Act; third reading on Bill 27, An Act to amend the Education Act and certain other Acts in respect of School Board Finance;

second reading of Bill 26, An Act to provide for the Regulation of Gaming Services; second reading of Bill 162, An Act to amend the Game and Fish Act; third reading of Bill 150, An Act to provide for the Creation and Registration of Labour Sponsored Venture Capital Corporations to Invest in Eligible Ontario Businesses and to make certain other amendments;

second reading of Bill 168, An Act to amend the Pay Equity Act; second reading of Bill 169, An Act to amend the Public Service Act and the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act; second reading of Bill 164, An Act to

amend the Insurance Act and certain other Acts in respect of Automobile Insurance and other Insurance Matters;

second reading of Bill 75, An Act respecting Annexation to the city of London and to certain municipalities in the county of Middlesex; second reading of Bill 61, An Act respecting Algonquin and Ward's Islands and respecting the Stewardship of the Residential Community on the Toronto Islands; second reading of Bill 38, An Act to amend the Retail Business Holidays Act in respect of Sunday Shopping.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Thank you. It now being past 6 of the clock, this House will stand adjourned until Monday, July 13, at 1:30 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 1804.

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for substance abuse strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie pour la prévention de la toxicomanie
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Sillipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Phillip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziemba, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/I.'hon Floyd	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	
Northumberrland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaitre, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/ ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for substance abuse strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie pour la prévention de la toxicomanie

**COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
COMITÉS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE**

STANDING COMMITTEES/COMITÉS PERMANENTS

Administration of justice/Administration de la justice

Chair/Président: Mike Cooper

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mark Morrow

Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Jenny Carter, Robert Chiarelli, Mike Cooper, Alvin Curling, Charles Harnick, Steven W. Mahoney, Gary Malkowski, Mark Morrow, Robert W. Runciman, Paul Wessinger, David Winninger

Clerk/Greffier: Lisa Freedman

Estimates/Budgets des dépenses

Chair/Président: Cameron Jackson

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Margaret Marland

Members/Membres: Gilles Bisson, Gary Carr, Ron Eddy, Will Ferguson, Robert Frankford, Wayne Lessard, Lawrence O'Connor, Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay

Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

Finance and economic affairs/

Finances et affaires économiques

Chair/Président: Ron Hansen

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Kimble Sutherland

Members/Membres: Elinor Caplan, Gary Carr, David Christopherson, Norm Jamison, Monte Kwinter, Gerry Phillips, Norman W. Sterling, Brad Ward, Margery Ward, Jim Wiseman

Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

General government/Affaires gouvernementales

Chair/Président: Michael A. Brown

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Carman McClelland

Members/Membres: Ted Arnott, Will Ferguson, Derek Fletcher, Margaret H. Harrington, Randy R. Hope, George Mammoliti, Rosario Marchese, Bill Murdoch, Dianne Poole, John Sola

Clerk/Greffier: Deborah Deller

Government agencies/Organismes gouvernementaux

Chair/Président: Robert W. Runciman

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Allan K. McLean

Members/Membres: James J. Bradley, Jenny Carter, John C. Cleary, Will Ferguson, Robert Frankford, Bernard C. Grandmaître, Rosario Marchese, Chris Stockwell, Daniel Waters, Jim Wiseman

Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Legislative Assembly/Assemblée législative

Chair/Président: Noel Duignan

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mike Farnan

Members/Membres: Mike Cooper, Paul R. Johnson, Margaret Marland, Irene Mathyssen, Carman McClelland, Gord Mills, Gilles E. Morin, Stephen Owens, Barbara Sullivan, Noble Villeneuve

Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Ombudsman/Ombudsman

Chair/Président: Mark Morrow

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Christel Haeck

Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Dennis Drainville, Noel Duignan, D. James Henderson, Paul R. Johnson, Frank Miclash, Bill Murdoch, Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay, Elizabeth Witmer

Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

Public accounts/Comptes publics

Chair/Président: Remo Mancini

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Joseph Cordiano

Members/Membres: Robert V. Callahan, W. Donald Cousens, Noel Duignan, Robert Frankford, Christel Haeck, Pat Hayes, Paul R. Johnson, Lawrence O'Connor, David Tilson

Clerk/Greffier: Tannis Manikel

Regulations and private bills/

Règlements et projets de loi privés

Chair/Président: Drummond White

Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Ellen MacKinnon

Members/Membres: George Dadamo, Ron Eddy, Mike Farnan, Ron Hansen, W. Leo Jordan, Gord Mills, Tony Ruprecht, John Sola, Kimble Sutherland, Jim Wilson

Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

Resources development/Développement des ressources

Chair/Président: Peter Kormos

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Daniel Waters

Members/Membres: Sean G. Conway, George Dadamo, Bob Huget, W. Leo Jordan, Paul Klopp, Dalton J.P. McGuinty, Sharon Murdock, Steven Offer, David Turnbull, Len Wood

Clerk/Greffier: Harold Brown

Social development/Affaires sociales

Chair/Président: Charles Beer

Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Hans Daigeler

Members/Membres: Dennis Drainville, Joan M. Fawcett, Tony Martin, Irene Mathyssen, Yvonne O'Neill, Stephen Owens, Drummond White, Gary Wilson, Jim Wilson, Elizabeth Witmer

Clerk/Greffier: Lynn Mellor



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Second Session, 35th Parliament

Assemblée législative de l'Ontario

Deuxième session, 35^e législature

Official Report of Debates (Hansard)

Monday 13 July 1992

Journal des débats (Hansard)

Lundi 13 juillet 1992

Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Monday 13 July 1992

The House met at 1332.

Prayers.

MEMBERS' STATEMENTS

CROP DAMAGE

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): In the early part of July of this year, farmers in the Niagara Peninsula faced some rather devastating news and devastating circumstances. They have experienced severe problems over the past few years. Members know that the effect of the free trade agreement with the United States and the general agreement on tariffs and trade, or GATT, rulings have eroded their competitive position.

They were hit with yet another disaster in early July of this year. Hailstones the size of golf balls slammed into peach, pear, plum and cherry trees and ripped away at the grapevines, causing perhaps millions of dollars of damage during what Curt McConkey of the Niagara district weather office described as one of the worst storms of its kind he has seen in 10 years.

The damage was not simply to the fruit but also to the vines and the trees themselves. The cost of replanting those, which is not covered by crop insurance, is estimated at \$4,000 to \$5,000. This is obviously going to have great ramifications for the Niagara Peninsula. It also takes three or four years to produce fruit from the new vines and trees.

For this reason, I hope the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the minister, Elmer Buchanan, will assess the damage very carefully and provide whatever assistance is possible to farmers in the Niagara region who are compelled to continue to farm the land and retain that property. To do so successfully, they must be able to make a living, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food can assist.

TOBACCO INDUSTRY

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): Throughout the history of Tillsonburg, innovation has been a key factor in its development. The realization that tobacco could turn sandy wasteland into highly productive farm land changed Canada's future. The tobacco belt towns have flourished, building strong education systems and communities for the future.

Currently Canada receives \$8 billion in tax revenue annually from the Canadian tobacco industry. However, the decline of the tobacco industry has caused great hardships locally. Like a pebble tossed into a pond, the direct and indirect effects in the midst of a recession are immense.

Recent cuts by local boards of education of vital services should be a major warning signal that our system is crumbling. Economic times have created a dangerous abyss into which many special programs are descending; programs for family studies, speech and language, industrial arts and the gifted are all in danger of being lost. Our education systems have survived previous recessions

because the rationale underlying special programs remained strong.

Our Legislature needs to be concerned when the education system is being restructured. Some of the proposals being put forth are nothing short of devastating for our most potentially able learners. Cutbacks to programming for the gifted and talented pose serious threats to services for students of high potential. How can our country be expected to compete internationally when we are stifling our own future?

This was submitted by Brandon M. Bruce Sheppard, a legislative page of the Ontario provincial Parliament during our last session, the representative from Tillsonburg.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Will Ferguson (Kitchener): Much has been said and written about the proposed changes to amend the Labour Relations Act. We have heard about misleading surveys and questionnaires that have falsely predicted nothing short of doom and gloom for the province of Ontario. Unfortunately, reasoned debate has been replaced by irrational rhetoric.

Consider the latest poll by the Council of Ontario Construction Associations, which stated most people don't want labour changes in the province of Ontario. The same poll also indicated that 45% of those surveyed were not even aware of the legislation and had no idea what it was about or what was in it, but these same people were asked their opinion on the issue nevertheless.

This is the same organization that carried out other questionable studies. The first one predicted job losses of around 495,000; the second one suggested a loss of around 280,000 positions.

This study has not dealt with the proposed changes at all. It's the kind of mindless, negative advertising that some have decided to engage in. That has done more to deter investment in the province of Ontario than any changes to the labour laws would.

Like every other jurisdiction in North America, Ontario no doubt has been hit hard by the recession. With the combined factors of the goods and services tax, the trade agreement and the value of the Canadian dollar, we have lost 250,000 jobs, but no rational person would believe we would lose twice that number because we decide to change a few labour laws in Ontario.

HOUSING POLICY

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): At a time in this province when the government is insisting on simply moving ahead with its dogmatic philosophical viewpoints, we have a crisis in the region of Peel in the area of housing.

I asked a question of the Minister of Housing last week in this place about the fact that the Peel Non-Profit Housing Corp was shut out of any housing allocations in her recent

announcement of housing subsidies, which went entirely to the co-op sector, with nothing to the non-profit sector.

It goes beyond just Peel Non-Profit; it goes into all of the very many charitable organizations trying to build housing for seniors and for needy families, whether it's in the Polish community, the Filipino community, the Italian community or whatever. There are numerous organizations in my community that have applied and have been turned down.

All housing groups in Peel combined received only 7% of the total provincial allocation, while groups in Metropolitan Toronto received 58%. I would think it shameful to pit Metro groups against Peel groups because they're all needy, but the reality is, as my colleague says, it would appear to be pure politics. The fact that there were no NDP members elected in the region of Peel might leave someone to feel a little bit suspicious that they are simply feathering their own nest and giving their housing allocations to the ridings that are held by their colleagues.

1340

DRUG BENEFITS

Mrs Elizabeth Witmer (Waterloo North): I would like to draw the Minister of Health's attention to the case of an 18-month-old child in my community who has been diagnosed as suffering from the serious blood disorder congenital neutropenia.

This child, whose name is Allison, requires daily injections of a drug manufactured under the trade name of Neupogen. The cost of this treatment has recently increased from \$100 a day to some \$200 per day, and it is estimated that the cost could reach as much as \$300 per day. While Allison's mother does have some medical insurance and is receiving some assistance from the severely handicapped children's benefits program of the Ministry of Community and Social Services, the cost of Allison's treatment far exceeds her mother's financial resources.

The alternative is for Allison to be hospitalized on a regular basis at considerable cost to the health care system, an alternative which Allison will be forced into if this family is not provided with financial assistance. It would be less expensive to pay for the drugs which would enable Allison to live an independent and longer life than it would be to have her hospitalized.

I'm sending the Minister of Health a letter requesting her to look into this situation, which is by no means an isolated situation. There is one other family, the Cox family of Everett, where the father and two of the children have been afflicted with this condition. They too are facing staggering costs for treatment. I urge the minister to assist these families in their time of need.

EVENTS IN KINGSTON

Mr Gary Wilson (Kingston and The Islands): Kingston and area was alive this past weekend with its usual variety of fascinating summertime activities. Among these was the Kirk Muller-Scott Arniel all-star slow pitch game in support of Almost Home, a home away from home for families with children being treated at one of Kingston's two general hospitals.

A second was the fourth annual buskers festival featuring over 40 groups and individuals performing music, magic, mime and juggling. Rounding out the weekend was the Ontario regional drum and bugle corps championships where nine bands competed for top honours. These acts and others defied the cloudy and at times rainy weather to entertain Kingstonsians and visitors, support worthy causes and generally strengthen community spirit.

There was, however, a cloud of a different sort this weekend. A constituent, Mr Vince Maloney, brought me a flyer left on his windshield by the Ontario Tories. The contention of the flyer is that provincial taxes are too high. Mr Maloney's immediate reaction was penned on the back of the flyer:

"To Mr Michael Harris, leader of the third party: I am fully aware of who is responsible for my increase in income, fuel and property taxes. Among the most insidious is the GST, which you fail to mention."

The weekend events I mentioned earlier depended in part on public services. Two of them took place at Richardson stadium, part of Queen's University. Many of the busking activities used Kingston city hall as a backdrop, symbolizing the public nature of these entertainments. I believe Kingstonsians are willing to pay through their taxes for services that support these essential activities.

CHEQUE CASHING BILL

Mr Gilles E. Morin (Carleton East): Peter C. Newman wrote an article about cheque cashing businesses in 1989. At that time Money Mart had 96 outlets across Canada. Today it has over 100 in Ontario alone. In 1989 Money Mart's chequing volume exceeded \$1 billion. It charges a 4.9% fee to cash a postdated government cheque. Calculate the rate of return. We're talking about millions of dollars, dollars desperately needed by low-income Ontarians who depend upon their monthly cheque to meet basic needs.

How can the Treasurer and the Minister of Community and Social Services tolerate this blatant exploitation of the neediest and most vulnerable members of our society? Why does the Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations not act immediately to protect the interests of low-income consumers?

Many members of this government are outraged to see millions of dollars wasted. We should all be outraged. Unfortunately it seems that some people are comfortable with the status quo. The Treasurer has told me he is not prepared to support Bill 154 because cheque-cashing businesses are a legitimate business. This must mean that charging a fee to cash a family benefits cheque is a legitimate practice also. The Treasurer adds that social assistance recipients will not be well served by Bill 154. Frankly, I am perturbed by this type of reasoning.

TAXATION

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): Everyone in Ontario has just spent six and a half months working for the government. Until July 12, their earnings paid for one tax or another. Ontario is the highest-taxed jurisdiction in North America and Ontario people work longer just to pay their taxes. How has this happened?

During the economic boom of the mid-1980s, the Peterson Liberals increased spending at an average rate of 10% annually, which was more than twice the rate of inflation for the period. But the billions of dollars collected throughout the boom wasn't enough for them. They gave us 33 tax increases before being booted out of office. The NDP has added another 22 tax increases since September 1990 and, even worse, they ballooned the deficit. A deficit is just deferred taxes.

Think about it: Can the people of Ontario afford to keep working just to support governments that spend too much? The Ontario Progressive Conservative caucus believes that taxes are too high and it's time the government started living within its means. Maybe it's time for some of the facts. Maybe it's time for the people to find out what high government spending, high taxation and high debts are doing to them.

Mike Harris has put together a facts booklet called *Today's Deficits are Tomorrow's Taxes*. If you would like a free copy of this deficit and taxes brochure, please call 1-800-665-6453.

CANADA DAY CELEBRATIONS

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): That sounded like a paid advertisement on the part of the Tory caucus.

I'd like to present to those members here in the assembly a little flag I got from the good citizens of Iroquois Falls during Canada Day. All members, I'm sure, during the Canada Day celebrations, went around the various parts of their ridings to participate in some of the functions—

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): Hold it up a little higher.

Mr Bisson: If I pull it up any higher you won't be able to see me. We can still have fun, Mr Speaker.

The point is that all members within this Legislature participated in activities within their ridings in regard to Canada Day. The good people of Iroquois Falls thought it would be fitting to hand-make this Canadian flag, as you can see, and many people within the community signed it, I guess in an effort to express their love and their belief in this country, seeing that we're going through many difficult times.

People on that day talked about what was going on in the constitutional discussions and how much people are going to have to come together to reconcile some of the differences in this country. I think this flag somewhat symbolizes how much the good people of Iroquois Falls, like all the people within this province, no matter where they might be, from southwestern, southeastern, to the north, really believe in this great province and this great country.

With that, I'd like people to reflect for a moment and remember how great this country is and how great this province is. Rather than dwelling on the negative, we should sometimes take time to look at the positive and be thankful for the country we have.

STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY

AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): On behalf of the government I welcome the announcement by General Motors of Canada that the number 2 car assembly plant in Oshawa will produce the Buick Regal and the Chevrolet Lumina for the 1994 model year. The number 1 plant will also continue to produce the Chevrolet Lumina for the 1994 year. This is very good news for the 8,000 people who work at the two plants and, I might say, very good news for the people of Ontario.

Government officials have been in close touch with management at GM and the Canadian Auto Workers union, while together they convinced the parent company in Detroit of the high quality of the Oshawa plant and the advantages of continuing its highly productive history. We are very pleased that the parent company agreed.

Today's good news from GM follows the launch late last month of the new Chrysler LH car to be built in Bramalea and the announcement in April of Ford Motor Co's \$2-billion investment in new minivan production in Oakville and new engines in Windsor. Clearly the big three automakers recognize Ontario as an excellent place to invest in today's highly competitive environment.

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order.

1350

ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO

Hon Karen Haslam (Minister of Culture and Communications): Today I am announcing the creation of an independent task force on the Art Gallery of Ontario. This is a commitment I made last month when I announced—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. Would the minister take her seat, please. I was unable to hear the minister. Would she be kind enough to begin, please.

Hon Mrs Haslam: Certainly. Today I am announcing the creation of an independent task force on the Art Gallery of Ontario. This is a commitment made last month when I announced a funding package to the AGO of \$3.8 million this year, in addition to the \$8.5 million it already receives from the province. At that time, it was indicated that a task force would be set up to help the AGO find long-term solutions to its financial problems.

The AGO is an important provincial cultural institution. Its future health and stability are important to this government and to the people of this province.

The task force will make recommendations on how the AGO can reorganize and restructure with its newly increased base funding. To do this, the task force will review the finances, the governance, the overall operations and the public policies of the art gallery. The task force will also consider the roles and responsibilities of the board of directors.

The review of public policies will assess how access, education and outreach activities, as well as support for artists in communities throughout this province, reflect the

diversity of Ontario and the importance of contemporary Canadian art. The task force will consult staff, board members and the union at the AGO, cultural institutions, members of the arts community and the public. The task force is also free to pursue areas it feels are integral to a healthy, functioning AGO.

The task force's recommendations will be detailed in a report to me and to the board of the AGO. I expect the report will be submitted in November.

The members of the task force have been selected in full cooperation with the board of directors of the Art Gallery of Ontario. A member of that board, vice-chair Alan Schwartz, is present today in the gallery, as is the executive director, Mr Glenn Lowry. In the gallery also are two of the three members of the task force, Terrence Heath and Colette Whiten.

The chair of the task force is Terrence Heath, an independent curator and writer. A former director of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, Mr Heath was a member of the task force which assisted in setting up the four national museums in Ottawa as arm's-length agencies.

Ms Whiten is an artist who has exhibited extensively in Canada and internationally. She taught experimental arts at the Ontario College of Art for 16 years.

The third member of the task force is Mr Ian H. McLeod. He is a recently retired financial consultant from McKinsey and Co who has served on the boards of many arts organizations, including the National Ballet and the O'Keefe Centre.

I want to thank the distinguished members of the task force for taking on this important responsibility on behalf of the province and on behalf of the Art Gallery of Ontario. The task force's report will form the foundation on which the AGO can build a dynamic and thriving organization in the future.

RESPONSES

ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): I don't think there's a member, or a person in Ontario perhaps, who doesn't regret what has transpired over the last several months in the Art Gallery of Ontario.

I think all of us appreciate that this is a world-class organization that now is closed. I don't think there's any doubt that there is an enormous tension between the art gallery and the government. The people who have devoted their volunteer time to helping us in this province have, as I said, a world-class facility have had an enormous period of tension and distress.

It would have been our hope that rather than it coming to this, with the art gallery closed and with a pitched battle between many members of the community and the government, we could have seen a resolution of this before it had come to this.

I would say to the minister that this, along with last week's announcement when she came into the House and said, "We are doing such and such for the Guelph community"—we've seen that what has really happened is that the Ministry of Culture and Communications slashed its budget in half to create a slush fund for the minister to go around and make announcements, get her picture in the

paper, have this neat Jobs Ontario letterhead, go out and hire a brand new advertising agency and have John Piper and the group send out press releases, when what the people of Ontario want is straight goods from the province. They don't want a public relations exercise.

As I say, I regret it's come to a task force with the art gallery. I would have hoped the government could have found a way to work it out with the art gallery before we see it closed for a lengthy period of time, with all the anguish that causes. I hope the minister will stop playing political games and get on with running the Ministry of Culture and Communications as it should be.

AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): It's an interesting day when the Premier of the province has to stand in the Legislature to announce that a plant is not closing and is in fact staying open. It is good news when the Premier is able to do that, because so often we're confronted, as we were in the city of St Catharines, with the loss of some 3,000 jobs at the foundry and the engine plant, and the general layoffs in St Catharines. I'm pleased that at least in 1994 the General Motors Oshawa plant will be continuing to produce the Buick Regal and the Chevrolet Lumina.

What is of concern to the people of Oshawa and all those involved in the automotive industry in Ontario is the future beyond 1994. As a Legislature, we will have to ensure that we make that investment welcome in Ontario; that we do not impose further taxes such as the Treasurer has done, the so-called gas guzzler tax; that we do not continue to see the escalation in hydro-electric power rates in Ontario, and that we do everything possible to maintain that investment here.

It would be my hope that General Motors is at least prepared not to shut down the Oshawa plant in 1994, because we know there are still some 60,000 jobs to be cut by General Motors out of the 74,000 announced by Robert Stempel in December. We hope, of course, that we will see those jobs retained in Ontario.

It is going to be important, because we will have to know that those trucks will be driving past St Catharines with engines soon to be produced in the United States to go into the vehicles that are being assembled in Oshawa. You know that engine plant line that is closing down in St Catharines? You will see trucks that will be going past St Catharines and down Highway 401 with engines from the United States to replace that.

We will be interested to do everything possible as a Legislature, to have the government encouraged to do everything possible not only to retain investment in Ontario but to expand that investment.

For the 3,000 people in St Catharines who are losing their jobs there is still a lot of genuine concern. Their hope would be that General Motors headquarters in the United States will respond positively to the resolution I presented to the Legislature on Thursday morning, which was endorsed unanimously by members of all parties in this House, that it keep the foundry open in St Catharines, that we have the engine plant continue to produce all the engines that were produced before and that in fact we have

new work for Ontario. So it's with some cautious optimism that we approach today's announcement.

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): It is a sad state in the province of Ontario when the Premier, not the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, thinks it's such a big deal that a plant will stay open that he has to announce it in the Legislature—not that there are new jobs, not that there is new investment. He went around the world in his travels and didn't come back with any new jobs. All the ministers have been all over the world and Japan and there is no new investment. The Premier of Ontario, under this socialist government, thinks it's a big deal when plants stay open, not that we're expanding or that there's any new investment or new jobs. If we just have the status quo, he thinks it's great.

This province has lost 250,000 jobs. Eighty per cent of the jobs lost in Canada have been in Ontario. This has been an Ontario-led recession.

In the standing committee on finance and economic affairs the member for Wilson Heights said the Ford Motor Co made its decision during the 1990 campaign. The Liberals tried to get them to announce it during that period of time. They spent \$500 million on a plant that's now sitting up there and is open, and that's why they decided to remain here.

It is indeed a sorry state when the Premier of the province of Ontario thinks it's a big deal when plants stay open and there's no new investment. I say to this Premier, "You'd better do something to start creating jobs instead of scaring them away from the province of Ontario."

1400

ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): I want to respond to the Minister of Culture and Communications. Her announcement of the task force today, as far as we're concerned, is just a further endorsement of the fact that her play-acting role as Cinderella with Prince Charles is going to go on as long as she's minister. It's unfortunate, actually, that the previous minister isn't still responsible for this portfolio. At least the previous minister made a commitment to the Art Gallery of Ontario.

It's ludicrous to suggest that this announcement of the task force lets this minister off the hook for the fact that the Art Gallery of Ontario is closed today and closed for six months and people who voluntarily took a 20% pay reduction two months ago are out of work today. This organization, which incidentally is a transfer agency supposedly at arm's length of this government, is indeed troubled but not for anything its board did. The suggestion that a task force has to be established to look into those areas that are directly the responsibility of the board is an insult to that board.

I find it very amusing that in the minister's statement she says that "the task force has been selected in full cooperation with the board of directors." Well, of course. What would you do if your hands were tied behind your back and you were backed up against a wall? Of course you would do anything in cooperation with this socialist government, which doesn't know the priority or the meaning

of the word "culture" in our province today. They do not recognize what kind of institution the Art Gallery of Ontario is. They have no idea what culture and the Art Gallery of Ontario stand for.

When we look at the programs this government has foisted on the Art Gallery of Ontario, such as pay equity—the wage parity which came about after a study the government paid for and made recommendations to that board, and no accompanying funding—how could this board possibly implement the government-mandated program without the accompanying funding?

The previous minister said his commitment was very clear: He would work with the AGO. This minister is working against the art gallery. This is the organization that the previous minister at least understood had fiscal responsibility. For this minister to say that the present board is fiscally irresponsible—as far as I'm concerned, if the minister hasn't said it in words, the fact is that she thinks a task force has to look into the finances and their base funding.

I would like to ask this minister—because she has no confidence in the board of the Art Gallery of Ontario—is she intending to take it over herself and remove the arm's-length relationship?

ORAL QUESTIONS

UNEMPLOYMENT

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My first question is for the Premier. We're certainly all pleased that the announcement from General Motors today is that there will not be more people laid off in the province of Ontario, particularly following the unemployment figures released on Friday. It is a reality that, since the Premier made jobs his number one priority in April, the number of Ontario's jobless has increased by 30,000 individuals. On Friday we learned that the number of people out of work in this province in June had risen to 588,000.

It seems interesting that in that same period seven provinces have actually seen their unemployment figures drop. New Brunswick, for example, has reduced its unemployment rate by almost two percentage points from April, and there are other differences. In New Brunswick the government chose to cut taxes; in Ontario the government raised taxes. New Brunswick had its bond rating go up; Ontario saw its creditworthiness drop another notch. One economic development officer in New Brunswick has reportedly said that Bob Rae is his province's best friend.

I would ask the Premier: What does he feel he can learn from the provinces that are actually having some success in putting unemployed people back to work? Why would he not follow the lead of his New Brunswick counterpart, for example, and introduce some initiatives that would stimulate economic recovery, such as cutting taxes?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I appreciate the question. We all recognize that the economy in this part of Ontario has had as rough a time, I think it's fair to say, as any economy in this province for many years. I don't think there's any getting around that fact. I wouldn't expect the Liberal leader to

notice it, but in June 7,000 new jobs were created in Ontario. In the past two months 44% of the new jobs created in Canada were created in this province, even though we have only about 38% of the population. So if you want to make comparisons with other provinces, the fact of the matter is that we have been creating more jobs in this province.

We have also seen more people coming into the labour force, and we're seeing more people coming back into the labour market looking for work more actively, which is what one would expect at this time in the economic life of the province.

We all recognize what needs to be done, but let me say to the honourable member that when you compare our overall economic situation with that of other jurisdictions, when you compare the efforts and focus that we're putting in this province on jobs and on job creation, I think you can see there has been a very solid effort by this government and by all the people working in this province to create more work.

Let me also say that while people on the other side may mock the General Motors announcement, when a company says there's no guarantee of a product line in 1994 and then it says it has looked around and examined the competitiveness and the ability of plants, the cost-effectiveness, the tax structure, the health care structure, the overall impacts, and says that Canada, Ontario and Oshawa present the most competitive opportunity for that company, that tells you something about how we must be doing at least something right in the province of Ontario, even though I recognize it's difficult for the Liberals to admit it.

Mrs McLeod: Today's announcement was certainly reassuring to the workers at GM who will not be laid off. The Premier's response to that question does not bring much assurance to the 588,000 people who are out there looking for work right now. Perhaps it was too simple an equation for us to try to make, but it seemed to us the New Brunswick government had cut taxes in order to create consumer confidence, and it worked. Somehow that seemed to be more real than all of the Premier's rhetoric.

In Sudbury the Premier was quoted as saying that a large part of our economic problem still lies with consumer confidence. He is quoted as saying, "I think the average consumer wants more clear signs that the economy is becoming strong." Yet it seems to be a catch-22 situation, because many feel the economy will be stronger only when consumers have the confidence to begin spending. The reality is that consumers are going to spend more only if they have more to spend. I would ask the Premier: How is taking \$1.2 billion more in taxes from the Ontario consumer, a tax grab that is described as the largest since Confederation, going to give the average consumer more confidence in the economy?

Hon Mr Rae: Whoever made that description of any tax policies of our government was being inaccurate. I am not surprised the Liberal leader would repeat it, but at least she should try to make it accurate, coming from a party which raised taxes dozens of times in the past, 33 times I think in total during the time in which she served as such a

loyal member of the government, without a squeak of complaint from any of the Liberal cabinet ministers who are now on the other side urging us to cut taxes. I didn't hear a peep. Did you ever hear a Liberal cabinet minister object to any feature of any of the 33 tax increases? I didn't hear the former Minister of Energy, the Minister of Natural Resources, the Minister of Colleges and Universities, complain once when the income taxes and the sales tax went up. I didn't hear her complain at that time.

I want to say to the honourable member that we are faced with a challenge, with a major cut in transfers from the federal government, a major problem we face with respect to the federal government. We have to get the money from somewhere in order to pay for health care services. I think that in their heart of hearts the people of Ontario understand that things have to be paid for, programs have to be paid for, and I think they have a clearer sense of that than the Liberal Party, which taxes while it's in government and then, while it's in opposition, suddenly gets religion and says, "No, everything we did over the past five years was a mistake." Give me a break.

1410

Mrs McLeod: The reality is that none of us can remember in recent years when Ontario had an unemployment rate of 11%. The reality is that unemployment is continuing to rise in Ontario and that, in spite of all of the Premier's words, the government seems to be doing very little about it. In the heart of hearts of Ontarians, I think what people are looking for is some confidence in the future, some confidence that people are going to be able to work in this province.

Perhaps that reality is not more true for any group than the young people of this province. We know that in the unemployment figures announced on Friday youth unemployment was a large part of that increase. We know that in Ontario our youth jobless rate has hit 20.8%. This government continues to dribble out announcements of its summer job programs for jobs that aren't in place, even though the summer's half over.

Worse still, if we can look beyond the youth unemployment of the summer, we know that unemployment among young people is not going to disappear once the fall comes. These people are going to be looking for full-time jobs—jobs that are not going to be there. I ask the Premier if he and his government have begun to look at how many of these unemployed young people will not be returning to school in the fall and will be looking for work. What will his government do to help these unemployed young people when their summer job programs run out? Does he not realize that he cannot be successful at job creation, that none of these job creation programs are actually going to work, unless the economy begins to recover?

Hon Mr Rae: That's exactly right. I couldn't agree more with the honourable member. I say to her that surely she would appreciate that, with an economy like ours, almost 30% of which is dependent on trade with one other jurisdiction—that is to say, the United States—we've begun to see some signs of improvement, but not steady, strong and firm enough for us to say everything has succeeded.

I say to the honourable member very directly that it's precisely the growth throughout the industrialized world and in improved economic conditions here and around the world that we have to look to for the long-term strategies. But when she talks about the youth employment strategies that are in place, I would have thought that the Liberal leader would at least have recognized what any sensible observer would recognize, which is that we are spending more money and employing more people this year through the government of Ontario youth employment programs than any government in the history of Ontario. I'm surprised the Leader of the Opposition didn't recognize that in her question.

JOBS ONTARIO CAPITAL

Mrs Lyn McLeod (Leader of the Opposition): My second question is to the Minister of Tourism and Recreation. It revolves around another of the government's so-called job creation programs and some of the concerns we have with that program. My question to the Minister of Tourism and Recreation is about his involvement in the Treasurer's shell game known as Jobs Ontario Capital, the fund the government was promoting as new money, you may recall, when it's just a repackaging of the same amount of money that was promised for capital projects last year.

I wonder if the Minister of Tourism and Recreation could explain to this House what special features a project receiving money under his ministry's portion of Jobs Ontario Capital has to have in order to receive funding and how his ministry sets priorities when it decides what projects are to be funded under this program.

Hon Peter North (Minister of Tourism and Recreation): Under the program we offer, there are a number of different opportunities for funding and a number of different opportunities for employment. We have in the past looked at job creation, we've looked at the particular area in which a program or work is to be done and we've based what we're doing on the policies and objectives of the government, the policies and objectives of the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation and also the interests put forth by that particular region or area.

Different opportunities for funding are put forth by certain regions, community groups and certain tourism associations and things of that nature. That is what we base our decisions on.

Mrs McLeod: I appreciate the minister's answer because, if I can recap what he said to me, in setting priorities he said the funding will go for projects of the government first, the ministry second and the region third. That brings me to my supplementary question. There's just one more attribute I would suggest the government seems to be looking for in projects that are funded under Jobs Ontario; that is, to look for projects that no one seems to be asking for, that aren't needed and that replace existing facilities. I would give one specific example of my concern.

At the Pigeon River border crossing in northwestern Ontario, the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation is building a brand-new, \$1.6-million tourist information centre. The problem is that no one in the region is asking for it.

Furthermore, the province is tearing down an existing building in order to build a new one. In the meantime, the city of Thunder Bay has been working for some years now towards plans for constructing a new tourist information centre. Now that the plans are all in place, the city is told there is no money.

I wonder if the minister can please attempt to explain why his ministry is wasting money tearing down a building in order to build a new one when 60 miles up the road the city of Thunder Bay cannot get money for a project that's all ready to go and that would cost half as much as the project the ministry is supporting.

Hon Mr North: First of all, I'd like to say that the idea the government's wasting money is the leader's opinion. It's certainly not the opinion of this government; it's certainly not the opinion of this minister.

We've had an opportunity to talk to a number of different people in this region she speaks of. I will tell the member very clearly that we invest in border crossings with this type of project. It's a good investment. It's an investment for more than just Thunder Bay; it's an investment for the region. Certainly there are a number of opportunities for people who come in across the Pigeon River border crossing to visit the tourist information centre and to get the information that they need and that they will use throughout the region. I would suggest it's a good investment to make sure people have the information they would need to travel in that particular part of the province. We're interested in being a part of that.

Mrs McLeod: Let me be very clear in my understanding. The province has given the green light to a tourist information facility that nobody except people in the ministry seem to be asking for and that nobody is actually ready to build, and it has turned down a similar project in Thunder Bay, a project seen as the highest priority for that region, a project which has been four years in the planning stages.

When the city of Thunder Bay asked the ministry why the Pigeon River facility was getting money under Jobs Ontario and a similar project in Thunder Bay could not be funded, the ministry simply said, "It's a different program and we can't transfer funds from one program to another."

If I can sum up the ministry approach, it seems to be that it won't approve projects that are ready to go; it will approve projects that no one wants that aren't ready to go and that consequently won't even get built this year. A cynic might wonder whether or not this is a direction from the Treasurer to the minister that under Jobs Ontario Capital you don't approve the projects that are actually ready to put a shovel in the ground. You approve the projects that aren't even in the planning stages and then the Treasurer won't have to flow the money and next fall he can announce his cutback in his capital spending.

I would ask the minister, is this decision just another example of complete mismanagement, on the part of his ministry, of decisions that have no sense of priority and that don't make any sense, or is it part of an overall shell game to announce projects that this ministry knows will never get built?

Hon Mr North: Again, everything the leader has said so far up to this point, the discussion she's had and the questions she's posed, are all based on opinion and it basically is based on her opinion. That's fine. Everyone certainly has his or her opportunities to have an opinion, and obviously the leader has hers. In my opinion, in the opinion of the people I've spoken to and in the opinion of the people of the region—obviously not the people she has spoken to—most people generally would like to have an investment in their particular area.

In this case, the investment we're making is an investment in people in terms of jobs to build a building, in terms of people in the community, in terms of the tourism outfitters and people of that region. This is a tremendous opportunity, I would say, for the whole region and for Thunder Bay. I would suggest to the leader that if she has a different opinion, that's up to her.

1420

ONTARIO HYDRO STAFFING

Mr Ernie L. Eves (Parry Sound): I have a question of the Minister of Energy. Ontario Hydro customers are facing rate increases of some 20% over the next two years, yet we have inflation currently running at about 1%. We have Ontario Hydro with a staff of some 30,000 people making an average annual wage of \$69,000 a year. Now surely that is a perfect example of government bureaucracy run amok and out of control. How can you justify fattening the staff of Ontario Hydro by some 850 people at this time?

Hon Brian A. Charlton (Acting Minister of Energy): It's an interesting question that the member of the third party raises. It's a question, though, which I think reflects too much research being done from newspaper articles and in isolation.

Last August the Ontario Energy Board expressed some concerns about the staffing levels at Hydro. This government has also expressed concerns about the staffing levels at Ontario Hydro, the size of the operation and some serious inefficiencies in the operation of Ontario Hydro. The board and the chair at Ontario Hydro have been working extremely hard over the last year to reduce the operational costs at Ontario Hydro. I should just say directly to the member that the overall staff complement at Ontario Hydro in 1992 will be significantly smaller—not larger, not fatter—than last year.

Mr Eves: Just as an aside, I'd like to say to the minister that his 1991 operating budget at Ontario Hydro was \$6.9 billion, up half a billion over the previous year, so obviously they don't have things under control over there at all. You brought in Bill 118 so your government could directly control Ontario Hydro, so I don't think that's even an issue any more. In a recession when the public is suffering, you have your NDP buddy Marc Eliesen raising rates, borrowing money, spending money and now going on a hiring binge. Can you tell me what you and your buddy Marc are doing to control costs at Ontario Hydro?

Hon Mr Charlton: The member opposite in his question again has repeated a number of allegations that have

been made by the leader of the third party which are just factually not correct. First of all, there has been about \$250 million cut out of Hydro's capital budget this year. Second, as I said earlier, everybody I think understands that when you set a new direction for a crown corporation like Ontario Hydro, there comes a need to do some realignment and reallocation of resources. There are some—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order. Would the minister take his seat.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Minister.

Hon Mr Charlton: There are some new positions being created around demand management and a number of other initiatives that are being taken—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Would the minister take his seat.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Minister.

Hon Mr Charlton: I guess the net point, in response to the member's question—what are we doing, what is the so-called spending chair, as he referred to him, doing at Hydro?—is reduced capital expenditures this year by \$250 million, reduced operating expenditures by \$150 million, and net this year the employment at Ontario Hydro will be reduced by 600 people.

Mr Eves: I suppose the thought that comes to mind is, what's 850 more civil servants at 69 grand a year among NDP friends?

The leader of my party has disclosed on several occasions examples of multimillion-dollar contracts being let without tender. We find that Mr Eliesen, on top of his large salary, his golden benefits package, his phone, his security system, the public paying for his financial tax adviser, now wants Ontario taxpayers to fork out even more money for rates and now wants to hire another 850 people to do his bidding, which he doesn't believe in doing anyway. Mr Minister, the lights are on at Ontario Hydro, but is anybody home?

Interjections.

The Speaker: Order. Minister.

Hon Mr Charlton: Perhaps I should pick up on the the analogy of member of the third party. As we move into energy conservation, the lights are certainly out much more frequently and some of those lights will be out permanently. The member has some difficulty with his arithmetic. The reduction of 1,450 staff positions and the—

Interjections.

The Speaker: Would the minister take his seat, please.

Interjections.

The Speaker: Minister.

Hon Mr Charlton: The reduction in overall staff positions by 1,450, the redeployment of 850 people in new areas of endeavour, in any event, in anybody's math, means a net reduction of 600 positions at Hydro.

LANDFILL

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): My question is for the Minister of the Environment. As minister, you've often spoken about a so-called traditional arrangement between Metro and York region in which York has agreed to accept Metro's garbage. This has been your explanation for basing landfill in York region.

There is only one written agreement between York and Metro Toronto, and I have it here and I've sent a copy over to you. This was written and agreed to in 1983, in which Metro agreed to supply a waste disposal site for York, not the other way around. Would the minister please explain why she has so blatantly misstated the facts to justify the unjustifiable?

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): I'm not a lawyer and I hesitate to interpret legal agreements, but the member was kind enough to send over to me a copy of the agreement to which he refers, and it states very clearly that the Metropolitan corporation undertakes to supply a waste disposal site for all waste generated within the regional area. It makes no mention whether that site should be in Metropolitan Toronto or should be in York, and it was for that reason that the Interim Waste Authority was directed to select a site to serve both York and Metro and to have as its area of site search Metro and York.

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Mr Cousens: The minister has read section 6 of it correctly. The agreement clearly states that Metro will look after York region's garbage, not the other way around. I believe the minister owes this House an apology. In your public statements and in your ministry documents you keep referring to an agreement that does not exist. York has never agreed to take Metro's garbage. Metro agreed to look after York's garbage instead.

The only tradition around here is one that has been established by your government: twisting the facts to suit whatever purpose you might have at a given moment. Will the minister stop reducing, reusing and recycling her facts and agree to rescind her decision to base a Metro garbage site in York region?

Hon Mrs Grier: No.

Mr Cousens: No to rescinding, no to recycling the facts, no to doing all the things the people are looking for. Let's talk about the NDP tradition of consultation and co-operation. At least that's what you talked about when you were in opposition and didn't have to worry about making good on your promises.

I'll spell it out again, Madam Minister: The only agreement that exists between Metro and York region has Metro agreeing to take York's garbage. It does not involve any tradition of York region taking Metro's waste. Minister, will you stop throwing inconvenient facts on the trash heap and agree that you will start looking at other options for waste disposal, including the rail haul option?

Hon Mrs Grier: I began my response to the member's first question by acknowledging that I was not a lawyer and hesitated to interpret agreements, but I would like to say I think I question his interpretation of an agreement that is based upon Metro taking Metro's and York's

waste to a site in York region, namely, Keele Valley. That being the basis of the agreement to which the member has referred, I'm afraid I can't concur with the other premises that flow from his lack of understanding of that.

RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): My question is to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs. The political situation in South Africa is constantly shifting—

Interjection.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order, the member for Etobicoke West. Perhaps the member for Scarborough North would be kind enough to start over.

Mr Curling: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. As I said, my question is to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs. The political situation in South Africa is constantly shifting, and there's no question that the people of Ontario are concerned with what is happening there. Can the Premier update this House as to the current status of Ontario's relationship with South Africa?

Hon Bob Rae (Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs): I want to thank the honourable member for his question and say to him that this government, together with other governments at the officials' level, without any decisions being taken by cabinet with respect to authorizing any changes, has obviously been considering the impact of the decisions that have been made by the Commonwealth, for example, to allow for the exchanges of individuals and groups.

But I can tell you that any cabinet decision with respect to authorizing any change in the policy—which is the policy which the former member of the cabinet was fully aware of and indeed participated in those decisions—is obviously going to wait for us to see whether there are more positive signs of a successful resolution of the political crisis in South Africa. As of this point, for example, there is no relaxation of our policy with respect to trade and commercial exchange. So far as I'm aware, there's been no change with respect to a number of other policies that are currently in place with respect to South Africa on the part of the government or individual ministries.

I can tell the honourable member that the federal Department of External Affairs has been encouraging discussions among various provincial officials about what will happen when the international economic boycott of South Africa is ended. Obviously, we're preparing for that possibility, but we are certainly not about to undertake any such change given the nature of the crisis in South Africa at the moment. I think it would be premature and very unwise. If I may say so, the informal contacts that our government has with the African National Congress have been such that we're led to feel very strongly that we're on the right track with respect to maintaining the current boycotts in place.

Mr Curling: I appreciate the Premier's effort to answer the question and I appreciate the extent to which he went. My concern is that I've just received, Mr Speaker—and I ask you very much for maybe the protection of the OPP not investigating me on this issue—a confidential cabinet

document, dated June 23, 1992, entitled Ontario's Relations with the Republic of South Africa.

That document itself recommends lifting cultural, educational and scientific sanctions to South Africa and adopting a strategy to discuss the lifting of economic sanctions. These are obviously very important issues, which makes the next part of the document even more difficult to understand. Under the heading of "Communication," the document recommends none. It says, "Once a decision is reached, no announcement will be made."

Premier, given your party's commitment to openness and accessibility and given the high level of interest in Ontario's relationship with South Africa, do you feel this secrecy is appropriate? If so, why?

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): Whose signature would be on that? Someone called T. Armstrong. Who is that?

Hon Mr Rae: Well, I'm just about to find out. I have a note here from someone saying, "We've not seen or heard anything about this," which shows you that secrecy has been maintained very successfully.

That document does not reflect government policy. It does not—

Interjection.

Hon Mr Rae: No, it does not. If the member for St Catharines will just listen for a moment, it doesn't reflect—

Mr Scott: It did 20 minutes ago.

Hon Mr Rae: No, it didn't; it never did. The former Attorney General will know full well that all kinds of submissions are drafted. I've just checked with the Attorney General now with respect to the cabinet committee on justice. That submission has not been discussed in cabinet committee on justice, it has not been discussed in the policies and priorities board of cabinet and it has not been discussed in cabinet. It in no way reflects the policies of the government of Ontario.

Interjection.

Hon Mr Rae: You've asked a serious question. I'm giving you a serious answer. What you have is some recommendation from some civil servant or public servant with respect to an approach that might or might not have been recommended a month or two ago. It in no way reflects government policy. It in no way reflects the political approach of this government. The short answer to your reproach with respect to whether it should be secret is that of course it shouldn't be secret. I'm quite open to a discussion about this. I'm quite open to any recommendations that come forward.

I had a meeting with the Canadian representative of the African National Congress just two week ago. He indicated his support of the position our government is taking and of the approaches we've taken. I can assure you that is the approach that is being taken, and not some bureaucratic document which the member is quoting from.

RED HILL CREEK EXPRESSWAY

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): My question is to the Minister of Transportation. The most recent

consultant's report on the Red Hill Creek Expressway on alternative routes has been—after that the minister has told the people of Hamilton that it's his way or no way. He seems to want the widening of Highway 20 rather than proceeding with the road through the Red Hill Creek valley. The minister's way accomplishes nothing. He has to expropriate approximately 74 houses.

Interjection.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Order, the member for St George-St David.

Mr Turnbull: You have to relocate many businesses and you have to create a highway on a 5% grade rather than the 2% grade which is on the Red Hill Creek route.

The potential users of this route have expressed grave concern about the safety factors. Given the fact that the minister has just recently announced the creation of a crown corporation charged with road safety, how do you justify the different route?

Interjection.

The Speaker: Would the member for St George-St David come to order.

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): One more time, it's always a renewed pleasure indeed to welcome people's interest and hopefully we're on the eve of finding alternatives.

Let's go back and we can do this together for the edification of the critic opposite. When the Red Hill Creek Expressway proposal was put forward, this government rejected any encroachment on the valley and yet it said, "Let's ask for alternatives," so that the recognized north-south needs of motorists in the Hamilton-Wentworth region can finally be addressed.

Our position has not changed. We've been consistent. We have indicated a willingness to participate in terms of the planning, the engineering, the design and the funding. This is the capacity, the jurisdiction of the province. But rightly, when you reject a proposal, with the highest of respect, because environmentally it will not be the order of the day, when an alternative presents you with the same thing, obviously you have to be consistent while being reasonable and say, "No, but we're looking for alternatives to the transportation needs of Hamilton-Wentworth," which is the proponent.

1440

Mr Turnbull: That answer is absolutely unsatisfactory. On the environmental issue there is no suggestion that this is wrong. A bunch of NDP councillors and one of your ministers here got together and decided it was a bad route. The people of Hamilton have told you they want that route—it's the only viable route, it's the only safe route—and by moving the route to the east, it does not achieve the goal of moving the traffic out of Hamilton.

Minister, you're ignoring what local politicians and the local taxpayers want. Why are you ignoring the wishes of the taxpayers of Hamilton? Your own environmental assessment has said that this route is okay.

Hon Mr Pouliot: This government is not interested in political stripes or a philosophy based on partisanship, on

bias and prejudice. What we're saying is that the environmental issue is not an important component, it is the catalyst, it is the decision-making. It's a tough decision, but we stand by and beyond our decision.

Having said this, we're fully cognizant that you have to respond to the needs of motorists in the Hamilton-Wentworth region. We intend to do this. It's not impossible. The member perhaps sees it as impossible, but on this side of the House we see it as the art of the possible, that the glass is always at least half full. There is no problem collectively with the willingness to make it happen. It shall happen.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Brad Ward (Brantford): My question is for the Minister of Labour and it's dealing with labour reform. I read with interest last week and heard the member for York Mills refer to a study—they call it a study; I think it's more of an informal poll—completed by Ernst and Young and it refers to 295,000 jobs that will be lost because of labour reform and untold billions lost in investment.

Mr Minister, I seem to recall that this report or poll came out in early 1992, that it was immediately, in my opinion, discredited because it was not based on statistics or any type of fact, but it was opinion. My question is, why do you feel the opposition is referring to this poll and what are your thoughts on this?

Hon Bob Mackenzie (Minister of Labour): First of all, this poll measured the employers' perceptions only and the pollsters acknowledged that there may even have been an exaggeration in the poll in an effort to influence the direction of this legislation.

Second, the pollsters measured attitudes towards the November 1991 discussion paper and in Bill 40, as most people now know who have read it, half of the discussion paper's proposals have been amended or dropped directly in response to the consultation process we went through.

Mr Ward: Mr Minister, I'm pleased to hear that because that was my impression as well. I realize that the Toronto Star last week had labour problems and perhaps the person who implemented this headline didn't quite do his or her homework. I'm glad to see the professionals are back now.

I don't think this report could have been based on fact because if Ernst and Young had contacted some business people in Brantford, if they had contacted the German owners of BASF, if they had contacted the American owners of Gates Canada, if they had contacted the Canadian owners of Keeprite, if they had contacted the local owners of Eastern Coatings, they all would have said they have enough faith in the people of Ontario, in the people of Brantford and in the economy of Ontario to invest, and these statistics would have been different.

When you look at the labour reforms and you realize that all 10 provinces already have security guards' right to join any trade union, that all 10 provinces allow full- and part-time workers' the right to single-unit representation and that all 10 provinces—nine provinces, sorry, not counting Ontario—already restrict petitions, Minister, don't you think that by referring to these inaccurate polls

and reports and using headline scare tactics, that's where the real economic harm could occur?

Hon Mr Mackenzie: I found it significant that in the actual poll there was a disclaimer which should have caused anybody to have second thoughts about it. I think it is true that there has been more debate on what can happen, not based on fact but on what can happen, and that it has not been helpful for Ontario and for investment in the province—I would be the first to admit that—but it is information that is being disseminated that is not accurate.

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISING

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I have a question for the Attorney General. We have heard today that unemployment is at the highest level in eight years. Certainly it is an employer's market and there are dozens if not hundreds of applicants for most jobs. The government claims it is practising fiscal restraint in this difficult economic time, notwithstanding that the government spent \$200,000 on guards protecting the budget and is spending \$1.9 million moving the cabinet offices across the street. We now have another example. Is the minister aware and—this is even more important—can he justify the spending of over \$10,000 for an advertisement for one government appointment?

Hon Howard Hampton (Attorney General): I'm not aware of the advertisement which the member alleges. If he would care to provide me with more detailed information, I can get back to him on the nature of the advertisement. Simply based on an allegation that an advertisement cost \$10,000, I am not in a position to respond without having more details. Sorry.

Mr Kwinter: I'm delighted to provide the minister with the details. This is a copy of the Friday Globe and Mail. If you take a look in this top corner you will see an ad "Assessment Review Board" by the Attorney General. It is for the vice-chairman of the Assessment Review Board in charge of adjudication. That ad cost \$10,548. At the bottom of the page you will see—if we talk about employment equity—the government of Alberta is advertising for the president and chief executive officer of the Workers' Compensation Board.

I think any employee equity adjudication would show that this job is far more important than this job, but given the job market we are in, why would this government, which is practising constraint and this ministry which is cutting back and doing all these things, waste \$10,548 on an ad when he would probably get hundreds of applicants if he had run three lines? Could he justify that?

Hon Mr Hampton: A couple of points: One of the things we have said to the public, and we have said it very clearly, is this: When we have positions either in the civil service or with related boards, agencies and commissions that are important positions, we will advertise those positions so that they are widely known, so that everyone in Ontario and indeed outside Ontario will have an opportunity to apply for those positions. That is called fairness and we're interested in fairness.

Second, I believe the members opposite should know, because they left us with the mess, that the Assessment Review Board has recently undergone a reorganization to result in greater efficiencies. Part of that reorganization is to locate the kinds of skills and abilities in executive positions that will allow that position to work through the backlogs we inherited from the former government.

Yes, it's a \$10,000 ad. It will help that board reorganize its capacities to deal with very important work. Yes, we believe in fairness. We believe that people across this province should know about these important positions.

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AGRICULTURAL FUNDING

Mr Noble Villeneuve (S-D-G & East Grenville): To the Treasurer: The government last fall announced \$35.5 million to support agriculture in really tough times. Then of course the Treasurer came along and took some of that money back even though the question of adequate compensation for drought in the southwestern areas of Kent, Essex and Lambton was never resolved. Treasurer, you met with farm and municipal representatives on June 25 last. Can you tell us today that you will be coming forth with some support for that area?

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): The member for S-D-G & East Grenville is correct that there was \$35.5 million allocated to the farm income assistance program for 1991-92. Out of that \$35.5 million there was \$5.9 million, I believe, that was not spent. I understand why the member of the Conservative caucus wants us to spend that money. But I think he would also understand that in a time when we're trying to listen to cries from his colleagues in his caucus that we should be saving every penny we possibly can, we're not prepared to bump up the assistance any more than we already have.

Mr Villeneuve: Treasurer, you allocated that money to agriculture. Then you took it away. That to me is not being sound government, particularly in an area where it was very drastically required. That is what you call Indian giving.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): Order, order.

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation and Minister Responsible for Francophone Affairs): Come on; come on.

Interjections.

Mr Villeneuve: I will withdraw, Mr Speaker. That is what you call not keeping your word. It's withdrawing the money that was provided to agriculture. In 1991 this unfairness worked very much to the disadvantage of producers in Essex, Kent and Lambton who suffered severe drought losses and came to this Legislature asking for some \$20 million just to cover those three counties.

In 1991 the formula for the proposed projects was wrong and it was corrected. With a corrected formula, agriculture should be getting considerably more money. You cut them in the budget. You withdrew almost \$6 million

from the \$35.5 million. Treasurer, you owe agriculture some funding. When will it come forth?

Hon Mr Laughren: I just realized that the Minister of Agriculture and Food is here. I wouldn't be answering this question if I'd realized it earlier. To be fair, the money wasn't yanked out of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food; it was reallocated for other programs within the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. It's not fair for the member to imply or state directly that this money was taken away from the agricultural community. That's simply not the case.

Interjection.

Hon Mr Laughren: One of the members wants to know what we did with it. I believe we put it into other programs such as the farm tax rebate program.

The member is not being fair when he implies that we didn't put this money back into the agricultural community. It's my understanding that's exactly what we did do, although there was underspending in that one particular program.

The members of the Conservative caucus in this Legislature have to get their act together with some degree of consistency. Here we go again, demanding that we save money across government, and the very next question they're on their feet saying, "You should be spending more money." If that party was in office, it would drive this province into bankruptcy.

WASTE DISPOSAL

Mr Ron Hansen (Lincoln): My question is to the Minister of the Environment. Madam Minister, as you know, an environmental assessment hearing board is currently considering the proposal—

Interjections.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Would the member take his seat.

Interjections.

The Speaker: The member for Lincoln.

Mr Hansen: Madam Minister, as you know, an environmental assessment hearing board is currently considering the proposal by the Ontario Waste Management Corp to build a giant toxic waste treatment facility in my riding of Lincoln. Originally these hearings were supposed to last for a couple of months, but they've dragged on for a couple of years, costing over \$110 million. Can the minister please tell me and the residents of Lincoln when they can expect the hearings to finally come to an end?

Interjection.

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment): A very good question, as my colleague the Treasurer is saying. As the member is aware, this is a facility for which a province-wide search was conducted to find the best possible site anywhere in Ontario for toxic waste. The hearing has dragged on now for several years, but I'm glad to be able to tell you, Mr Speaker, and the House and the province and the Treasurer, that it is anticipated the hearing will finish the hearing of evidence by September 1992, later on this year. I understand there will then be a brief

pause while the participants prepare their final briefings and arguments, and the board will convene in late November or early December in order to hear argument.

Mr Hansen: Once the recommendation is made by the board, who will make the final decision concerning the Ontario Waste Management Corp's proposal?

Hon Mrs Grier: Let me answer that in two parts. First, let me say to the member and to anyone who is interested in this facility that there is a very firm distinction between the decision about the environmental assessment and the decision then as to whether or not a facility should be constructed in accordance with that decision, whatever it is. But when the board has made its decision, that decision will be reviewed by cabinet, so the final decision will be made there.

LANDFILL

Mr Charles Beer (York North): My question is to the Minister of the Environment. Minister, I want to take you back to the letter that was sent to you by Eldred King, the chairman of the regional municipality of York, who said very clearly in his letter that there is only one agreement between Metro and York, and that is the one that relates to the Keele Valley landfill site only. I am quoting what Mr King says, "There is absolutely no other agreement between Metro Toronto and York region beyond the completion of the Keele Valley site."

Minister, will you please make clear in this House that indeed there is no agreement beyond the Keele Valley landfill site or, if there is some agreement, will you table it here in this House? There is tremendous confusion being caused by your public statements. Minister, is it not true there is but one agreement between York region and Metro, and that is to do with Keele Valley, and there is no other agreement at all?

1500

Hon Ruth A. Grier (Minister of the Environment and Minister Responsible for the Greater Toronto Area): There is only the agreement the member has referred to between Metro and York, which applies to the use of the Keele Valley site by Metro and York, and then has within it the provision that in fact if a new site is found, I think the phrasing is:

"If Metro applies to the regional corporation for consent to use any site within the regional area other than the Maple site as a site for receiving, dumping or disposing of waste, such application will be treated as a new application and will be subject to such terms and conditions as may be applied by the regional corporation at the time of such application."

Mr Beer: Then very clearly, Minister, there is no agreement. Now let us end the other canard in this whole matter, which is when you say there is some special relationship between Metropolitan Toronto and York, which therefore means York must accept this huge megadump to handle Metro and York's garbage.

Clearly, Minister, by putting into Bill 143 that York region had to take Metro's garbage, there is no precedent for that, there has been no discussion with York region

about that, there has been no understanding with York region on that point. As I asked you last week, and knowing now that there is no agreement, why is it that York region shall—must—accept the garbage from Metropolitan Toronto? What is the reason why you put that into the bill to ensure that it would happen?

Hon Mrs Grier: It's the question I've answered many times before. That provision is in Bill 143 because of the agreement we've been discussing today, which specified that York and Metro have a special relationship with respect to dealing with their waste for at least 20 years after the coming into force or the operation of the Keele Valley landfill site, which I think was in 1984.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): My question is to the Minister of the Environment as well. I was hoping to ask the Premier a question on the Constitution but, seeing as he's left, I'll direct my question to the Minister of the Environment.

Mr Steven W. Mahoney (Mississauga West): He wouldn't be here now. He's busy watching afternoon TV programs.

Mr Stockwell: I imagine that's right. If Mr Bourassa's not on, maybe he's catching Family Feud.

This minister is twisting the truth, and I'll be very categorical about that statement. The truth is, Metropolitan Toronto and York region did make a deal, yes. They made a deal on a site at Keele Valley, yes. That deal had to do with 20 million tonnes of garbage or 20 years, whichever came first. Once that was reached, there was no new deal. There were no new sites. There was no new agreement. If they wanted to dump more garbage in Keele or in York, they would have to make separate application to council and it would be a separate decision.

My question to the minister is this: Minister, you have given the distinct impression to the people in the GTA that there is some kind of commitment out there between York and Metro for York to take Metro's garbage. That is patently untrue—not true—and is not the case. My question is this: Why are you forcing York region to take Metropolitan Toronto garbage when you abrogated the original deal by expanding Keele Valley? Your suggestion that it was 20 years is factually wrong, because they're going to reach peak long before 20 years.

The Speaker (Hon David Warner): Will the member conclude his question, please.

Mr Stockwell: The question: Why are you insisting on pretending there's a deal between York and Metro when that deal simply does not exist?

Hon Mrs Grier: When the question has been asked before, it's been why did I continue in 143 the arrangement that had previously been agreed to. I continued in 143 the one area for the disposal of waste, being York region and Metropolitan Toronto, because that had been the historical and the traditional arrangement between York and Metro, starting with the agreement to which reference has been made today.

The Speaker: The time for oral questions has expired.

MOTIONS

PRIVATE MEMBERS' PUBLIC BUSINESS

Mr Cooke moved that Mr White and Mr Mills exchange places in order of precedence for private members' public business and that the requirement for notice be waived.

Motion agreed to.

HOUSE SITTING

Mr Cooke moved that notwithstanding standing order 9(a), the House shall continue to meet until 10 this evening, when the Speaker shall adjourn the House without motion until the next sessional day.

Motion agreed to.

PETITIONS

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mr Ron Eddy (Brant-Haldimand): I have a petition.

"To the Legislature of Ontario:

"Whereas the report of Mr John Brant, arbitrator for the greater London area, has recommended a massive, unwarranted and unprecedented annexation by the city of London;

"Whereas the arbitration process was a patently undemocratic process resulting in recommendations which blatantly disregard the public input expressed during the public hearings;

"Whereas the implementation of the arbitrator's report will lead to a destruction of the way of life enjoyed by the current residents of the county of Middlesex and will result in the relevant portions of Middlesex potentially not being economically viable,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislature as follows:

"That the Legislature of Ontario reject the arbitrator's report for the greater London area in its entirety, condemn the arbitration process to resolve municipal boundary issues as being patently an undemocratic process and reject the recommendation of a massive annexation of land by the city of London."

It's signed by 199 residents of the county of Middlesex, and I've affixed my signature.

GAMBLING

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I have a petition today signed by 80 residents of Ontario, including many people in my riding, from West Garafraxa township, Fergus, Arthur, Bellwood and so on. It reads as follows:

"Whereas the NDP government is considering legalizing casinos and video lottery terminals in the province of Ontario; and

"Whereas there is great public concern about the negative impact that will result from the abovementioned implementations,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the government stop looking to casinos and video lottery terminals as a 'quick-fix' solution to its fiscal problems and concentrate instead on eliminating wasteful government spending."

I have affixed my signature to this petition.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I have a petition I wish the Premier were here to hear, but he left half-way through question period, as usual. It's to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rule changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

This is signed by several interested citizens in Ontario. I have affixed my signature to this document in agreement with it.

1510

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie): "Whereas the proposed changes to the Labour Relations Act reflect the fact that more women, more members of visible minorities and more part-time employees are in the workforce today than ever before; and

"Whereas these workers deserve the same access to the right to join together and bargain collectively as workers have had in the past under the act, which has tended to serve men working in large factories; and

"Whereas the proposed changes to the Labour Relations Act will bring about greater worker participation and reduced conflict and confrontation in labour-management relations,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly of Ontario as follows:

"That the Ontario government and all the members of the Legislature effect speedy passage of the changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act, so as to promote better labour-

management relations and to provide women, visible minorities and part-time workers with the same rights as other workers have under the act."

I sign my name to this petition.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): "To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rules changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

It is signed by several people, and I affix my signature to it as well.

LANDFILL

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I have a petition to the Legislative Assembly.

"Whereas the town of Whitchurch-Stouffville has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural and residential land, both areas would be drastically affected by a megadump; and

"Whereas the Interim Waste Authority has identified sites in the town that would consume large tracts of class 1 and 2 farm land, the areas identified by the Interim Waste Authority would severely interrupt the vibrant agricultural community. The farm families in these areas have continued to invest large sums of money into their farm lands. These communities would be destroyed by the Interim Waste Authority putting in a megadump; and

"Whereas most of the people in Whitchurch-Stouffville depend on groundwater for their drinking water and the dump would threaten their clean water supply; and

"Whereas the effects of the megadump would destroy local economies of these communities,

"Therefore we, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land in the heart of the town and turn it into Metro's and York's megadump.

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to seek and entertain alternatives to landfill and to implement aggressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

I sign my name.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): "To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rules changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

I affix my own signature to the number of signatures that are on this petition.

LANDFILL

Mr W. Donald Cousens (Markham): I have another 2,000 signatures from the people in Markham, Unionville, Thornhill, Milliken and Locust Hill concerned with the choice of dump sites.

"We, the undersigned, hereby call on the government of Ontario to discontinue the consideration of locating a waste disposal site in Markham M6, 11th Concession, south of Locust Hill, and in Markham M3, between McCowan and Kennedy north of 16th, and in all other areas that are located in the immediate vicinity of environmentally sensitive areas of York region."

I have affixed my signature on this petition for consideration by the government.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Mrs Irene Mathysen (Middlesex): I have a petition signed by 56 residents of the county of Middlesex, who ask the Legislative Assembly to set aside the arbitrator's report for the greater London area so that agricultural land can be protected. They have requested that the size of the annexation be reduced and they also ask the Legislative Assembly to be mindful of the rural way of life in Middlesex.

I have signed my name to this petition.

STANDING ORDERS REFORM

Mr Ian G. Scott (St George-St David): I have a petition signed by a number of persons.

"To the Legislative Assembly of Ontario:

"Whereas Premier Bob Rae of the province of Ontario has forced upon the Ontario Legislature a change in the rules governing the procedures to be followed in the House; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has removed from members of the opposition the ability to properly debate and discuss legislation and policy in the Legislature by limiting the length of time a member may speak to only 30 minutes; and

"Whereas Premier Rae, who once defended the democratic rights of the opposition and utilized the former rules to full advantage in his former capacity as leader of the official opposition, has now empowered his ministers to determine unilaterally the amount of time to be allocated to debate bills they initiate; and

"Whereas Premier Rae has reduced the number of days that the Legislative Assembly will be in session, thereby ensuring fewer question periods and less access for the news media to provincial cabinet ministers; and

"Whereas Premier Bob Rae has diminished the role of the neutral, elected Speaker"—that's you, Mr Speaker—"by removing from that person the power to determine the question of whether a debate has been sufficient on any matter before the House; and

"Whereas Premier Bob Rae has concentrated power in the Office of the Premier and severely diminished the role of elected members of the Legislative Assembly, who are accountable to the people who elect them; and

"Whereas Bob Rae has some nutty ideas about the Senate of Canada, which really worry us,

"We, the undersigned, call upon Premier Rae to withdraw the rules changes imposed upon the Legislature by his majority government and restore the rules of procedure in effect previous to June 22, 1992."

That, Mr Speaker, you will be pleased to hear, is signed by a number of people, and I am happy to sign it as well.

1520

LANDFILL

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): Mr Speaker, I have a petition here to the Legislative Assembly.

"Whereas the town of East Gwillimbury has traditionally been a mixture of agricultural and residential land; both areas would be drastically affected by a megadump. The town possesses a significant amount of land which has historically been and remains devoted primarily to agriculture; and

"Whereas the historical significance of our area is typified by the Sharon Temple and its many patrons, and the pastoral quality has considerable significance to this area; and

"Whereas the effects of a megadump to the water supply of this area would be catastrophic to the township of East Gwillimbury, the water supplies of the Newmarket and Aurora area,

"We, the undersigned, petition the Legislative Assembly as follows:

"We oppose the Interim Waste Authority's proposal to take prime farm land of historical significance in East Gwillimbury to turn it into Metro and York's megadump, and

"We further petition the Legislative Assembly to renew and seek to entertain alternatives to landfill and to implement aggressive reduction, reuse and recycling programs."

I sign my name to this.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

SCHOOL BOARD FINANCE
STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992
LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS
EN CE QUI CONCERNE LE FINANCEMENT
DES CONSEILS SCOLAIRES

Mr Silipo moved third reading of Bill 27, An Act to amend the Education Act and certain other Acts in respect of School Board Finance / Loi modifiant la Loi sur l'éducation et certaines autres lois en ce qui concerne le financement des conseils scolaires.

Hon Tony Silipo (Minister of Education): Mr Speaker, I think I made the comments that I wanted to make on this bill on second reading, so I'll just listen to further debate.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr Charles Beer (York North): I want to make just a few comments on third reading because I think that this particular bill, while it speaks to a number of specific issues that deal with the financing of school boards, none the less underlines, and I think that in this place we want to stress, the need for fundamental reform of the educational financing system. I would certainly say to the minister that the next time we debate educational financing in this House indeed we will be looking at very significant proposals from the government that are directed to putting the whole educational financing system on a much firmer basis.

The minister will know—and we have raised it in this debate, raised it in estimates and raised it in questions over the last couple of years—that there are a number of specific concerns that school boards would want raised and feel are very important to be settled.

The first, of course, is the issue around 60%. I believe the other day in our estimates discussion the minister said that it is still his belief that there should be a 60% figure and that the Ontario government should be funding 60% of the system. The minister also recognized that what had happened was that at the present time we're looking at about 40% across the province, with 60% being funded by the boards themselves.

A number of the studies that are under way looking at education financing are supposed to be completed over the course of the next number of months. The minister indicated that in September the property tax working group of the Fair Tax Commission is going to be bringing in its report. He has said that early in 1993, in January, proposals will be going to cabinet to reform the system. Again in our discussions he has indicated that it is hoped that a number, if not all, of those changes will be able to be in place for the next fiscal year and that those proposals will go forward.

I think it's just very important that we remind the minister and underline for the minister how important that issue is.

Earlier today my colleague from London North read a statement with respect to education, noting in particular a number of the very important programs that are being directly affected by the lack of funding by the province to school boards, and the simple fact that because this year only 1% was transferred to school boards these important programs have had to be cut back.

What is of real concern to so many of us is that the programs that have been cut far too often are related to special education, to programs for children with special needs. That is something I think in this province we simply can't afford. We've got to ensure that all the young people in this province, no matter where they live in this province and no matter whether they are within a public board's jurisdiction or a separate board's jurisdiction, are going to be able to receive and have access to the same high quality of education that we would want all of them to have.

I think when we talk to not only trustees on school boards but to teachers, and most important when we talk to parents, what people in this province want is a fair funding system. They want to ensure that young people, whether in the separate schools or the public schools, are going to have access to the kinds of programs they require and that the way in which the funding is set out will be more equitable.

Clearly one of the key questions that raises for the minister is the place of the property tax and other local taxes in funding that system. How much should be coming from the provincial income tax? We've discussed again the importance of ensuring local accountability so that school boards are raising some of the funds that they are going to expend on education. I think that is something we would all agree to, but clearly we know that the system is out of whack when in this particular year the load on school boards has in fact increased, and where because of the very low transfer payments they simply are not able to maintain the range of programs and the quality of programs that they have had in the past.

This is a very serious issue. It's one that is raised when one goes out and speaks to groups interested in education. There is a real fear that because of the financial crunch the kind of education that young people today entering the system are going to receive, as compared to earlier times, is going to be inferior; that there simply will not be resources, human and physical, to ensure that education is at the level we would want to see it.

I would simply say to the minister that while many of the changes that are suggested in this particular bill speak to earlier decisions and continue from various discussions and plans that were being discussed several years ago, the fundamental issue on everyone's mind is around how we are going to change the way in which we finance elementary and secondary education. He has a responsibility as minister to ensure that his timetable is met.

We will certainly be looking forward to seeing specific proposals that we are going to be able to debate, and that all of those interested in the educational system are going to be able to debate, so that by the next fiscal year everyone in this province, whether as a taxpayer or a person interested in quality education, is going to see changes that will make the system work far more effectively than it does today.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): Last Thursday when we were dealing with second reading I raised the incident, reported in the newspapers, that indicated the Minister of Education had intervened in discussing what would be appropriate levels of reimbursement for the teachers of this province by indicating that teachers had better back off on their request for increases in salary and benefits. I raised that in the course of questions and comments to the member for York North's speech of that day, fully anticipating, however, that the Minister of Education would have stood in his place in windup of that second reading debate indicating what his true intention was.

When we speak about an intention personally to carry 60% funding from the province to the local school boards for funding education it makes a great deal of difference if the Minister of Education of the day is also saying that there are to be no increases in payments to teachers, either by way of salary or benefits.

1530

I think, if the report from that particular newspaper is accurate, the Minister of Education should in fact stand and tell us that is their policy, that he is telling the teachers of the province there are no increases in salary or benefits over the next few years so that his ministry can then transfer fully 60% of the moneys needed to meet the payments of the local school boards. That is for my friend the member for York North to comment on in his final two minutes.

I also wish to bring to the attention of other people that while we seem to think here that we are the only ones who are concerned about school costs and otherwise, I had a very stirring discussion with a former member for Bruce, Ross Whicher, in the town of Wiarton not that long ago and it is on his mind as one of the really major concerns for our democratic society. More on that later.

The Deputy Speaker: Further questions or comments?

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I was waiting for the member to deal with certain other issues that have arisen that are related to this bill, no doubt, and one in fact was the issue that was raised by my colleague the member for Bruce about the rate of remuneration for teachers in Ontario.

I know that people like Liz Barclay and Larry French of the Ontario Teachers' Federation affiliate the Ontario

Secondary School Teachers' Federation, Malcolm Buchanan and Menno Vorster and Jim Head, all of those people who were strong supporters of the NDP in the past, including a good friend of mine Rod Albert, will be wondering why the Minister of Education, who benefited from this act of support from at least the leadership of the teachers' federations, would be telling teachers once he's elected that they should be taking less pay, that they should be lowering their requests for benefits, that they should not be working towards better working conditions.

He continues to impose upon the boards of education very onerous programs that require the boards to spend money on those programs. They're happy to do so as long as the province is paying its fair share. But rather than the province assuming 60% of the cost of education, in fact the province has a diminishing percentage of the cost of education it's paying.

I know that many people in the teachers' federations who had the daily bulletins on the bulletin board saying what wonderful things the NDP was going to do for them would be disappointed to hear that the minister on many occasions has now told boards to be creative, teachers to lower their demands and so on. This would have been much more effective if, during the election campaign, he had been prepared to say that. Some would say it is politically opportunistic to do so today as opposed to then. I wondered whether my friend the critic for the Liberal Party was prepared to deal with that matter.

The Deputy Speaker: Further questions or comments? If not, the minister of York North, you have two more minutes.

Mr Beer: Mr Speaker, I'm glad to learn that I'm the minister of York North. I'm not quite sure what that entails, but I accept the nomination.

I would like to thank my colleagues the member for Bruce and the member for St Catharines for again underlining the real problem that school boards have faced because of the funding policies of this government. Clearly with a 1% transfer it is indeed impossible to then be able to maintain all of the programs as well as to bring in salary and benefit changes that go beyond that. There have been any number of questions from this side of the House, trying to get the Minister of Education to indicate more clearly what specifically he is prepared to do on that matter.

We have suggested at different times that clearly, given the nature of the crisis the system faces, the minister has to bring together all of the key stakeholders to look at what that balance is going to be, what kind of dollars we can be looking at in terms of salary and other remunerations and where the dollars are that we are really going to need in the classroom to ensure that the kids who are there get the kind of education they want.

I think both boards and teachers need a much clearer sense of direction from the minister beyond simply saying, "Look, try to cooperate, try to work in a coordinated way together." I think far too often boards feel they are being left to the side or various teachers' organizations are not quite sure what the message is that in fact is coming from this government.

But at the root of that problem, as well as at the root of all the problems around program cutbacks and needed services that are being cut back, is the fundamental educational funding policy of this government. It's why I say to the minister that the next time we have a major debate on funding in this House, it must be around real change to the current system.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): I'm taking the opportunity to speak to Bill 27, the School Board Finance Statute Law Amendment Act. I'll begin by saying this: There are a lot of things I think we ought to be talking about, a lot of issues in education, a lot of priorities that we haven't had an opportunity to address. Certainly many conditions in the province of Ontario with regard to finance, with regard to curriculum, with regard to parent input, with regard to matters that have come before the standing committee of the Legislative Assembly over the past four or five years that I've been involved in it, have never, ever had the opportunity to reach legislation in this Legislative Assembly with the input from the many individuals and students and parents we represent.

But here today we find ourselves talking about finance. Instead of talking about some of the curriculum changes and training changes we need, instead of talking about the tremendous challenge we have in providing capital dollars to our education system and whether or not we can be more efficient with the sharing of facilities, instead of talking about whether we have early childhood education or day care in our school system, we find ourselves talking about something that is actually being spoken about at great length in another committee—not a committee, but certainly in another area within our purview, and that is the property tax group or the Fair Tax Commission, which was also mentioned by the member for York North in his address today.

It's extremely frustrating to keep our comments on this particular bill, because in fact we thought these kinds of things would be discussed at great length and brought along with other recommendations with regard to changing the fundamental taxation and funding of our education systems here in Ontario. But since it is here, I'll speak specifically to two parts.

The non-share capital corporations, which are sections 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 of the legislation, certainly will make a difference with regard to the funding that goes to separate school boards. I think I'm correct when I say that the Ontario Public Education Network commissioned its own impact study, which indicated that it would cost the province \$414 million to fully compensate public boards. With this piece of legislation, I think we're looking at the last piece, some \$80 million—I believe that would be the correct number; I stand to be corrected—but I'm pretty certain that we're talking \$60 million to \$80 million in this last piece that should in fact go to the separate school boards.

It is with the understanding, I think, that there be no loss to public boards. That was the promise with the implementation of Bill 30. We're speaking in favour of this

piece of legislation today because we feel the minister will in fact keep that promise to the public boards, so we'll be looking very carefully to the mathematics and the implementation, financially, of it to make certain that this promise is kept. All three parties were part of it, and it's my understanding that this will be at the top of the priority list of the minister upon implementation, so that's why we're speaking in favour.

There's another section I'd like to spend just a minute on. It's the borrowing powers, which is section 3. I'm sure the minister wishes he would not have to bring this one before this House in the form of legislation. For the first time, I find myself finding in legislation encouragement to school boards, in effect, to borrow because of a track record. This track record, it's my understanding, would go to the Ottawa-Carleton French-language school board, which finds itself accumulating a deficit of some \$19 million for 1991.

This is of tremendous concern. Everybody, it seems to me, would like to see the success of French-language school boards. There's no doubt in my mind. But we have to have some accountability in finance before we can expand these boards and support them, or any school board. Now we find ourselves looking at many of the separate school boards that find themselves in debt. What are we saying through this piece of legislation today?

1540

We're legislating the borrowing powers of school boards. We are now saying in the act:

"(7) A board may borrow more than the amount authorized to be borrowed under the other provisions of this section if,

"(a) at the time of borrowing, control over the administration of the board is vested in the Ministry of Municipal Affairs under part III of the Municipal Affairs Act; and

"(b) the Minister of Education approves the borrowing."

I just have to say I never thought in all the years that the minister, myself and the member for York North have been involved in education that we would find ourselves looking at school boards in this province, whether they be public, separate or French-language, having to borrow money to operate on a day-to-day basis.

That tells us something about the concern of financing in Ontario, with particular focus on school boards that have the right to go back to the public, in most instances, to raise money. We're not only allowing them, by looking the other way, according to the present legislation, to borrow money; we now say we're in such dire straits we're giving them the authority under the law to borrow money. I never thought in all the years I or my colleagues in this caucus or other members of this House have been personally involved in sitting on school boards we would ever see a piece of legislation come before us like this.

By supporting this—and not all of my caucus colleagues do that; I underline that we all have our reasons for supporting or otherwise—we can only support it because we have no choice. We're absolutely desperate in Ontario, and I now have to say I wonder why.

After 42 years of government under the Progressive Conservatives, we never had to do this. We built the

schools and we managed them. When I came down here in 1988, we were looking at some \$20 billion in deficit in this province. It's one of the reasons I let my name stand for election. I now look across at my Liberal colleagues, who increased the deficit by some \$10 billion or more, half of what we had, and now we have a debt of some \$30 billion in Ontario. This government is promising \$10 billion a year more debt, at the end of its tenure in office we're looking at some \$80 billion and now I'm being asked to support this legislation, which I have no choice but to do because some children may not be in school if I don't do it.

Needless to say, I'm perturbed. I can't stand the interjections of the Liberals who seem to be so righteous from time to time, and they did such a rotten job of managing the finances of the education system in this province. Now we're looking to this government for some leadership, because it's here for three more years, and we have to solve the problems.

Interjections.

Mrs Cunningham: In spite of interjections from some of my favourite ministers, I have to tell you we have to put our collective heads together and solve the problem. This one is not solving the problem except in the short term.

I close my comments with this: Yes, today I did speak in this House and I made a statement on behalf of the concerns of a young man, a legislative page, who had spent his time here. His name is Brandon Bruce Sheppard. He wrote this statement because he was concerned.

In his town of Tillsonburg, because of the existing financial crisis in education, poor management by governments, both the provincial government and school boards—I have to say that—and with regard to what the Liberals said about teacher expectation and promises, it's all just a pile of crap. We cannot afford increased wages. We cannot afford more benefits. We all have to pull up our socks and make sure the next generation of young people will get a quality education and that it won't get saddled with the burden of debt.

So hats off to the young people who take the time to write a statement like this and say: "Look, people aren't paying taxes, and at the same time we're losing things in education. We're losing our special education programs. Our system is crumbling." That's what a young, 11- or 12-year-old boy wrote and we haven't got the intestinal fortitude to sit down and solve the problem. What it means is that people won't get as much.

We won't be able to afford to do the kinds of things we did in the past unless we get this big bureaucracy under control and start putting money in the classroom with the teacher and the child and get rid of everything else. I'm now talking about special education children, young people who need training and everybody else who deserves at least what we had when we were growing up in this great province.

Thank you for the opportunity, Mr Speaker.

The Deputy Speaker: Questions and comments?

Mr Beer: I think the member for London North always brings out a number of key points. Her first one is that far too seldom in this House do we really debate the

more fundamental issues around education. By the nature of the legislative process, we end up talking about many specific, what we often call "housekeeping," bills but rarely do we get to talk about the specifics around where do we want to go with special education, what do we see as the future of junior kindergarten, of destreaming; there is simply a whole host of issues about the direction of our educational system that I think we really ought to debate in this House more frequently, because those are questions that people certainly are bringing to us in our constituency offices or issues that are being raised when we are out talking with school boards.

I think as well that the member for London North quite correctly noted that in the changes that are going to be brought about in terms of funding the separate school system there was a commitment made by the former government and continued by this government that stated that the public boards would not lose moneys. The figure of \$80 million the member for London North referred to is one that I referred to last week in the debate on second reading, and I think that is correct.

I simply say to the member that my own discussions with people throughout the province have indicated that teachers, parents, trustees, taxpayers—everyone—are concerned about the health of our system and are anxious to come together to find some way to resolve the fundamental funding problems we have. But clearly the way we're going to do it is by bringing people together and working together. I think if we can do that, we will then see across the board much better wage settlements as well as a much fairer, more equitable funding situation on the part of the province with respect to school boards.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): I would just like to congratulate the member for London North on her presentation and comments on this bill this afternoon.

I want to say to her that I don't think anybody understands better than I do the real mess we are in in this province with education funding. We have had two successive governments, the Liberal government and now the New Democratic government, that have mandated educational programs and policies without ever talking to anybody. They don't talk to the school boards.

In my riding we have an example. The Minister of Education is here. He may recall that two weeks ago I stood in this House—at 11:30 at night, as a matter of fact—and for half an hour explained areas I have very real concern about in my riding regarding much-needed funding. The interesting thing is that one of the areas I talked about that night with the minister present—I must say, he also was here until midnight that night—was St James School.

St James is a small elementary school of the Dufferin-Peel separate school board. St James has been the top priority of the Dufferin-Peel separate school board for renovation for the last two years. They asked for \$2.5 million. Last week the minister's staff announced that this school would get \$1 million. The irony is that I've been asking for that school's addition and renovation since the Liberals were in government. For seven years we've been

asking for this funding. When I started asking seven years ago, it was \$1 million. It now is \$2.5 million, because that's what it costs. That's an indication where the underfunding in this province is costing the taxpayers more money.

1550

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I'm delighted to add a few comments to the speech from the member for London North. When I was in the previous Parliament, I had the honour for two years to chair the select committee on education. It was an all-party committee whose members, by and large, dealt very well with one another and tried to reach some consensus on education issues.

One of the topics we looked at very extensively was the financing of education. I find the remarks of the member for London North, also substantiated by the member for Mississauga South, to be somewhat strange, because when we were looking at the financing of education, the Conservative members on the committee certainly did not feel that the Liberal government was making a mess of the financing of education and agreed in fact with most of the programs we were bringing in. In fact, we had a unanimous report come out of the select committee on education; a committee that came up with a unanimous report.

We said a number of things. We said that the financing of education was too complicated, that it needed to be explained in much greater depth, particularly to the school boards which were having difficulty understanding it. This was a system that was developed under the Conservative government, I might add.

We made other recommendations, but at no stage did the Conservative members say that the Liberal government's direction in education was wrong. So I'm very surprised that several years after the fact, we find Conservative members now on the attack, saying that the whole world has gone to hell in a handbasket.

I don't like the fact that we're getting into partisan issues here. I would rather we reiterate what the member for London North also said and look at the children, look at the programs they need, look at what our education system needs, and not just fall back to partisan attacks.

Mr Jim Wiseman (Durham West): I want to make a few comments. I'm not going to do it in any partisan way, because education is far too important a subject to be cut and thrust in terms of partisanship, but I would like to make a few comments.

The cost of education in my community, in terms of the burden, is directly related to the number of new subdivisions being built. In the context of the building of these subdivisions, they do not put in the facilities that are necessary for the people who live there to participate with.

For example, in Ajax alone, we know that over \$72 million worth of new schools are necessary because of the urban sprawl of the subdivisions. That's just the public system alone. In Pickering, we have almost the same number, both in the public and the separate school boards. It's important to understand that these costs have accumulated very rapidly over a short period of time.

One of the things that is also interesting to note is that when the member for London North was talking about

special education, the cost of special education is very high because it needs very specialized people. The cost of failure to provide this, I think, is even higher in that we will then send out to the workforce people who are unable to work, unable to learn and unable to participate. This hurts us all in terms of their being not able to participate fully.

So it's a cost that is necessary but, as the member for London North said, in the 1950s, as the population was increasing, the schools were provided, but they were provided at a very high pupil-teacher ratio, which also kept the cost lower, in that you didn't have to have the same size of school. So these questions are very complex. Also, what didn't help in my riding, in particular, was the fact that the Durham Board of Education refused to debenture or borrow money to build schools, starting in 1972.

Mrs Cunningham: Some days it's not easy—having been the chairman of a school board when the Liberals were in power—not to be partisan.

I'm just going to tell you right now that one of the great concerns of school boards has been the mandating of programs here at Queen's Park and then asking the local taxpayer to pay for it. I know the member for Eglinton is very proud of her record. I wouldn't be particularly, because that is the government that mandated junior kindergarten, although this government's going to make sure it's implemented.

The worst thing they did was to mandate class size with no—well, they did give some money that went with it initially. But they know that that's all within the first year or so—actually it's in this year's budget—and then it runs out, stops.

Mr Speaker, I have to tell you right now, this bill is about finance, and finance of education in this province has been discussed ad nauseam. If you're in power for four years and you had it on your plate when you got there and you haven't done anything about it after four years, I wouldn't be proud of that track record, not at all. This government has the responsibility, because it was one of the greatest critics, to do something about it.

The non-partisan part of this particular aspect is that we are looking at it right now along with the government, and my challenge is to do something about it. The government has told us it will have it completed in 1993-94 and I'm looking forward to it—along with the change in the fiscal year; I just have to get that in while the minister's in the House.

The public of Ontario is fed up and sick of studies. We know what direction to move in when it comes to skills training and development and apprenticeship programs, and I would challenge the government to get that done during its term of office. We know what we should be doing when it comes to child care and early childhood education. We need public consultation to finish off the input from the public, of which it's had none. On that point, thank you, Mr Speaker, for the opportunity to respond.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): I'd like to participate in this debate even though I'm restricted under

the new rules of Premier Bob Rae to 30 minutes to discuss a bill of this importance. However, I will try within the time that's allocated to me to make a few remarks that are relevant. Of course, I resent very much the fact that that's all I have, if I wanted to use 30 minutes, and that if I went any further the Sergeant at Arms would have to escort me from the room for engaging in the debate any longer than Bob Rae thought was necessary for members of the House.

This bill is most interesting in what it doesn't include as much as for what it does include. It's been described by many of the speakers today as a housekeeping kind of bill, something that fixes a few problems that are out there but doesn't address the fundamental problems that exist in terms of education finance in this province.

If we look at the plight of boards of education across Ontario now, we will see they have been hit with a 1% transfer increase from the province. Why this is particularly interesting is that the Premier of this province constantly whines at federal-provincial conferences and in this House and protests everywhere the fact that the federal government won't give him sufficient funds to carry out what he feels is his mandate and his responsibility. Yet his government does exactly the same thing to the municipalities, to the local transfer agencies, including the boards of education. For this reason, many of them feel betrayed, particularly those that listened to the promises of the last election campaign and watched how aggressive and determined the Leader of the Opposition and his colleagues were when they sat on this side of the House in wanting to advance more funds from the provincial Treasury to finance the cost of education so that the amount spent locally would not be so great.

If we look at the specific instances right now, every board is going through it. Every board is facing a difficult dilemma. That dilemma is this: Either you increase taxes and maintain the services, many of those services and programs mandated by the provincial government, or you have the other option of cutting services. Most boards in fact are engaging in both activities, and they are accepting the criticism, taking the flak, when in fact it is the provincial government which should be receiving that criticism.

I've received telephone calls and letters from time to time from parents who are concerned about the change in the transportation policy of the Lincoln County Board of Education, for instance. I'm sure the Lincoln County Board of Education would like nothing better than to maintain its policy of transportation with its wide-open boundaries, for students to have access to the various high schools in the city of St Catharines so they can take the subjects they want to take, so they can study in areas they feel familiar with and comfortable with and those areas that are going to be important to them in post-secondary education or when they go into the world of work.

These people previous to this year have had an opportunity to have transportation provided for them when they had to travel many miles across the city. The local board of education, the Lincoln County Board of Education, has been compelled to change that policy in an effort to limit some of its costs that are increasing rather drastically with

the 1% transfer increase from the province. So that's one example, and there are so many examples.

The other example that comes to mind certainly emerges from Bill 82 and the implications of Bill 82. Those who were in the House at that time recall the great expectations flowing from the introduction, debate and implementation of Bill 82, a special education bill which would provide new and expanded services for those who found it difficult to cope with what we call the mainstream in education. Those people at long last had the opportunity to avail themselves of education, at an increased cost to the taxpayer of course, but probably in the long run at a diminished cost to the taxpayer, because these people could become much more productive members of the community if they were able to obtain the appropriate education.

Now we have this government that has said, and in the past was critical, when the previous Liberal government was transferring 6%, 7% and 8% to the boards of education across the province, that it was not enough. Those same boards must face a 1% increase this year from this government and they must wonder if it's the same people who sat on this side of the House, or in the past in another capacity as chair of a board of education or some other position, whether these are the same people.

We also look at library services, which are very important. The reason the investment in education is particularly important—I am sure the Minister of Education and the Minister of Colleges and Universities both understand this and would like to have more money to spend and invest in that area—is because we are in an extremely competitive world. The kids coming out of our school system today are going to have to compete with those in emerging countries, emerging in terms of their industrial capacity, their ability to trade effectively and their ability to play a key role in the world.

Many of the countries damaged by war in the Second World War, or considered to be Third World countries perhaps just a generation ago, are now becoming competitive and gearing their education system to producing the kind of students who can help those countries be competitive. That's why, when we look at the cutbacks taking place in education, we know a lot of people at the local level are going to be sad indeed.

The other option is putting up taxes. There isn't anybody in politics today who doesn't know that the public will not tolerate more taxes or is disappointed to receive a budget with more taxes. Governments face the dilemma: The Minister of Education weekly would meet with people who tell him they want more services. He faces the Treasurer who says we don't have the money to provide those expanded services. In fact, we may have to contract some of the services.

Mrs Marland: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I'm sorry to interrupt the member for St Catharines, but since the government is so bent on us sitting in July to pass its important legislation it could at least hold a quorum and I don't believe a quorum is present.

The Deputy Speaker: Would you please check if there is a quorum?

The Deputy Speaker ordered the bells rung.

1604

The Deputy Speaker: A quorum is present.

Mr Bradley: I appreciate the member for Mississauga South ensuring that there are sufficient members in the House to make this a relevant debate this afternoon. One of the areas I wanted to discuss, as well, that the minister would be aware of in terms of costs incurred by local boards of education, is the transfer of schools. Of course this bill deals partially with the issue of transfer of schools.

When one of the boards loses its schools—usually it's a public school board transferring to a Catholic school board in the province—that board requires more accommodation for its students because it has to consolidate students in a number of other schools. The Lincoln County Board of Education, for instance, could use capital funding to accommodate those people who are now going to be concentrated, from the north end of St Catharines, from the four schools that existed in the public board to three schools. On the other hand, the Lincoln Catholic school board is going to require sufficient funding to be able to renovate and refurbish a school it would be receiving, or its other schools to ensure that it has proper accommodation for its students.

All this is done in the context of the fact that the minister, here in July, mid-July of 1992, has not yet announced the capital allotment for boards of education. This is an all-time record. Usually the boards are aware somewhat earlier in the year of what they might expect from the provincial government, from the Ministry of Education, in terms of capital grants. They can do no planning.

I suspect, though I cannot confirm this, that it is a plot by the government—perhaps not the Minister of Education himself but by the government as a whole—to leave the decision so late that most boards won't be able to take advantage of whatever money is forthcoming. That is just what they keep their fingers crossed for on the other side of the House.

I'm quite—I was going to say I'm surprised but the member for Etobicoke West says I should be surprised at nothing this government does and perhaps he has a point there.

I also look at the fact that we want to put an emphasis on science, for instance, among other subjects. To place the necessary emphasis on science and technology, we have to have up-to-date equipment, yet we'll find shops throughout the province, we will find labs for science throughout the province that are ill-equipped, and libraries that don't have the necessary resources and books for the students who wish to take advantage of them.

Why is this happening? This is happening because this government has made a decision to transfer only a 1% increase in terms of education this year, and it was done at a time when many boards were in the middle of a contract. The Minister of Education and his colleagues and the previous Minister of Education didn't come to the boards and say, "Watch out, 1% is coming." When they assumed office, they just went on their merry way and gave no signal, so boards of education were signing contracts where their

employees were receiving somewhat above the 1% which would now be suggested by the minister.

They're left in the lurch and the pressure is on those who work for boards of education to somehow give their money back, having negotiated in a collective bargaining climate they felt was fair and aboveboard and mutually acceptable to both sides.

We also look at French immersion programs, which are still popular in Ontario. When the crunch comes, certain programs will begin to be cut, and those who wanted their children to be able to know at least one other language and to be immersed in it, to be fluent in it, are losing that opportunity in some cases as those programs are cut back.

What we've got to watch out for, compounding this problem, is the whole issue of disentanglement; that is, the Minister of Municipal Affairs has talked about setting up a situation where you clearly define the role and responsibility and expenditures of the provincial government as opposed to the local government. I think municipalities and boards of education are going to rue the day they ever engaged in these discussions on disentanglement, because I think they'll find foisted upon them a lot of programs and a lot of costs they had not anticipated. The province will take over certain other responsibilities, but the local municipalities will be very sorry they ever decided to move in this direction.

I look at the issue, as well, of destreaming in the province, because many in the secondary school level particularly have expressed concern, teachers in the classroom, some of whom are strong supporters of the NDP, perhaps over pension issues, perhaps over what they anticipated would be the level of funding, who forgot that we have an ideological government in power that is going to have that ideology applied to its educational policy—which is certainly acceptable. I certainly accept that because the government when it's elected is entitled to do so. But we now see that we have destreaming taking place without the necessary resources to do so.

There are those who are adamantly opposed no matter what resources would be available, because they feel that the children who are in the basic level, when placed into the same stream as everyone else, are going to be frustrated and that students who are in today's advanced level will be bored by what is. But what they were most concerned about was that there is not the necessary resources available to them for the implementation of this program and that it's being implemented extremely rapidly. So I remind the minister of that in the context of this bill he has before the House.

Also there's the problem that's quite obviously confronting schools in this province, and that is of violence in schools. How I would like to rise in this House and ask the Minister of Education questions about what he's going to do about violence in the schools. However, we have a limited number of questions and there are other pressing issues of the day which often take precedence. But I can tell the member who is the Minister of Education today—who was a chair, and a good chair it was reported to me, of a board of education in Metropolitan Toronto—who would know, that there is an expanding problem of violence in the schools.

1610

When you have teachers—I read about it in Scarborough—who have to have a panic button now, where you have violence in the hallways, where you now have police officers assigned to schools, one has to wonder how far away we are from New York City. My sympathy goes out to those teachers who are on the front line in the classroom who are confronted with this situation, who have had many of the tools that they had in the past taken away from them because now students have rights and the response of many parents about the disciplining of students may be different today than it was a generation ago.

Sometimes we have boards of education which aren't as helpful as they might be to those teachers who take a stand when the flack starts flying or when the court case is initiated. So we have to worry that we will have a generation out of control if we do not address the issues of discipline and violence within the schools. There are going to be prices to be paid if we allow this to continue.

If one talks about this, the unfortunate thing is that one is branded as some kind of right-wing ideologue. I don't think the minister would agree with that, because I'm sure he has a concern about violence in the schools and how to address it. It's not a problem that has an easy answer. There are answers that can be stated easily in this House, but the implementation and implications of those easy answers have to be looked at carefully as well. I hope the necessary resources are there. I hope the policy is there to support teachers who are prepared to maintain discipline in the schools and that the disturbers—we won't use the first part of that—within a school system who are intent upon causing problems, who are intent—

Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation):
The disturbers—

Mr Bradley: Well, I'm going to tell the member for Scarborough you said that. Anyway, kids who are in school who want to learn, the overwhelming number of people in the school system who want to learn, are often deprived of that opportunity by those who cause problems in the classroom and in the school. If we bend over every time to accommodate the wishes of the troublemakers within a school system because, "You have to understand what they've gone through in their life," or, "You have to understand this aspect or that aspect," one has to remember that we have a lot of students in the school who want to learn and they can't learn as long as they're threatened with the kind of violence we're seeing.

I used to hear teachers say, certain teachers at least, "Oh, the kids are concerned about nuclear warfare; that's what their number one concern is." I would suggest to you the number one concern some students have today is the warfare that's taking place in the hallways of the school and in the school yard and on the way home from school, and that their concerns about a nuclear holocaust are somewhat in the background, particularly with the changing times in which we find ourselves.

I ask the minister—and this bill has allowed me and he's been patient over there, as he always is. The member for London North indicated that on many occasions we

don't have the chance to address these general problems that confront the system, so when a bill of this kind comes up, if we have an accommodating Speaker in the chair and a patient House, we're able to address some of them.

I did notice one thing that I did not want to get into. I probably shouldn't. The member for Etobicoke West will chastise me and say the enemy is on the other side, and he and I happen to agree that that's where the focus of attention should be.

I just want to note, because my friend the member for London North, whom I've always liked in this House and still do, has joined some of her colleagues in now attacking the official opposition—I don't know whether they've seen a poll. Has there been a poll out lately? I've seen two different polls, or something, and they start to attack us.

Mrs Cunningham: We've been doing that since 1988.

Mr Bradley: We're past tense. I tell the member we're past tense.

I always wanted to be friendly with the member for London North because she makes eminently good sense in so many cases; not always, but in so many cases. I would hope she will remember that the polls go up and down and that the real enemy, I think, for her and for her party is going to be sitting on the other side of the House, and she won't have to focus on the good old days of the Liberal government of 1985 to 1990. You used to call them the good old days back in those times.

I know the minister is eager to listen to whatever else he has to listen to today. He has other business at the shop to go back to deal with, pressing important business, and I appreciate the opportunity.

I like the House sitting in the summer, by the way. I hear people say, "Well, the House shouldn't sit." The government now says, "We want to sit two or three fewer weeks," and so on. I like the House sitting in the summer, I really do, because it allows an opportunity to deal with issues.

Folks are at home and watching now. My friends from the teaching profession who aren't taking courses at this time of day or aren't preparing for next year have a chance to see the Minister of Education in action and to enjoy this kind of debate in the House.

As we go on into the summer, I'm prepared to be here each day to engage in debate on matters of great public importance, particularly bills of this kind, as I know the Minister of Education is. I know none of the ministers are going to feel relief when the House is finished and they don't have to face question period again. I can't believe that would be the case.

So thank you very much for this opportunity. I would welcome any questions or comments that other members might have on the matters that I have drawn to the attention of the House this afternoon.

The Deputy Speaker: Questions and comments? The member for Mississauga South.

Mrs Marland: I feel compelled, as someone who has been in this House the same number of years as the member for St Catharines, which is now seven years, to respond to his comment about why our—

Mr Elston: Fifteen.

Mrs Marland: I'm sorry. It's 15 years. I thought the member for St Catharines was very young. I apologize for the other eight years for which I didn't give you credit, my friend the member for St Catharines.

But for those of us who have been in this House for seven years, we recall the concerns we had, and I say this to the current Minister of Education so that all the blame does not fall solely at his feet. We did have a great deal of concern with the policies and the lack of funding that came from the Liberal Party when it was the government, and obviously our concerns were also shared by the people of Ontario, because the people of Ontario decided to eliminate the Liberal government in 1990. So I think that speaks more volumes than I need to comment on this afternoon.

I do want to finish the comment I was making, as an example for the minister, of St James school in Mississauga South, because this school, which has now finally received \$1 million in funding—or \$800,000, actually, from the ministry, with permission to put \$200,000 on the local taxpayers' shoulders—but the fact is, you see, that it's now too little, too late and the school board is scrambling around to see what it can do for this school that needs \$2.5 million to make the same changes that it has needed now for seven years.

The Dufferin-Peel separate school board is an example of a board where over half the students are in portables and the standard of education is not the same as in other school boards where the children are not in portables.

1620

The Deputy Speaker: Further questions or comments? The member for Bruce.

Mr Elston: Mr Speaker, you heard me speaking earlier and asking the member for York North what he thought of the Minister of Education intervening in the collective bargaining program by saying that teachers would have to forgo any increases in salary or benefits.

While I haven't yet heard a reply from my friend the member for Dovercourt, perhaps the member for St Catharines, who spoke at length about finances and other issues in education and the frustration of the professionals in the classroom, would like to comment very briefly on what effect he thought the interjection of the member for Dovercourt about teachers' aspirations for higher incomes and benefits would have on the morale of those front-line service deliverers.

I would also like to say that while we look at what is taking place in education in the province, it bothers a lot of us. As I said, I was able to talk with Ross Whicher, the former member for Bruce, who lives now in Warton. Jane and Ross and I had a long chat about the concern both of them have for our young people and the prospects that our young people have upon graduation from secondary school, and indeed post-secondary education facilities, of really being able to compete in the international market because of what is seen to be, in the communities, a lack of preparation.

I know that the member for Dovercourt, in his current incarnation as the minister following a career as the chair of a major school board, would have some secrets up his

sleeve to propel the delivery of education services to our young people in a way which would encourage or at least enhance their educational skills and qualifications. I think the member for St Catharines might also want to comment briefly on that, although really my interjection is to alert the minister to the fact that we expect him also to comment on this issue in his wrapup.

The Deputy Speaker: Further questions or comments? The member for London North.

Mrs Cunningham: I'd like to bring the debate back to the bill and respond to a couple of the statements here with regard to finances. There seems to be some concern with regard to my friend the member for St Catharines and my criticism on the tenure of his government. There are some things I would say that would be rather complimentary, but this isn't one of them.

I don't think there has been good management in the school systems of Ontario probably for the last decade, which gets us in on that as well. I think the public of Ontario has been looking for some leadership and direction when it comes to finances, and right now I have to say that there are too many school boards, there are too many levels of government, there are too many administrators, there are too many regional offices and there are too many area offices. There is just too much governance in education and not enough focus on children and what they ought to be learning, and not enough focus and accountability in our system so that we know that teachers are teaching what we want them to teach and children are learning what we want them to learn.

Basically it's all so simple. All we have to do is politically get in there and do it. It isn't that we're not studied to death, as I've said before. We ought to just get on with it.

In closing, this is a finance bill. It allows school boards to borrow. I'm not happy about that. School boards should not be in debt and should not be borrowing money. I have to say that there is very little incentive, if any, in the education systems in this province and certainly on behalf of the Ontario government, to give credit and incentives to school boards that balance their budgets, that do a good job, that educate children and that are not in debt. There is no incentive in this province for good management.

The Deputy Speaker: Further questions or comments? The member for Eglinton.

Ms Poole: I would like to congratulate the member for St Catharines on an excellent speech. I have a question for the member for St Catharines, because I'm somewhat confused by what I'm hearing from my physical left but my ideological right in that the Conservatives keep saying day after day in this Legislature—and this is my question to the member for St Catharines—that the Liberals spent too much. “The Liberals spent too much on this; they spent too much on that. They taxed too much; they spent too much.” Today we have two members of the Conservative Party, the member for Mississauga South and the member for London North, both saying that the Liberal government didn't spend enough.

I'd like the member for St Catharines to answer this when he gives his response: Did the Liberals spend too

much on education, did the Liberals not spend enough on education or did the Liberals spend what was possible within the realm of fiscal responsibility? I'm very anxious to hear the reply of the member for St Catharines to this particular question.

The Deputy Speaker: The member for St Catharines, you have two minutes to reply.

Mr Bradley: I'm going to respond to as many of the interventions as I can this afternoon, but the one the member for Bruce brought to my attention got me back on the issue of what the anticipated policy of the government would have been by the leadership of the various affiliates of the Ontario Teachers' Federation and what was actually being delivered today.

I know they monitor the House. They're probably watching right now. They have a legislative liaison officer, Larry French, a strong New Democrat from Sault Ste Marie who is neutral once he's in that position, I'm sure. They're going to be very interested. In fact they would have anticipated some significant increases in pay and benefits, some significant improvements in terms of working conditions under an NDP government, and they've had exactly the opposite being delivered. I don't know how my friend Jim Head, who read daily on the bulletin boards about the Conservative government and about the Liberal government, is going to explain that to the membership of the OSSTF. I always liked reading OSSTF Update to see what the government was doing wrong, whether it was a Conservative or a Liberal government. I don't know whether that continues on today.

We have a situation in education, then, where everyone in the province anticipated, as my members have said, that on average 60% of the cost of education would be paid for by the provincial government across the province. That's in the Agenda for People, and we did not have to get that document from the civil service or from somebody in a brown envelope. So the Ontario Provincial Police will not be investigating me or anyone else; that's in the Agenda for People. I see now that so many of those items in the Agenda for People simply no longer exist. That in itself is revealing.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? If not, Minister.

Hon Mr Silipo: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I was just hesitating a moment longer, but I'm glad I'm on my feet.

This has actually been quite an interesting hour or so. I think the member for St Catharines continues to make his point well about the rules, not just in his statements but in taking opportunities, of course, as he has today, to speak about financing in general and forget about the specifics of the bill. I say that in good humour, because I appreciate the comments he's made none the less.

I think it's important. Of course, on a bill like this that touches on some aspects of education finance, I suppose it's not unusual for people to stray somewhat off the path of what the legislation proposes to do and to talk in general about some of the bigger problems that we all recognize exist in education financing and to talk about promises that

indeed we've all made and promises that I think we're all trying to approach.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): Not me, my friend; I didn't make that promise.

Hon Mr Silipo: The member for Etobicoke West makes the point that the Conservatives never made that promise. He's quite correct. The Conservatives, if I can get partisan for just one moment, didn't make that promise. They were the cause of the problem we have now in taking financing of education from the 60% level down to more or less the realm that we find ourselves in now.

Of course the Liberals did make that promise of returning to 60% and didn't quite manage to get us there. We have made that promise and we continue to work at trying to get there. I think, as I've indicated here in the House and as I've indicated through the estimates process, we continue to work on this issue and we continue to believe that we have to move towards that objective.

Having made that partisan remark, I want to say that I do agree with a number of other comments that were made. One of the things we all agree on is that whatever we do with the education financing system as a whole, it certainly needs to be a lot simpler than it is now. I think that can be done and we are trying to look at what we can do in that respect.

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I'm not going to go into all the points that were made. I know the member for Bruce would like me to get into the whole area of interfering in teacher negotiations. I will resist that temptation at this point, because it isn't really in the legislation that's before us. What I will say is that he will know quite well, in talking as I have been about teacher negotiations and other negotiations, that we have been trying to encourage school boards and teachers' federations to find that appropriate balance between lower wages on the one hand, wages more realistically in line with inflation, and the kind of compromises and give and take that have to exist at the local level in the collective bargaining process. That has to continue to be there.

I will just conclude by talking about a couple of specific aspects of the bill that I know people touched on as well.

First is the impact on public school boards of one of the provisions in this bill, which is to complete the process begun in earlier legislation, that will allow corporations without share capital or incorporation, such as the Archdiocese of Toronto, one classic example, to be able to allocate their property taxes to public or separate school boards as they determine. It's actually interesting that under the present legislation, a group like the Archdiocese of Toronto doesn't have the ability to say it would like its taxes to go to the Catholic school system, as one might expect in that case.

We know that's something that should happen and that's one of the things this bill does. We know that will have some impact on public school boards. Others have talked about some figures. I think I've indicated and want to indicate again that we're conscious of that. In the continuing phasing-in of the pooling provisions, we will be

looking at the kinds of adjustments we need to make to take that into account.

The last point I want to make is with respect to the comments around borrowing powers. I just want to be clear that what this bill does not do is give all school boards the power to borrow or go into a deficit to deal with operating costs. What it does in a very limited case is allow some boards that are under the jurisdiction of the trusteeship, through the Municipal Affairs Act, as exists now in the Ottawa area with the French-language school board, to borrow as part of a plan that would have to be approved by the Minister of Education. That is quite clearly there, because we believe it's necessary as part of the process of getting that board back on the financial track. Obviously it would be used in very limited circumstances. In fact the legislation would limit that to situations where school boards are being overseen under the Municipal Affairs Act.

With that, I will conclude. Once again, I express my appreciation to members of the opposition for their support of this legislation, notwithstanding some of the concerns they might have, and also thank them for allowing this legislation to be passed in the kind of time frame it was possible to do.

Motion agreed to.

CO-OPERATIVE CORPORATIONS STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES SOCIÉTÉS COOPÉRATIVES

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for third reading of Bill 166, An Act to amend the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act with respect to Co-operatives / Loi modifiant la Loi sur les sociétés coopératives et la Loi sur la location immobilière en ce qui concerne les coopératives.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): When this bill was last debated, Mrs Marland had the floor and had concluded her remarks. Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie): Today I'd just like to ever so briefly congratulate my colleague the member for Scarborough Centre for all the hard work he's done on this bill, pulling the pieces together and talking to all of the folks who will be impacted very positively by it.

In Ontario we actually have a very active co-op sector in both the financial area and the housing area, but there's also another, smaller, very active co-op sector in the worker co-op movement that deserves a lot of credit and that has been working very hard in this province over the last number of years to put together new ways of bringing capital to play under a more democratic ownership structure so that the economy of this province could be renewed in a way that more people would benefit.

Our government committed itself, over a year ago, to renewing the economy of this province in face of the very difficult recession we have in front of us now. Certainly the amendments that will be brought forward to the co-op act by this particular piece of legislation will go a long way

towards including more people in shouldering some of the responsibility so that all of us in the end might benefit.

As I did in starting, I end my very brief comments by again congratulating those who have been involved in this very important piece of work and hope that it will move forward quickly through the House and become the law of the day in this province.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any questions or comments? Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate?

Ms Dianne Poole (Eglinton): I am very pleased to enter this debate about amendments to the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act. I am particularly pleased because as Housing critic I am quite supportive of a number of changes being made to this piece of legislation.

I would like to talk about a number of things. First of all, I'd like to touch on the need for changes to the Co-operative Corporations Act and then talk about some of the changes and why they are helpful. I'd like to describe what a housing cooperative is and what it does, because I sense from comments from a number of members on Thursday that they really don't quite have a handle on what co-op housing is all about. Then I'd like to talk about some of the benefits of co-op housing. Finally, I'd like to touch on some of the difficulties in the co-op housing program and some of the things I feel that the Ministry of Housing should have put in this piece of legislation that it did not.

As far as the need for this legislation is concerned, it encompasses all sorts of co-ops, not just housing. But certainly housing cooperatives are one of the groups that have been most desperately seeking changes to the Co-operative Corporations Act. The legislation hasn't been updated since 1973, and as all members know there have been substantial changes since that time. Quite recently, there was a court decision which gave some urgency to the matter. It was a decision in the Ontario Court of Appeal, *McBride v Comfort Living Housing Co-operative Inc*, in February 1992, which has disrupted the workings of the legal system in Ontario so far as housing co-ops are concerned.

What the courts decided was that co-ops are not subject to any part of the Landlord and Tenant Act. This made it extremely difficult for the cooperatives to continue to work. They could not evict tenants who should no longer be in the co-op. It has made it very difficult to manage a housing co-op in a businesslike fashion. This piece of legislation will actually solve a number of the problems related to that.

The greatest area of growth in the co-op movement has, I think, been in the area of housing. The growth has been steady for a number of years, but since the NDP has put a great amount of effort, resources and dollars into the co-op program as of the last year and a half, this has certainly exacerbated the need for change.

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I mentioned the decision from the court, which actually resulted in some urgency. Perhaps I should explain to the members of the House that the co-ops were previously subject to certain parts of the Landlord and Tenant Act but

not others, so there was a great deal of confusion around this. The court decision certainly brought everything to a head.

Under this piece of legislation, Bill 166, co-ops will have the right to evict tenants. Of course, there are some provisos for the protection of the tenants in the co-op, the first being that it has to be based on reasonable grounds. It has to be based on criteria and reasonable grounds; it cannot just be arbitrary. The other thing is that the tenant of course is given a right of appeal.

I guess, having gone through the rent control legislation in the not-too-distant past, this gives me pause to reflect, because two of the things I wanted in the rent legislation were that the director could not act without reasonable and probable grounds if he thought a fraudulent situation was occurring and, second, the right of tenants to appeal. Those were two issues we fought very hard to have included in the Rent Control Act, and the minister rejected them. I am glad to see that the Minister of Housing must have had some input to the Minister of Financial Institutions, or maybe the Minister of Financial Institutions was a very good influence and overrode the Minister of Housing, because in this particular piece of legislation there are now these provisions that there have to be reasonable grounds for the eviction, for instance, and that the tenant does have a right to appeal. I think they're both very important considerations.

The other thing to do with housing co-ops is that student housing co-ops had their own unique set of problems because of the transient nature of students and the need to terminate eligibility for membership at the end of the students' enrolment in the educational facility. What this bill does is to remove that whole uncertainty and provide criteria to assist in that particular case.

The proposed amendments also reflect a need to maintain the integrity of the co-op system, particularly in the housing sector once again. Although it has never occurred in Ontario, to the best of my knowledge, rapidly escalating real estate values and the lack of any legislation to the contrary could, with the support of a cooperative's membership, allow individual co-ops to pay off the mortgage, disband the cooperative, sell the assets and distribute the proceeds to the membership. Under Bill 166 this can no longer happen. It says the dividends have to be declared and distributed on the surplus arising from operations; only the proceeds of assets sold in the ordinary course of business can be distributed. That was, again, another very important consideration in this legislation.

There are a number of housekeeping items in Bill 166, particularly relating to housing co-ops. One is that the entitlements of the membership, ie, the tenants, are defined in the legislation. So the rights are more clearly defined; I think that's very positive. Second, the procedures for removing a member from his or her apartment is described, and it is specified that if you give up possession of an apartment you relinquish membership in the co-op and vice versa. I think that is important clarification as well.

Those are a number of things I would like to relay to members as being quite helpful in the area of the housing cooperatives. I know members of the advocacy groups in the cooperative housing field have been quite anxious for

these changes and will be very glad to see this legislation pass as soon as possible.

Mr Speaker, I mentioned to you that when we had the debate last Thursday a number of members made comments that led me to believe they really didn't understand how a housing cooperative worked, so I thought that if I just took a minute or two and described some of the ways in which a housing cooperative works and some of the benefits, it might be helpful to certain members of the Legislature.

First of all, housing co-ops are based in a community. It is a group of people who get together and design, develop and obtain financing for a housing project in which they will all become joint owners. The residents don't pay rent; they pay a monthly charge which covers the cost of the mortgage, taxes and operating expenses of the development. They don't own their individual units. This is called a non-equity co-op. They have a stake instead in the entire venture. They can stay as long as they want and as long as they obey the rules of the co-op, but when they decide to move out, they cannot sell at a profit. This is why it's called a non-equity co-op. This allows the affordable component to be maintained. It allows people to have an ownership stake and yet it doesn't allow for any gouging at the end, so that the unit still maintains its affordability.

One of the aspects of a housing co-op is that the members are extremely involved in the rules and the regulations and in how it's run. Every member of the co-op has an equal say in selecting new members, for instance, in deciding monthly charges, in upgrading or renovating the project and on questions of maintenance and administration.

One comment by the Minister of Housing federally—this was when the federal government was still supporting the co-op program—was that, "Cooperative housing provides shelter while offering a supportive environment and the opportunity to develop skills learned through cooperative management." That was housing minister Elmer MacKay last December, not too long ago.

Since that time, the federal government has withdrawn from the cooperative program. This was quite surprising because the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp, CMHC, had done a review of the federal cooperative program and found it extremely effective; found that it was cost-effective. In fact, if I may take a moment just to quote from the study they did, they found that co-op housing operating costs are at least 40% below those of roughly comparable public housing units and approximately 25% below those of roughly comparable non-profit units.

They mention that savings are primarily in the cost of operations such as professional fees, janitorial services, garbage and snow removal, insurance and administration. A major factor contributing to these savings is the volunteer time contributed by the co-op households: on average, 95 hours a year. You can see why this would certainly reduce the cost of cooperative housing when that type of time and energy is put into it by volunteers in the co-op movement.

One of the interesting things the CMHC study found was that close to 65% of co-op households in all three federal programs have incomes below \$30,000 a year. So

certainly on the federal scene, it was found that co-op housing was meeting the needs of people who were in need. I think that's a very important consideration. Certainly CMHC is the definitive word in housing, and its statistics have always been extremely reliable and been a model for the industry, so I found that quite interesting.

I was recently reading the June 1992 issue of *Municipal World* and I found an article where municipalities are asking for reinstatement of the co-op housing program federally. It said: "The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) called on the federal government to immediately reinstate the cooperative housing program which was cut in the February 25 budget.... The federal cooperative housing program was introduced in 1986 on a five-year demonstration basis. A 1990 review of the program by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp (CMHC) showed it to have been highly successful and cost-efficient." So again there is an unbiased viewpoint by municipalities in Canada, which felt the program was worthwhile and was working.

There was a very good article in the *Toronto Star* by Carol Goar immediately following the budget cuts by the federal government where she talks about co-op housing, what it means and what the benefits are. She started out by saying, "Suppose you wanted to build the kind of housing that will serve Canada well in the 21st century."

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She says, "Ideally, they would be economical to produce, immune to the wild speculative swings of the real estate market, and designed to foster a sense of community.

"They would be affordable, but free of the stigma attached to low-rent housing developments. They would be near schools, stores and public transit. People would be proud to live in them."

"That sort of accommodation," Carol Goar says, "already exists. It is called cooperative housing."

She outlines in this article a number of benefits of co-op housing. She says that according to the government's own statistics, "Two thirds of co-op households earn less than \$30,000 a year," and that was in the CMHC study I just quoted from, which I'm sure Carol Goar got her statistics from.

Second, "Close to a third of co-op households are led by single mothers. Because child care is often available in co-ops, eight out of 10 of these women are working."

Third, "Co-ops have an unusually high proportion of natives, recent immigrants, disabled people and women over 55; groups that normally have difficulty finding affordable housing."

Finally, she says that "Co-op housing is 40% cheaper than subsidized rental housing to operate." Those are certainly a number of benefits.

Now I would like to get to the other side of the coin, that is, some of the difficulties in the co-op program in Ontario. It's not that the concept of co-ops is not a good concept—it is a good concept—but obviously there is much concern as to how it is to be implemented.

One of the concerns I've had is that the new legislation doesn't include any reference to overhauling or opening up the process by which membership to cooperative

housing is granted. At present applicants for housing co-ops are accepted or rejected on the basis of committees' recommendations with no clear criteria delineated or required in legislation. There is no master list. Every co-op has its own list. It is sometimes very difficult to see why certain people are rejected and why certain ones are eligible. The Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario does provide parameters. However, co-ops are not consistent in their application.

I would like to go to the auditor's report in this regard—this is the auditor's annual report from 1991—where it refers to co-op housing and some of the problems the auditor found. The auditor mentions in the report that "Municipal and private non-profits established after 1986 must have at least 40% 'deep need' units in their projects." On the other hand, cooperatives must have 25% of the total units dedicated to deep need.

What the auditor said is that "In some cases, referrals by LHAs"—local housing authorities—"to non-profits and cooperative housing agencies are not done according to the OHC's"—the Ontario Housing Corp.'s—"point system. That is, the most needy are not necessarily referred.

"Some non-profits and cooperatives refused referrals from LHAs we visited by simply stating that the applicant was not suitable for their project. In other cases, non-profits and co-ops have not asked for referrals from LHAs as required." In fact they pointed to one area where for over three years 26 non-profits and co-op programs in that particular area did not contact the local housing authority for referrals during that three-year period.

The auditor also reports that "Conflicts have occurred from non-profits using different selection criteria than" the local housing authorities and that "Non-profit housing corporations prefer to use their own selection criteria and select tenants from their own waiting list." That's what I have made reference to, because it is not only important that this process be fair, but that it be seen to be fair. If you do not have criteria set out that can be used universally, even if you could have some differences from one co-op to the other—it doesn't have to be rigid—then how can people know whether they in fact have been fairly rejected or in fact fairly accepted by the co-op program?

It says further that local housing authorities "are frustrated that they lack the authority to make non-profits and cooperatives accept applicants referred to them."

What it comes down to is that it's a very good concept, and certainly in the federal cooperative programs they found it was meeting a deep need, that two thirds of those in the federal program were earning under \$30,000. I certainly think that's the type of need that members of this Legislature would support, but there does appear to be a problem in Ontario in that we are not having the same degree of deep need met. I think I'm getting signs that I'm about to wind up, Mr Speaker. The deep need is not being met to the same extent, and the criteria are not there to make sure that it is being properly administered.

I'd like to close by quoting from a number of the questions that were listed in A Housing Framework for Ontario, put out by the Ministry of Housing a number of months ago, because they're questions that I think we need answers to.

"To what extent should non-profits have a choice of needy applicants referred from local housing authorities? What kind of social mix targeting is acceptable within assisted housing programs? In what way should targeted plans be more flexible? What changes should be made to allow access to the existing stock for client groups having special needs? How could a better match be achieved between applicant needs and existing accommodation?"

It's been over a year now since A Housing Framework was released and we're not getting the answers. The Ministry of Housing is proceeding with more allocations, more building, without answering those very important questions. They aren't stopping to reassess the program. They've completed 30,000 with Homes Now, or they're on the verge of it, and that would've been a good spot to stop and take hold and say: "Okay, before we allocate more, let's make sure that need is being met. Let's make sure that it's being done cost effectively. Let's make sure the program is being delivered properly. Let's make sure that it is working right."

Instead, last year the government targeted another 10,000 to be built and, in this year's budget, another 20,000 to be built over the next three years, without stopping to make sure the program is working effectively.

I don't believe, like the Conservatives, that cooperative housing should be thrown out the window. I think they're wrong, because I think cooperative programming can be a very cost-effective method. But I say to the government, unless it's willing to fine-tune the program and make sure that needs are met, it will not have the public on its side, because the public is saying right now: "We want to make sure that our dollars are being spent wisely. We want to make sure that they're being spent on people who are in need, because the purpose of non-profit and cooperative housing was to deal with people in need."

It's a warning for the government. You could've made those amendments and those changes in this particular piece of legislation. The Minister of Housing could have announced that she was reassessing. Instead we just get more words.

I would just close by asking the government to take a serious look at this, because if it wants public support for the cooperative program and the non-profit subsidized program, then it has to start making sure that its implementation is right, that it is fair and that our public dollars are being spent in the most cost-effective way.

1700

The Deputy Speaker: Questions or comments?

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I just want to make a few comments on the remarks of the member for Eglinton on Bill 166.

One of the things I had the pleasure of doing recently was opening up a cooperative in York region, the Fitzpatrick housing cooperative, which was established by the Steelworkers. It had a real interesting mixture of town houses and apartments.

One of the things the member for Eglinton talked about was the way it's controlled and owned by its membership. I guess one of the things that's established with a board

like that that's established is to take a look at some of the needs of the people who'll be living there. They've pointed out the need for child care. I think they have within that establishment one of the finest child care establishments I've ever seen. It's a terrific mixture. I guess it comes because you've got such a range of different people in there and a mixture of incomes and what not. So housing types are all different.

The control and the ownership being by the membership, as the member had spoken about, and the savings by volunteers, I guess that's one of the exciting things about living and being involved in a cooperative unit. I know that the Jackson's Point Co-op up in Jackson's Point in my riding has that sort of cooperative nature. They certainly come out strongly on different social issues that affect the residents in their housing cooperative.

She mentioned the problems in housing, and she pointed out some of them in the Provincial Auditor's report. As a member of the public accounts committee, that's one of the things we had talked about looking at in that committee. We've kind of put that on our agenda as something being fairly high from all members of the Legislature, not just members of opposition in that committee but all the members. There are ways for us as members of this Legislature to be effective. The committee work is also very important, so I thank the member for Eglinton.

The Deputy Speaker: Further questions or comments?

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): I'd like to start out by saying that believe it or not, we agree on a lot of issues with the previous speaker, the member for Eglinton. I find her to be very accurate at times, but at other times I disagree with her wholeheartedly. She knows how I feel on a few separate occasions on different housing matters.

On this one, however, I'd like to talk a little bit about flexibility, because I'm a firm believer that boards, co-ops and non-profits should be flexible. I think that in selling co-ops and non-profits, not only to the people who would live in the co-ops but to the people who live around the potential sites, the flexibility issue certainly would sell to the community at heart. I know you have to have some flexibility to be able to run a co-op and a non-profit, and I say that to me that flexibility is certainly very important.

I think the fact that this bill stops profit is certainly important. I've always been an advocate of non-profit—everybody knows that—and I would like to say that stopping the possibility of profit-making in housing is an area I'm glad we're addressing. I would like to commend the minister and tell the minister to keep doing the work they're doing in this particular ministry. I hope the Minister of Housing will now reflect on a lot of this as well.

The Deputy Speaker: Further questions or comments? Back to the member for Eglinton. You have two minutes.

Ms Poole: I would be pleased to very briefly respond to the comments of the member for Durham-York and also the member for Yorkview.

The member for Durham-York talked about the fact that public accounts is going to take a look at the issue of non-profit and cooperative housing. That is very true. In

fact, just by coincidence I had subbed in quite recently where the committee decided that after the next auditor's report, which is going to take another look at the non-profit housing sector, comes out, the public accounts committee is going to take a very thorough look at this whole area. I really welcome that because I think it's time we reassessed. But my concern is that this should not be waiting for that committee to act, because it's going to be at least another six months before the auditor's report comes out and the committee has an opportunity to meet.

I would like the Minister of Housing to be taking a look at this right now because, again, I cannot emphasize enough that public perception is very important. When you have articles like the ones that have been published in Eye magazine stating how costly non-profit, subsidized housing is and how the deep need is not being met, it is incumbent upon the Minister of Housing to show statistics and reports that say the opposite is true. If she cannot, then the public will say, "This is a waste of taxpayers' money and we're not getting good value for our dollar." I would like the Minister of Housing to act and to act now.

The comment from the member for Yorkview had me very concerned when he said, "We agree on many things." I was going to stand on a point of order or a point of privilege and say, "I very rarely agree with the member for Yorkview although I'm pleased to hear he sometimes agrees with me." Anyway, I thank both my colleagues for their comments.

The Deputy Speaker: Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? If not, the parliamentary assistant.

Mr Stephen Owens (Scarborough Centre): I'd like to begin by thanking the opposition for its sage commentary during the last couple of days of debate and I can certainly say that while in some senses I agree wholeheartedly with what they're saying, in many, many more senses I heartily disagree with some of the analysis that's taken place.

This piece of legislation, the amendments to the Co-operative Corporations Act and the Landlord and Tenant Act, is essentially landmark legislation and it is going to put us into a position where we are going to be able to ramp up to a more competitive position with respect to how cooperatives are treated in this country. As I said in my remarks on second reading, in terms of how the province of Ontario views co-ops, we are essentially 12th out of 10 provinces.

These amendments to the Co-operative Corporations Act will, as I say, provide a good ramp-up to putting us into a more competitive position. With that, I thank the opposition members again. I'd also like to thank the Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto, the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario, John Brouwer from the Ontario Worker Co-ops Association and the many, many staff people at the ministry who made this bill possible.

Motion agreed to.

The Deputy Speaker: Orders of the day.

Hon Marilyn Churley (Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations): Mr Speaker, the 19th order.

Mr Murray J. Elston (Bruce): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: The member who has the floor, I believe, is the member for York Mills and I told him just before he left the House that I would stand and ask on his behalf if we might restore six minutes to the clock. As you recall, when we rose here the last day we were debating this, there was a little bit of a ruckus that was caused and in the course of that, while he held the floor, he lost some six or even more minutes from his speaking time. Mr Speaker, it was not his fault that he could not participate in it. I would ask for unanimous consent of the House to restore another six minutes to his speaking time and I would ask that this be considered now.

The Deputy Speaker: You are not asking a ruling from the chair; you're asking if there is unanimous consent. Is there unanimous consent for and we back the clock by six minutes? Agreed? Agreed.

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): Thank you, Mr Speaker, and I'd like to thank all the members for that gesture.

I will start out today by mentioning the fact that Ontario already has the most comprehensive labour legislation—

The Deputy Speaker: Would you please take your chair for a minute. We haven't called the orders of the day.

LABOUR RELATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT
STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS
EN CE QUI A TRAIT AUX RELATIONS
DE TRAVAIL ET À L'EMPLOI

Resuming the adjourned debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 40, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Collective Bargaining and Employment / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui a trait à la négociation collective et à l'emploi.

The Deputy Speaker (Mr Gilles E. Morin): We'll start as if nothing had happened. The member for York Mills.

Mr David Turnbull (York Mills): Thank you, Mr Speaker. Ontario already has the most comprehensive labour legislation in North America. But with these changes incorporated in Bill 40, we know that in fact the government has cherry-picked from jurisdictions right across North America and Europe.

There is absolutely no evidence to suggest that reforms will improve the cooperation between labour and management. I'd like to look at some of the results of this legislation.

This bill has created an uncertain economic climate and it has already contributed to investment and job losses across Ontario—in fact, 260,000 in the last 18 months—and undoubtedly it will continue to do so. In today's international money markets, capital can be re-routed around the globe at any time. Governments have very little control over capital flows, so these labour laws in fact ignore the economic realities that cause investors to look elsewhere.

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A recent study by Ernst and Young indicates that 295,000 more jobs will be lost and that \$8.8 billion in

investment will be lost over the next five years if this bill is passed in its present form. The auto makers particularly worry that even a hint of labour troubles in Ontario will tip the balance in favour of plant relocations in the USA.

I'd like to quote from the *Globe and Mail* from January 1992: "Ontario risks a devastating loss of business investment and the possible shutdown of major auto plants if it persists with its controversial proposal to change labour laws. The Big Three North American auto makers"—

Mr Anthony Perruzza (Downsview): That's a lie.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Order. Would the honourable member who uttered that unparliamentary comment please withdraw it.

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker: You're not in your seat. I would like to remind the honourable member that—

Interjection.

The Acting Speaker: You must go to your seat, and interjections are out of order. I want you to withdraw, please.

Mr Perruzza: Mr Speaker, in no way was my comment directed at the member, but I withdraw the comment and would just question those statistics.

Mr Turnbull: I would ask that the time be added to the clock.

"The proposed changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act are the number one economic issue for the province today." This is a quote from the vice-president of General Motors of Canada at that news conference in January.

I'd like to read into the record some letters of constituents who have written to me on this subject. A letter from Advanced Monobloc says: "First, let me say that the government's OLRA changes seem to favour union proposals and offer only lipservice to the concerns of business. They would tilt the union-management balance in favour of unions, something that will increase workplace acrimony and confrontation." He goes on to say: "Second, I am not convinced that there is a demonstrated need for these changes. At a time when our unemployment rate is so high, when business confidence is so low and when the challenge of competitiveness is so real, these changes do nothing to put the economy back on the road to economic growth. If the government is serious about getting Ontario out of the recession, then why are they introducing a scheme that could drive thousands of jobs and billions in investment out of Ontario?"

In another letter from Deep Foundations Contractors Inc: "The proposal, if adopted, would seriously impair our competitive position. The thrust of the NDP concept is to make it easier for unions to become certified and to give unions greater power during any dispute. Their proposals are 180 degrees in the wrong direction. For the sake of our economy, the Ontario government should disavow these proposals as quickly as possible."

Another letter from a Mr Peter Harris: "I am very concerned about any changes that will increase the power of unions in our society. It is power for which there is no public accountability."

A letter from Dr Nicholas Pairaudeau, "I know that both you and I have the experience of socialist governments in the United Kingdom. This government is no different from that of the Harold Wilson years of the mid-1960s, and look where that got us." Indeed, that is so true.

From the Ontario Natural Gas Association: "The amendments in question are unanimously viewed as retrograde from a social policy perspective and inconsistent with basic democratic principles.... Government's role should be one of neutrality with the objective being to foster a balanced environment in which labour relation problems can be amicably resolved."

From North York city council: "that council endorse a motion to call upon the government of Ontario to either abandon the proposed changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act or at least alter those proposals to ensure:

"(a) that third parties such as landlords and adjacent businesses or tenants are protected; and

"(b) that the use of replacement workers and contracting-out continue to be allowed during a strike in accordance with present legislation."

In another letter, from Mr Jerry Borins: "I am the owner (since 1969) of the Wheat Sheaf Tavern and employ 20 employees. Every year, more legislation is being imposed on me, to the point that it is proving to be unprofitable to carry on business in Ontario.... Some of the suggested changes in the Labour Relations Act will affect my business, and quite possibly force me to lay off staff and even close my doors.... I believe we must work together cooperatively and I will do this freely without legislation, as I have already done for the last 23 years."

The changes presuppose that job security can be achieved through union representation. That attitude fails to recognize the fact that the only way we have job security is by being competitive in a global economy. This can only be achieved through worker and management cooperation. "Cooperation" should be the watchword of all dealings between labour and management, consensus-building by establishing a tripartite task force composed of equal numbers of business, labour and government representatives to review Ontario's labour relations system and make recommendations for constructive changes.

I believe the tripartite task force of the kind that has been suggested would be the best way of beginning a new start in labour relations in this province. The creation of a joint business, labour and government task force would allow a thorough economic impact analysis, and indeed that is probably the most critical element missing today: The government has consistently refused to do an economic analysis of this.

The consequence of this legislation could be that it removes an employee's legal right to work. An employee who disagrees on a strike issue with a union is forced to go on strike. They would not be allowed to enter the work even though they thoroughly disagree with the union. Newspapers could be shut down, threatening their viability due to the loss of advertisers and subscribers; indeed, we can see the kinds of implications this could have for the Toronto Star. A few maintenance people on strike in a complex could close down a whole industrial complex.

This could cost thousands of jobs and incomes to workers because of a dispute by a very small number of people.

Turning now to Quebec law, which was born out of violent strikes in 1977, security guards opened fire on 500 workers at the Robin Hood flour mill and eight people were wounded at that time. Now here's the important issue: In spite of the replacement worker law, Quebec still has more strikes and lost days due to labour unrest than Ontario, so where is the demonstrated success of the Quebec model?

Furthermore, it forced Quebec businesses to construct other plants in Ontario and south of the border in order to fulfil their contractual obligations. The big difference between Quebec and Ontario is that in Quebec a union can't walk out without first winning the approval of a majority of members in a secret ballot vote. That is not so under these proposed NDP laws. In Ontario, if the majority of workers don't support the strike called by union bosses, workers can still be forced out on strike.

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Hon Gilles Pouliot (Minister of Transportation): Why don't you go?

Mr Turnbull: I see the Minister of Transportation seems to be a little agitated today.

What this law does is it tips the delicate balance in a negotiating process to the union, instead of being balanced between the two parties.

Consumers have three days to rescind a contract for purchasing goods or services, but there will be no sober second thought when joining a union under these laws.

The elimination of the \$1 fee, without payment of which workers are not allowed to join a union at the moment, will have significant impact. It's much easier to get somebody to sign something, maybe when they're out at the pub, if there's no money transacted. That \$1—in fact, it probably should be \$5—makes people understand that this is consideration of a contract that they're signing. There is no part of this legislation that mandates that unions should disclose what the union dues will be if somebody joins that union.

Further, turning to the question of picketing, allowing third-party picketing can mean that we can have injustice on picket lines. We can have people going to shopping malls and picketing in shopping malls outside of a shop, disrupting the traditional right of the landlord to say, "You are trespassing." This is very unfortunate, the idea that somebody who owns property can have his property rights absolutely trampled. Indeed it's a continuation of what this government has done in the constitutional debate. They have steadfastly refused to have any consideration of property rights in any constitutional accord.

These proposals infringe on employees' rights of freedom and civil liberties. The purpose clause is to facilitate employees joining and being represented by a union, which alters the current balance in legislation, which also protects employees' rights to remain non-union or to decertify a union. We can have certification without a vote, which certainly undermines the freedom of choice. Third, employees cannot revoke the membership card after certi-

fication. This certainly undermines any aspect of freedom of the individual. We need a secret ballot vote of the nature that my colleague Mrs Witmer, the Labour critic, introduced.

I have the results of a survey which was just done by the Canadian Federation of Independent Business. They asked their 40,000 members across Ontario the question: "Should automatic union certification be decided by a supervised secret ballot vote?" In all cases 79% said yes, 11% said no, 4% were undecided, 6% said there was no interest in the issue.

Overwhelmingly, people are saying it is appropriate to have a secret ballot, but the union bosses who are the paymasters of the NDP government are saying no, they don't want any of those things.

What obligation should unions have to members? This legislation gives unions new rights but does not give any accompanying responsibilities to the unions. There is no onus on unions to provide information on dues or levies. The responsibilities are left untouched.

The bill before the House fails to enhance workplace harmony by improving the parties' ability to resolve issues internally. Instead the bill likely increases government and third-party intervention in the employment relationship; that is, it allows the Ontario Labour Relations Board to settle contracts. If a union is in a legal strike or lockout position for 30 days, the OLRB can settle the first collective agreement if the employer or the union applies.

The results: These changes will do nothing whatsoever to make us more competitive, attract investment and renew or strengthen the economy. What it will do is increase political and economic power of union bosses and cement their support for the future.

A more productive and peaceful workplace will benefit both sides; it's an important ingredient in making Ontario a competitive player in the world marketplace. But that goal can only be reached if concerns and ideas of both sides are given equal consideration.

The workers of the province would be better served by creating jobs, not by creating a business climate which discourages investment and makes it impossible for businesses in this province to compete in an increasingly global marketplace. These changes threaten jobs in Ontario, and jobs, not changes to the collective bargaining process, are what working people in this province need.

In conclusion, we need an impact study, we need a tripartite committee to look at this, composed of labour, employees and government, and we need a secret ballot clause to handle strike votes. That would help Ontario workers to have secure jobs, and secure jobs are what the Conservative Party is most concerned about.

The Deputy Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Randy R. Hope (Chatham-Kent): In response to some of the comments that were put forward, the Conservative Party thinks it is the leader in the democratic rights of individuals. Embodied in our Constitution is a provision for workers to have secret ballot votes, both on contracts and on ratification of strike votes. That is embodied in most constitutions and in bylaws of local unions, which we allow our workers because, as we've been the fighters for

workers' rights, we also believe in the right and the ability to express their opinions.

One of the other things the member mentioned was the surveys that are out there. It's the same people who, I remember back during the free trade arguments, were sitting there saying how many jobs, jobs, jobs, and I think Brian stole the line after a while. Now when it's an NDP government out introducing rights of workers, all of a sudden we're going to lose jobs. They started at 480,000-something jobs, and they're now down to 200,000-something jobs, and they say to do an impact study.

They talk about the fear of investment. The tactics that are being used currently by that business community group and the other groups that are out there, the major lobby campaign that's on, are creating more harm because people are being fearful because of the myths out there.

One of the things we always have to remember is that the people will not organize a workplace unless they've been mistreated. When they've been mistreated by an employer, that's the time they will seek representation on a collective right. Remember that it's not only one individual at that workplace who has been mistreated, but over 50% of the population employed there has been mistreated and wants fair representation, and that's why they want collective representation.

In the Eaton's in Chatham, this union settled without labour dispute, beyond the time frame of their contract and stuck in there to make sure they came out with a fair collective agreement for both employer and employee.

Mr Chris Stockwell (Etobicoke West): The crucial point that needs to be enunciated again, and the member for York Mills was very clear and poignant in his comments, is that there seems to be some difference of opinion about the effect of this legislation on job creation or job loss in the province of Ontario. That can be considered a point of debate.

The difficulty I have with the government is it simply refuses to offer any statistical analysis of the impact of this legislation. Their only defence is, "We don't believe the studies and polls that have been done by the private sector." In the absence of any fact or study or poll, what is one left to believe? One is left to believe that either the information out there is absolutely correct or the government is too frightened to do a poll or study for fear of the results.

If that is not the case, the challenge before this government is simple. It's a simple and fair challenge. The challenge being taken to you, being raised by the private sector, being raised by the business communities is: Please commission a study and do a report to measure the effects of this legislation, because there's real concern that it's going to be detrimental to the economic health of the people of the province of Ontario.

That's not unreasonable; it's not unfair; it's not unquestionable. What scares the people out there is that this government is not prepared to do that study/poll because it's frightened of the results. It's like not going to the doctor because you're scared about what he's going to tell you. It's nuts.

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The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments? The member for Downsview.

Mr Perruzza: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker, for this brief opportunity to address this very important issue. I couldn't help but listen to the member for York Mills recite statistics and recent private polls commissioned by very special interest groups and powerful corporate interests. I couldn't help but sit here and realize that, quite frankly, in this province there're two sets of realities. There's a reality in this chamber and there's a reality out there in the workplace where people have to work every day of their lives. It seems to me that many members in this chamber don't understand the reality in the workplace; they don't understand the pain and the hurt that some working families are undergoing during these very difficult and hard economic times.

Speaking to some bricklayers in my community, I recently discovered that they are working five days a week but currently being paid for four days. They work four days for themselves and their families and one day they work for their employer, their contractor. Quite frankly, this harsh reality doesn't seem to sink in with some of the members of this chamber. That's not just uncommon within that industry or that sector; it prevails in many of the industries and sectors out there. So when working people ask for extended rights at their workplace, governments shouldn't simply buckle under to big corporate interests and deny them that little voice they might otherwise have.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr David Ramsay (Timiskaming): I've been listening to this debate with great interest. It's very sad to see the animosity that has developed between the business community and unions in Ontario. I've never seen that at such an accelerated, heightened rate as we see that right now.

Interjection.

Mr Ramsay: The member across the floor asks me, "Who started that?" The introduction of this bill started that, so I bring the member back to the history of the Ontario Labour Relations Act in this province.

This bill has been developed over the years in incremental steps. What the government of the day has done—we all want to make this legislation more progressive—is brought the two sides together, sat the two sides down and said, "Now's the time to reform the Labour Relations Act of this province." It forced the two sides in a room and started to look for some leeway from both sides to make it more progressive legislation.

Instead, this government has really brought the hammer to the business community and to the workers of Ontario and said, "These are the changes we're going to bring in, the changes we're going to force in." That's causing a war, and that's not what we need.

The Premier talks about partnership, and that's what we do need. Everybody in this province knows we have to move progressively with this legislation, and we're all willing to do that. The legislation today is not perfect and

there need to be some changes, but this all-comprehensive reform, so-called, being brought through is causing great uncertainty in the investment community. It's causing great angst among all the people of Ontario, and that is not what we need today. The economy is facing a time of restructuring and tremendous change, and we need to instil a sense of confidence in all people around the world that Ontario is the place to invest and to create jobs for our people.

This is not doing it and that's what's wrong. We need to start over and start talking about this in a sensible and rational way so we can bring through some good reforms we all agree with and move on in building the new economy for Ontario.

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for York Mills has two minutes in response.

Mr Turnbull: The curious thing in listening to debate and listening to the questions and answers is that both in question period in the House and in debate, every time we talk about the need for an impact study, on the one hand the government vehemently refutes any credibility to those studies which have been done by the private sector and yet also refuses to do any itself. What have they got to worry about if they're so convinced that it will show the right numbers that they want? They don't believe in it. They know that this is payoff time for the union, for the NDP union bosses. That's what it is, pure and simple.

Indeed, my colleague the member for Timiskaming spoke correctly about the fact that the economy is being restructured. We're facing this on a worldwide basis. It's not just something that's going on in Canada, it's not just happening in Ontario, but Ontario has to respond to that. The only way we're going to do that is by remaining competitive. Some of the union bosses and their hangers-on can stick their heads in the sand and believe that somehow you can barge through a different set of rules in Ontario than exist in any administration in North America, but the acid test is: Is money coming to Ontario? Are new jobs being created? Unfortunately, to a great extent the answer is no.

The absence of the studies is the most significant element of all this debate. It's quite obvious that the Minister of Labour is scared to do an impact study. This is the same government that will spend money on paying off all its old union buddies like Wally Majesky to do studies—studies that are not needed and not tendered. That is the acid test of this whole debate.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate on the second reading of Bill 40?

Ms Anne Swarbrick (Scarborough West): I rise to speak in strong and proud support of my government's proposed amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. The Ontario Labour Relations Act has not been updated for 17 years. It's geared to the needs of a primarily male workforce in large workplaces. That doesn't reflect the reality of today's workplace and workforce.

Women now make up almost half the workforce. The ethnic and cultural mix at work is far more diverse. Recent

years have seen a rapid expansion of employment in the service and retail sectors, with workplaces that typically contain small numbers of workers, many of them part-timers, often women and members of minority groups. Their group is frequently characterized by low wages, few benefits and limited opportunities. It's time for reforms to Ontario's labour laws to deal with these new realities.

Two years ago Toronto city council was persuaded to establish the Worker's Information and Action Centre after it heard deputation after deputation from groups across the city that showed it the serious injustices that many workers, especially women and immigrant workers, face in today's workplaces. I want to share with this House a few of the many situations that my government is responding to by bringing forward our reforms to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. For those who want impact studies, what I want to tell you is more than just part of an impact study; it's part of the realities under today's Ontario labour laws.

The Federated Building Maintenance Co employed 185 workers, almost all women, as cleaners at First Canadian Place, a major tower in the city. The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce retendered that contract. Federated then laid off all its workers. These women were given no severance pay. Most had worked hard at their job for anywhere between eight and 18 years. They had no other job skills. Most spoke Portuguese or Greek, not English. These hardworking women were laid off with no severance pay, but they had no union, so they had no recourse. They didn't know where to turn to get help. Through family members and community organizations some of them eventually made their way to Parkdale Community Legal Services, which pursued their case with the employment standards branch. Parkdale won. The company appealed. These women finally got their money in February 1992, but the layoffs had occurred in December 1987.

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Severance pay is intended to provide a financial bridge between jobs. In the case of these women and in the case of many others like them, the employer failed them, the laws failed them and, although they won their case, the justice system failed them, as this was a perfect example of "Justice delayed is justice denied."

Approximately 80 of the women were offered jobs by Hurley Brothers when it took over the cleaning contract at First Canadian Place, but their workload was doubled for the same salary. They lost the long-standing benefit of having a holiday on their birthday and they lost any benefits accumulated through their previous years of service.

I hope all members of this House would agree that the above situations are totally unjust and need legislative change to prevent them from continuing to happen. My government's reforms will ensure that workers like these women do not lose their jobs nor their established conditions of work simply because, through the tendering process, their employer loses the contract to provide these services.

I also want to tell this House a story about Lark Industries. Lark Industries employed 148 workers, again mostly women. They closed their doors with a half-hour's notice to its employees. They paid no termination pay, they paid no severance pay, they owed their workers wages for work

already performed. The workers report that Lark Industries moved its machinery next door and opened under a new name. They believe these same employers did this not just once but two or three times.

The employment standards branch took a long time to act. Again the situation came to the attention of community groups, including in this case the Woodgreen Community Centre. These groups arranged a people's inquiry which attracted the media attention they needed to get the Ministry of Labour under the then government to prosecute the company. The women won their case for the money owing to them four years later, and they still haven't got their money. With a union and with my government's labour relations reforms, Lark Industries could not have treated those workers in such an abominable fashion.

I want to tell you about one more story that's being actively dealt with right now. There's a manufacturing company that recently laid off its workers, again with only a few hours' notice.

Interjection.

Ms Swarbrick: If the member from Etobicoke would allow me, I'd like to give another example of the horrendous stories that occur under the present Labour Relations Act.

Mr George Mammoliti (Yorkview): Isn't that Chris Stockwell?

Ms Swarbrick: That is Chris Stockwell, George, yes.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. The honourable member for Scarborough West has the floor. All members will have an opportunity to question and comment as soon as she has completed.

Ms Swarbrick: There is now a manufacturing company that recently laid off its workers, again with only a few hours' notice. Those workers were again paid no severance pay, no termination pay. Almost all the workers had spent between 10 and 30 years of their lives working for that company. They're owed up to \$20,000 each in severance and termination pay. You want impact studies. Here's the reality under today's labour relations laws.

The employment standards branch has issued an order for the company to pay. The company is trying to negotiate to pay less than the minimum standards called for in the Employment Standards Act and far less than these workers, including many older workers, need and deserve after up to 30 years of devoted service. These workers look to their severance pay to give them a financial bridge until they can obtain new work and to help prevent them from eventually being forced on to welfare during a time when even younger workers face great difficulty in finding new jobs.

Interjection.

Ms Swarbrick: The company knows and these desperate workers know, but the member for Etobicoke West doesn't seem to care.

Mr Stockwell: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: My privileges have been breached by the member. I would ask that she address the issue and not whether I care or not. It's not for her to determine.

The Acting Speaker: It's not a point of order; it's really just a difference of opinion. The honourable members, as I mentioned before, will have the opportunity to question or comment. We are on time allocation and this is cutting into the time of the honourable member for Scarborough West. Please, the member for Scarborough West.

Ms Swarbrick: Thank you, Mr Speaker. All I ask the member for Etobicoke West for is the same courtesy I extend to him when he speaks; that is, to listen.

Again in the case of this current situation, the company knows and the desperate workers know that the case, if they let it, could be tied up in the courts for many years to come. It was only because the children of some of these older immigrant workers found their way to community agencies that this case is now being dealt with.

I understand that problems like the ones I've just described are also occurring throughout the retail industry during its restructuring in today's recession. From small retail stores to large department stores, I'm told that workers, mostly older women workers, are having their hours reduced and are being replaced with younger workers who cost less.

People at Toronto's worker information and action centre tell me they hear from many workers describing petty tyrannies that they feel bound to put up with because the unorganized employers know they can't do anything. The centre tells me of dismissals over minor incidents. With the introduction of Sunday shopping, workers are looking for ways to give effect to their right to refuse and they are looking for fair systems to decide who will work when.

A number of legal and practical obstacles in the act now deny access to collective bargaining for large numbers of employees, particularly to women, part-timers and members of minority groups in the rapidly growing service sector. My government's labour law reforms will remove some of these barriers to help ensure that working women like the ones I have described will finally have a better chance to be treated fairly. They won't go as far as the women's movement would like them to, nor in fact as far as I would like them to, but our labour law reforms will be a solid step forward to help take those women towards greater chances of justice in their workplace.

We claim we're a democracy. We say that Ontario workers have the right to join a free union, yet the reality in Ontario is that most people are terrified to whisper the word "union" in a non-union workplace. In fact, many people are afraid to be identified with the union in unionized workplaces. They're afraid of being fired or, at the very least, of dooming themselves from opportunities for advancement.

Those leading the campaign of terror against reform of the Labour Relations Act claim that we're going to tilt the balance of labour relations in Ontario. But what balance? The grave injustices, like the ones I have just described to you, illustrate the total lack of justice and the total lack of balance that exist under today's labour laws. Those grave injustices show the grave need for the reforms that my government has introduced.

I come from the labour movement. I remember well the calls that we frequently received from workers who

had been treated abominably by employers and who were calling us frantically for help, but when I proposed the option of meeting with someone about the possibility of helping to form a union at his or her workplace, most backed off in fear. They hoped the employment standards branch of the Ministry of Labour might be able to help them, but seldom could it.

What about when we found workers with the courage to help bring a union into workplaces where employees needed representation? The meetings sometimes had the flavour of the infamous Watergate meetings with Deep Throat, as we helped people overcome their fears and tried to ensure that the employer wouldn't find out and wage a campaign to scare people off. I felt I was training a team of investigative detectives to identify all the employer's locations, to try to identify the names of the people who worked there, to identify their phone numbers and their addresses so that they could contact them after hours, to identify their position so they could determine what bargaining unit they belonged to.

Again I ask, what balance? It is my government's reforms that are what finally might create some balance in labour-management relations in Ontario. It's the Ontario NDP government that has at long last given priority to creating equality for women on all fronts. Now my government is working to ensure that women, including immigrant and minority women, will enjoy the right of free collective bargaining. The fact that many labour unions are predominantly male is not the fault of the unions; it's the fault of Ontario's labour laws which discriminate against the workplaces in which women predominate.

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The reforms my government is proposing are extremely moderate. Contrary to the claims of the opposition, my government has followed an extremely democratic process in its attempt to modernize Ontario's laws to meet today's needs. We sought extensive input from both business and labour. From that input we developed and distributed proposals and a discussion paper. The Minister of Labour then toured the province, receiving the input and reactions of all those who wanted to be heard about their opinions on our proposals for labour law reform. Our government consulted; we listened and we modified.

Any fine-tuning that might be required can be further considered in the extensive committee hearings that will be conducted around Ontario throughout this summer before the legislation returns to this House for final debate in the fall.

There are people who are creating a campaign of terror against these reforms, claiming they will drive business out of Ontario. This campaign reminds me of the one waged against Ontario's health and safety reforms a few years ago. It reminds me of the threats of doctors when Tommy Douglas's government introduced medicare in Saskatchewan. The reality is that today's economic crisis is crying for a new era of cooperation in our labour-management relations, and it's my government's reforms that can help to make that new era happen.

To reach that new era of cooperation, though, we need business to take the high road. We need business to deal

with the reality and the need for this new era of workplace cooperation. The reality is that it is today's existing laws that are polarizing working people and managers and that leave years of bitterness between labour and management following disputes. It's those conditions we're trying to correct.

Today's labour laws are in desperate need of reform. Ontario needs labour laws that will foster a win-win situation in the economy, one that will result in greater mutual respect and greater productivity. It's those goals that my government is trying to meet with its proposals to reform the Ontario labour relations laws. We need reform of Ontario's labour relation laws to bring labour-management relations into a new era of workplace harmony, productivity and fairness.

I'm proud of the work our Minister of Labour, his parliamentary assistant and their staff have put into developing these reforms to Ontario's labour relations laws. I commend them for their tremendous hard work in trying to bring greater justice, harmony and productivity to Ontario's workplaces. The time for it is long overdue.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Gerry Phillips (Scarborough-Agincourt): I just want to comment on a couple of things the previous speaker said. I think she used the term "campaign of terror." I just say to all members of the House that there is legitimate concern out there by legitimate people about your proposals. I say to the NDP that to brand people who don't agree with you as conducting a campaign of terror is the wrong way to go.

Interjection.

Mr Phillips: The member chooses to heckle, but I just say to all the members of the NDP that you can't go around branding people who disagree with you as conducting a campaign of terror.

I'm interested in the letter the NDP sent out, attacking virtually every single business in the province, attacking General Motors, attacking Ford, attacking IBM and saying that they are conducting a campaign of terror. If you want a partnership, which we on this side want, of all the workplace parties, just because someone has legitimate concerns about what, by all accounts, are the most sweeping changes of the Ontario Labour Relations Act ever undertaken, by your own admission the most sweeping changes, if there are organizations and groups out there that want to express legitimate concerns, you can't dismiss them and try to shut them up by saying they are conducting campaigns of terror.

We in opposition won't allow that to happen. We will ensure there is a forum for legitimate people who want to express a view that you may not share. You may not want to hear it, but you're going to hear it. We on the opposition side will make sure you do hear it.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Stockwell: I'd like to address a question with respect to the three examples that were given earlier in the speech by the member for Scarborough West.

First, I'd like the speaker to address this question: Cite exactly where the labour legislation changes that you're making would have made a difference with respect to those issues that those people were facing with respect to the job layoffs or closures. I can't seem to understand exactly where in your labour legislation changes there would have been any difference.

The argument may well be made that they weren't unionized, that therefore they could have been unionized, and by being unionized this kind of thing wouldn't happen. I beg to differ. I represented an area in Metropolitan Toronto known as Lakeshore-Queensway in the late 1980s when we were facing a number of plant closures. They were unionized and non-unionized closures and, yes, the unionized closures faced the same uphill battle for severance pay etc as the non-unionized shops. I give as an example the Goodyear plant down on Lakeshore Boulevard near Kipling Avenue that closed some few years ago. The member for Etobicoke-Lakeshore stood up in this House and made grandiose promises that in fact could not be lived up to.

The question to the speaker is, "Exactly where in the labour legislation would your changes have protected these people any differently than they were protected during those periods of time?" Simply by suggesting they be unionized flies in the face of logic, simply because unionized shops were closed down and they faced up to six years of battle to get their severance pay.

Last, I want to comment on the "campaign of terror." Every time someone disagrees with you, it becomes a campaign of terror. That's unreasonable.

The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Kimble Sutherland (Oxford): I want to comment on this issue of a campaign of terror as well. There's no doubt there are people who disagree with the changes and want to make what they feel are legitimate concerns and arguments against the proposed bill. That's fine and that's fair in a democratic society. Certainly the Minister of Labour and the ministry gave many groups a fine opportunity during the public hearings that went across the province.

When I first started going out and canvassing in elections about eight or nine years ago, I only ran across one or two people who said, "You're a communist," and there was this red-baiting. But now it seems to be popping up again. We now have billboards popping up all over the province which have pictures of Lenin and Marx and Bob Rae.

Interjection: Who's doing this?

Mr Sutherland: The people who are doing this are remaining unidentified, but quite clearly those types of billboards—and I'm speaking solely to those billboards—to me are a bit of a campaign of terror because they are making an analogy that isn't really accurate and isn't fair.

We live in a democracy. This government is carrying out its reforms in a very democratic fashion. It has gone around the province. It has listened and has amended accordingly, based on some of those consultations.

I think the comments my colleague the member for Scarborough West made about a new era of collaboration

and partnership are very key in this whole discussion, because there seems to be some sense being portrayed out there that all workplaces aren't going to operate any more. Well, from my standpoint, in those workplaces where they already have good labour-management relations, these changes aren't going to affect them. What it does mean, though, is that in many other workplaces where there haven't been good labour-management relations hopefully a new era will develop and a new partnership will develop. That is in the best interests of everyone's wellbeing and of the economy of this province.

The Acting Speaker: We can accommodate one final participant.

Mr Joseph Cordiano (Lawrence): I only caught the last part of the debate that was unfolding when the previous speaker had the floor. I'm going to allude to what I believe was the subject matter just mentioned previous with respect to a campaign of terror that's being launched against this legislation. I know members will sit around the Legislature and talk about outside forces having an opinion and the tactics that are being used or deployed to deal with what's taking place in the Legislature.

I'm a little sceptical about cynics and critics of the way in which campaigns are conducted these days. Of course, third-party advertising is now a subject that is being taken up by the federal committee looking at the whole question. It is now before the House of Commons. We too have to look at this as subject matter that would concern us for the upcoming next election. I would simply say this to members: I recall, in the last provincial campaign that the slogans and the advertisements that were used were not entirely what I would call the practice of politics we were accustomed to in this province prior to that election campaign.

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The things that were said in some of the reigning government's advertisements, I believe, pointed fingers at the previous administration which were not factual—

Mr Hope: It's facts.

Mr Cordiano: No, they were not factual; they were complete fabrications. At this point I think it's a little late for members sitting on the government benches to say that this kind of advertising, this kind of sloganeering, was not acceptable. A campaign of terror was launched during that campaign.

The Acting Speaker: This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for Scarborough West has two minutes in response.

Ms Swarbrick: This government and I have no problems with disagreement and dissent. The problem is not with people who legitimately, as the member for Scarborough-Agincourt refers to the problem, disagree with or dissent from what we're trying to do. I totally respect that. The problem is that often I've sat down and talked with people who come in with their understanding or their misunderstanding, in fact, of the present law. When I've talked through with those business people what the realities are—

Interjections.

Ms Swarbrick: It would be nice to be able to hear myself think when I'm trying to speak.

Mr Mammoliti: Is it Chris Stockwell again?

Ms Swarbrick: Yes, it is Chris Stockwell again. The problem is that when I'm talking and trying to discuss the issues with business people in my riding or in my area and they come with all kinds of misinformation, when I get through explaining what the realities are, in every case so far they've ended up saying, "You know, the problem isn't really the reality; the problem is the perception." That perception is the one that's created by people who have put their vested interests and a lot of money into trying to stir up those misunderstandings. That's what I have a problem with.

The campaign of terror and misunderstanding are being created by a few and inflicted on the many, who then bring their legitimate concerns—unfortunately it's difficult to then deal with all the realities when people are so whipped up. You can't get to everyone. The reality is that this government is working very hard in partnership with business, as I am in my riding, as all the rest of the members on this side of the House are in their ridings and I'm sure the members on the other side are too. We're working very hard. I know that partnership sense is felt by those employers I speak to on the other areas.

If we could only deal in a reasoned fashion on the labour relations issues, as happens when I talk with them, as I say, they end up coming to the conclusion that it's not the realities they have a problem with. In fact, the realities they accept are totally fair and needed.

Mr Stockwell: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I would like to ask for unanimous consent to allow the speaker to have another two minutes so she may respond to the questions I asked. I guess she inadvertently forgot.

The Acting Speaker: That's not a point of order. Do we have unanimous consent?

Interjections: No.

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Monday 13 July 1992

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Lundi 13 juillet 1992



Speaker
Honourable David Warner

Clerk
Claude L. DesRosiers

Président
L'honorable David Warner

Greffier
Claude L. DesRosiers



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO

Monday 13 July 1992

[Report continued from volume A]

1805

LABOUR RELATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT STATUTE LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1992

LOI DE 1992 MODIFIANT DES LOIS EN CE QUI A TRAIT AUX RELATIONS DE TRAVAIL ET À L'EMPLOI

Continuing the debate on the motion for second reading of Bill 40, An Act to amend certain Acts concerning Collective Bargaining and Employment / Loi modifiant certaines lois en ce qui a trait à la négociation collective et à l'emploi.

Mr Phillips: I'm pleased to have the chance to join in the debate on Bill 40. I want to start to talk about the process we're following here because, while the members of the government may say they want legitimate debate on this bill, I say to them and to the public that your attempt to gag the opposition last week is a classic example of a government that doesn't want to hear.

As a matter of fact, Mr Speaker, you will know that this bill has to be one of the most sweeping changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act ever made, perhaps the most sweeping. There are, at last count, 32 substantive amendments, major amendments to the Ontario Labour Relations Act in this bill. We in the opposition want, need and will demand an opportunity to let our views be known about this bill, to get our thoughts on the record.

I hope the people who are watching this realize that last week we had here in the Legislature a total for all three parties of, I think, six hours of debate on this bill. We in the official opposition had a total of three speakers. That's all who were allowed to speak on it. Then a motion was brought in to cut off debate on it. When one sees that on something that is going to fundamentally change the workplace in this province and fundamentally going to change the economy—and we have substantially different views on whether that will be a positive change or a negative change, but all agree it is going to substantially change it—for the government to say to the opposition, "You're finished. You can't talk about this any more. We are demanding what we all know is called approval at second reading, which is agreement in principle from the Legislature," it is demanding that after only three of our members have had an opportunity to speak. I believe on the Conservative side two members had an opportunity to speak.

I hope those who are watching this can appreciate that we in the opposition say the government doesn't want to hear a different view on this. They want to ram this bill through because they know that as opposition members have a chance to express their views on it and say, "Listen, there are shortcomings in this bill," opposition will mount. They want to cut off the opposition. That's why last week—and I hope the people of Ontario understand why—there was a

blowup here in the Legislature. We simply would not stand for termination of debate on a bill that's important.

We got some additional time to debate it—that's what's happening now—but it was only as a result of an enormous amount of anger that we were able to force that additional debate. That's a signal to the people of Ontario that the government doesn't want to hear debate on it. The government has said, "Listen, there is substantial involvement already by the public in this bill." Well, the Legislature's now had seven hours to debate on it. We haven't had a say on this bill. Finally we're beginning to have our voice heard.

The previous speaker talked about a campaign of terror. I say to the government that just because someone disagrees with you, and just because he may disagree with you strongly, doesn't mean he's conducting a campaign of terror. But somehow or other we see a government that doesn't want to hear dissent.

I really was upset when we all saw the document called "Dear Friend" of the New Democrats on New Democratic letterhead, written by Jill Marzetti, the chief executive officer of the Ontario New Democratic Party, attacking virtually every business in the province and essentially saying that, "Working arm in arm with the NCC are several big business lobbies who also want to stop all our positive changes dead." Again on process, to tar every business with the same brush is indicative of a government, I think, that's in a siege mentality and that sees this society as friends and enemies and has to go after the enemies.

It says here things like this: "The All-Business Coalition—representing 42 major business associations. Its members include firms like Eaton's, notorious for its hostility to working people." In the list of the members of the All Business Coalition we find tremendously well-meaning, tremendously successful organizations who are contributing to the life of the province: the Ontario Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Toronto, the Council of Ontario Construction Associations, the Automotive Parts Manufacturers' Association, the Canadian Association of Man-made Mineral Fibre Manufacturers. There's a full page here of associations and to tar all of them as wanting to stop all positive changes dead.

The More Jobs Coalition was also attacked by the NDP. It says the "lobbyists for 85 corporate giants doing over \$40 billion in business a year." In the More Jobs Coalition membership is Consumers' Gas—and for those of you who know Consumers' Gas, it's one of the really good corporate citizens of this province. Time and again I see it involved in corporate charitable activities—the Keeprite organization, George Weston Ltd. For your information, Mr Speaker, last week when the employment equity legislation was announced here in the Legislature, one of the George Weston companies sat in the gallery and was supportive of the government, participated in it. I think it was the president of National Grocers, part of George

Weston Ltd. But no, they're the enemies of the state and want to stop all positive changes dead.

Then the letter goes on to "Project Economic Growth—the biggest lobby of them all. It works closely with master manipulator Hill and Knowlton Inc, the world's largest public relation firms." I believe the Premier's senior communications person, Mr John Piper, came directly from Hill and Knowlton to the Premier's office and is sitting, I think, at deputy minister status and a very senior adviser to the Premier. Hill and Knowlton is a highly respected organization. If you go through the list of the companies and Project Economic Growth—the Premier today got up and talked about the announcement made by General Motors in Oshawa, and a welcome announcement for all of us. Who's a member of Project Economic Growth but General Motors? IBM—the Premier talks often about the IBM training centre. They're a member of Project Economic Growth. The Premier talks about the Ford Motor Co's investment in Ontario. They're a member of Project Economic Growth.

The reason I raise this is that there's a very dangerous style creeping into this government: you're either with us or you're against us; we're not going to sit still for opposition; the campaign of terror for companies that choose to express their concern about it. To try to stop the opposition after a total of six hours' debate on this major bill is indicative of a government that's frightened of dissent. I would say to the back bench, to the members—the cabinet I understand, but the back bench—you've really got to start standing up in caucus and saying: "I didn't come here to run this kind of government. I came here to hear legitimate dissent. I may not agree with it, but at least I'm prepared to listen to it."

We're concerned about process. We're also concerned about content. If you read the summary—as I know you have and I think all members have—of changes to the Labour Relations Act reform, I've added it up and there are 32 major amendments being proposed here. I say to you, Mr Speaker, that normally when you have had a climate of relatively good labour relations in a jurisdiction—and the labour movement, I think, would be the first to acknowledge it. Certainly when I was Minister of Labour the OFL would say, "Listen, Ontario has had and enjoys a relatively good climate of labour relations."

When you have that kind of climate of labour relations and you are looking at amendments to an act—and there are 32 major amendments—you would think, "Well, there'll be a balanced set of amendments; there'll be some that will be seen to be and will in fact be more for the employees' side of the bargain and there'll be some that the employers' side of the bargain would want to see improved." None of these 32 amendments reflect the concerns of the employers' side of the bargain. They all reflect the concerns of the employees' side, of the union side.

So you're left to ask yourself a question: Why is it all one-sided? When you question why the business community is upset, it's for that reason. It's because those 32 amendments represent a substantial shift in the relationship between the two parties, a substantial strengthening of one partner and therefore a substantial weakening of the other.

Mr Speaker, you saw on Friday the unemployment numbers in the province of Ontario. They were shocking. The Premier today in question period tried to put a sugar coating on them, but for any objective viewer they were shocking. Youth unemployment now is well over 20%, just as we feared it would be. We on this side of the House have been saying for the last 18 months that we've got to get on with something for our young people, not just our students but our young people—well over 20%. I might add that if you look at the real numbers, it's much closer to 25%, because there's a lot who have dropped right out of the labour force. The unemployment number for the total province was 11%.

In his budget the Treasurer said, Mr Speaker, as I know you're aware: "Listen, spring is when the recession will end. We are going to see, year over year, an increase in numbers of jobs. Housing will begin to pick up. Spring is when we're going to see the end of the recession." It's in the budget here. I know I've quoted them in the past and you're familiar with them, but there we saw them, the June numbers, and rather than unemployment dropping and the improvement that we'd all been expecting, the unemployment rate went up.

I will guarantee you that by proceeding with this bill in this form you are almost challenging a battle. There is going to be a battle. The business community says, and I understand its feelings: "This is the most lopsided set of amendments imaginable. For us and in terms of our being able to successfully run our businesses in order to create the kind of climate we want in the province, this is a serious move by the government. We have to fight that."

I don't know how they'll do that. They may in fact have said, "Listen, we don't know how to get through to this government." I don't know that. They may just say, "We quit; we just can't get them to change their mind." They've been trying for a year to get them to change their mind and they won't. But I will say that at the very point in time when we need business, we need labour, we need the government, we need the opposition and we need the community pulling together, this is going to be divisive, for the business community says, "Listen, you talk about partnerships, Premier, and you say you want us to work with you, but on the most tangible evidence of your commitment to partnership you haven't listened and you are introducing a bill that we believe will dramatically change the relationship between ourselves and our employees." How can you expect that kind of partnership to develop?

I will say to the government members that as we go through the next months and years I will hold the government accountable for an awful lot of the employment problems that I'm afraid we're going to see ahead. Believe me, and I said this in the Legislature about a year ago, what I had fully expected we would see by now would have been a program jointly announced by the government, the labour community and the business community, a job creation program.

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You are cutting the business community out of that program, because how can it be a partner with you when, on something this fundamental that it has begged you to

look at and redress, you say it's full steam ahead? I hope I'm wrong, but my bet is that most people in the business community would say partnership is only a one-sided partnership when you're dealing with the NDP government.

I suppose we shouldn't be surprised when we see this bill. When you cut right through to it, I think the government perhaps would save itself a lot of grief by just acknowledging that for the labour movement and for the union organization in this province this is an important, almost essential bill. It will do more to build union membership in the province than anything imaginable. There's no question of that. It makes it far easier to organize and certify unions. There's zero question of that. Once you have a union, it makes it far easier to win a strike or to get substantial concessions in the contract with the threat of a strike. There's no doubt about that. There's no doubt that the role of the Ontario Labour Relations Board tilts far more in favour of the unions than it does currently.

There's no question all those elements are in the bill, and there's no question in my mind that Bob Rae, as we all know, has been fundamentally supported by the union movement in the province. They have been perhaps the most consistent supporters financially. I dare say I suspect a third of the NDP caucus probably comes directly out of the union movement, so we shouldn't be surprised that Bob Rae—

Mr Mark Morrow (Wentworth East): What's wrong with it?

Mr Phillips: There's absolutely nothing wrong with it. A member said, "What's wrong with it?" Absolutely nothing. My father was a lithographer. He worked for Wright Lithographing in London. He was in the lithographers' union from, I suspect, when he was 14 and started work until—he was with the same firm, worked in the same building and was in the same union his whole life. The union served him well. So there's absolutely nothing wrong with that. I, during my working days, was also a member of the union. Nothing wrong with it at all. But I just think we should be honest with ourselves. This is a payoff. It's a commitment that Rae made to the unions. I understand that.

It was for many of us a bit surprising because we never really actually saw this proposal in the Agenda for People. The thing I ran into during the campaign everywhere I went was—this was waved in my face: "Why don't the Liberals do these things? The NDP can do all of these things. Why can't you?" I'd say to them: "Listen, that costs a lot of money. Nothing I'd like more than to promise those sorts of things, but I can't deliver those things. So you should recognize that you're not going to, with us, get that, and if you want to vote for the NDP because they'll deliver all those things to you, fine." But there's nothing in this Agenda for People; there isn't a word in here about the major reforms, the major changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act.

In fact, I went through the speech from the throne to see when we were first tipped off about this agenda to completely revamp the Ontario Labour Relations Act. The only record I can find is in the speech from the throne—

you will recall this, Mr Speaker—on November 20, 1990. This is what got them elected, and this is what said to the people of Ontario what they're going to do. They said one line here, that I could find, on page 6: "For this reason, we will ensure that workers can freely exercise their right to organize."

There is nothing in here about 32 major amendments, nothing in here about the most sweeping change to the Labour Relations Act ever, nothing in the Agenda for People, not a word. That was their platform they got elected on, and virtually nothing to tip us off on what they had planned from the speech from the throne.

Then I guess the first tipoff we got was when the Minister of Labour got the two groups together, people on the management side and people on the employee side, and said, "Take a look at the Labour Relations Act." What we saw from that, as you know, Mr Speaker, was that the union movement brought forward an enormous package of changes and the employer community outlined some changes. Then we saw the proposals that were laid out and it was the labour agenda. There wasn't this balance of "Let's get the two groups together and see how we can improve them." It was one agenda laid out there. The backoff, the changes to the bill from that discussion paper, were relatively minor and relatively tinkering with the act.

So now we've got this bill with 32 amendments, as I said, all of them leaning towards the union side, and we have a very dramatic change coming in the whole labour relations in the province.

Tragically, I see I only have seven minutes left, and I've got so much more I'd like to say. But the new rules say that even if you're desperately interested in this thing you can't talk for more than 30 minutes.

I think it's important to recognize this fits in part—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order. The honourable member for Scarborough-Agincourt has the floor, and there is time allocation, so please allow him the opportunity.

Mr Phillips: Thank you, Mr Speaker. I appreciate your assistance there.

The next point I want to make is that I think we have to recognize how this fits into the rest of Bob Rae's NDP agenda. In my opinion the OFL has done a fabulous job. Frankly, they have as good a research group as you will find anywhere; they really do. But it is they who have written the government's economic agenda.

Unfortunately, for some reason or other the economic agenda seems to be stalled. But I look at the Labour Relations Act amendments as part of a bigger package. The health and safety agency was originally set up with a non-voting, neutral chair, with labour on one side and business on the other side. Now I gather the non-voting, neutral chair is gone and is no more and it is now just a battle pitched between the employer section and the labour section.

The second area is called the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board. I've been waiting for the legislation on this to come in, because the Premier promised we would see the legislation on that now. The reason I raised it is because the proposal is that this independent, arm's-length

body with a budget of over \$2 billion will be set up like the Workers' Compensation Board—independent, arm's length to make all its own decisions—and it will be a bipartite board: business and labour. I've been waiting for that to come forward and I don't see it as yet.

The worker ownership bill, where the only organizations to get around the venture capital are the unions: I wonder if they are going to try to move the Workers' Compensation Board to a bipartite agency. I see they now have a vice-chair of labour and a vice-chair of business and now these OLRA amendments.

The reason I raise all that is that as we look ahead at our economy—the Premier said his number one priority was to create jobs in the province—as we look at an agenda that I don't think is balanced, an agenda that I don't think represents all the people of this province, one has to be concerned.

1830

I might now move on to some of the areas of the bill that in my opinion require a lot more debate and I would have hoped improvement, although now my honest opinion is that this is it. There will be four or five cosmetic amendments. We listened to the concerns out there and when we're back here dealing with this bill on third reading there will be four or five more cosmetic changes. In fact, I would think the Ontario Federation of Labour has already been pre-sold. They said: "Listen, we've got to show some flexibility here. What can you live with?" They're already ready to make those amendments, so I think what we're looking at here is a fait accompli; tragic, but that's simply the way it appears.

Having said that, what are some of the concerns? I've already expressed our concern about changing the purpose of the Ontario Labour Relations Board, directing it in a way that is far less neutral than it currently is. We've expressed and the Labour critics expressed our concern about the whole replacement worker issue. I know this is a big, big victory for Minister Mackenzie. He spent his whole life here trying to get rid of replacement workers.

But as you look at businesses whose very lives depend on their ability to continue to provide at least some product during a strike—I'm thinking now, what's the engine that drives Ontario? It's the automotive sector. What's the engine that drives our economy? It's the automotive sector. What's the byword in the automotive sector now? As we all know, it's just-in-time delivery. What we're going to do with this bill is to guarantee that a company that has a contract to supply the auto sector, and has to have some assurance of being able to supply that during a labour dispute, won't be able to. I think we're signing away much of our future auto industry. It won't happen overnight; they've got too much money invested in it. But if you want to supply the Saturn plant, you'd better have some way of ensuring a continuous supply.

You talk about eliminating violence on the picket line. I guarantee you that there will continue to be violence on the picket line, because now, rather than replacement workers, you're going to say to somebody, "You don't have to cross that picket line." The company is going to say, the management is going to say: "Listen, you're not in

the bargaining unit. We need you inside. We need some help keeping the company going." Now that I have the legal right to not cross that picket line, I am going to be in a horrible dilemma. So rather than minimize or eliminate violence on the picket line, our concern is you may see the opposite.

We're now unfortunately down to only 30 seconds. I had much more I wanted to say. I wanted to talk about some more of the content of the bill. I wanted to talk about the process and how we feel we've been manipulated in this process, how we've had so little time to debate and, frankly, why we are so cynical about the government's intention through the next process. I believe the witnesses have already been lined up. The charade will continue. We will be back here in the fall with the government having exactly what it wanted.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Dennis Drainville): Questions and/or comments?

Mr Gary Carr (Oakville South): I'm pleased to add a few thoughts on the member's comments as a former Minister of Labour. I probably disagree on a whole host of issues, but when he kicked it off and said the big thing he was concerned about is the process, for me also the big problem is the process. What the government did, quite frankly, was handle it just like a negotiation. They threw 58 proposals on the table, took 22 off and said, "There you go." There wasn't one proposal that came in from the other side. Not one proposal from the general public had come in. Their idea of negotiation is taking things off the table and listening to the other side. That's why we offered some constructive alternatives.

The secret ballot for certification: Who could be against that? Businesses said, "We'd like to see it." The general public said, "We'd like to see it." I don't always like what happens in elections. I didn't like what happened in September 1990, with the government elected, although I was pretty pleased with what happened in Oakville South. Through the democratic process, through the secret ballot, the true wishes of the people are heard. That's what we are asking for in the secret ballot provisions.

What the people on the other side forget about is that when a union is organizing, it will say and do anything to people. When they're lining up people, they will make promises. The member from Scarborough talked about how women are intimidated. They're intimidated because when unions are organized they don't even tell them what they're doing, "Sign this; we're going to get you more money." Through a secret ballot process there would be no intimidation from either side. That's why we on this side can't see why—through secret ballot, through the certification process, the person could go in and the true wishes of the people will be heard. What could be fairer than that?

One stinking, lousy proposal we asked from the other side: They wouldn't do it. That's why people are cynical about this Minister of Labour and this government.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr David Winkinger (London South): I'm a little concerned with some of the narrow-minded, blinkered,

alarmist statements made by the member for Scarborough-Agincourt and I'd like to indicate to the House just why.

London is very fortunate. The recent statistics published by Statistics Canada show that in the month of June, London had the lowest unemployment rate in all of Ontario and the third lowest unemployment rate of any municipality across Canada: 8.2%. I'm a little concerned that the alarmist statements by the member for Scarborough-Agincourt are going to drive away the kind of necessary investment that creates those jobs in London, in my riding of London South and also in Ontario.

For example, we in London were pleased to hear just late last week that a German company, Dimona, which manufactures small passenger aircraft, is investing in the London area, taking over a plant, training a workforce and will produce small passenger aircraft in London, which will create hundreds of jobs directly and hundreds more jobs indirectly through the spinoff in the London market. When the member for Scarborough-Agincourt stands in his place and suggests that our modest and much-needed reforms to the Labour Relations Act are going to drive away investment, I say that the member himself, through his alarmist, hysterical statements, is driving away the necessary investment.

A German company can well understand the harmonious labour relations this kind of legislation can create. Certainly we're not deterring investment here. We're attracting investment because a German company has found that the OLRA poses no challenge for it.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Cordiano: I want to comment on the comments that have been laid before us by the member for London South with regard to what my colleague said earlier. Let me just say this to the member: He gives the opposition parties much too much credit with respect to the influence we may have regarding investment decisions made around the world with respect to Ontario. I don't believe for a moment that opposition parties can effect this.

It's not the opposition parties that are saying this. We're hearing this from people all across the province and around the world. They are concerned about this legislation. We are not saying this ourselves. We happen to agree with some of the comments that are being made, but we're simply reporting to the government what we've been hearing repeatedly from a vast array of people out there. It's not just from entrepreneurs, management and business people; it's from the very people you claim to be helping, who are concerned about their jobs, who are concerned that there may not be a positive climate for further growth in this province, for job creation. Those are very real concerns.

What we're trying to make this government understand, as my colleague the member for Scarborough-Agincourt so eloquently put it, is that there are a variety of areas which could be improved in this legislation. He was also pointing out that the process leaves much to be desired and that the opposition has been shut off from voicing our legitimate concerns over the areas of the bill that we feel need to be changed.

That's what I say to the member. It's not alarmist, but we are raising concerns that are legitimate.

1840

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Ted Arnott (Wellington): I'm very pleased to rise in response to the member for Scarborough-Agincourt and to make a few very brief comments.

I hope to speak later on in the evening, so I won't get into too many issues, but I felt it was a very interesting speech, a very enlightening speech. For a member of his stature to be giving a speech in this House for only 30 minutes, I wish and regret—it would have been much better had he been able to speak much longer on this bill and to get into the 32 different amendments in this bill.

For the member for London South to suggest that the impact of one dissenting voice against this government's radical proposal for the labour legislation is even marginally equivalent to the damaging effect on investment in this province as a result of this government's action and the general thrust of this legislation, compounded on top of all the other anti-business pieces of legislation, taxes and regulation that have been coming forward from this government, the high deficit that guarantees higher taxes in the future, that statement was absolutely preposterous.

It shows once again that the government is very concerned. They feel cornered, I think. They know there is no support beyond their own traditional trade union constituency for this sort of legislation. They feel very frustrated and you see authoritarian instincts coming forward. They say that there should be no debate, that there should be no discussion. We are concerned. They're opposed to anybody who has any dissenting voice on this issue, and it's cause for great concern.

Anyway, I look forward to speaking on this later tonight. I wish I had more than half an hour.

The Acting Speaker: Two more minutes for response, the honourable member for Scarborough-Agincourt.

Mr Phillips: The member for London South reinforced the point I made earlier, and that is, you're trying to stifle debate. If we in the opposition raise legitimate concerns, you say we're alarmist. What in the world is going on with the government? Can we not raise legitimate concerns without being alarmist?

I would say to the members opposite, the members of the government, "Go out and talk to the business community in your area and find me some business people who support what you're doing." They must be out there, if it's so good, if this is going to develop a partnership. "Then come and tell us about that." I have yet to see one business person or one business organization. They must be out there.

As for the investment, this is what worries me. I look at the plants that are closing in this province, one every two days. I would say to the members opposite, the members of the government, that 70% of the jobs that are lost through plant closures are union jobs. What does that mean? It means that union or non-union is no protection against the problems of the economy. That's why we've

been urging the government to get on to what the Premier said was his number one agenda: creating jobs.

This legislation coming at this time couldn't be worse, so when the member—I'm glad there's a factory opening in London, because I have page after page of factories closing. The Premier has said the economy is turning around, yet we don't see it.

So I'm not alarmist. I'm trying as best I can to raise the concerns with the government. The real issue is jobs, and this is going to cost jobs; no question about it.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate?

Mr Carr: I spent the weekend looking through some of my notes and deciding what to say and I think I'll take most of the time speaking on behalf of my constituents. We are limited to a half-hour. I had to cut it down somewhat, so I picked out some of the ones I felt were most appropriate.

I think it would be interesting to tell the members what my background is as a member of a union. I was a member of the Teamsters union. I was also in management dealing with the Teamsters. I've been in non-union companies and unionized companies. I've been with well-managed companies and poorly managed companies. Of course I also spent some time playing hockey with the players' association, where we had what we also consider a union with the players' association.

I want to get into some of the discussions on what I think we should be doing, but time will limit that today. I want to talk a little bit about the major concerns.

Number one is the process. As I said earlier in some of the comments, what the government did is handle it similar to a labour negotiation. They threw 58 proposals on the table, took 22 off and said, "There you go; that's our position." There wasn't one, not one lousy proposal from the general public or from any of the business groups. That's why, as I said earlier, we introduced some of the processes, some of the certification votes through secret ballot, as a process to give the government some alternatives to add, but out of all the proposals they put together, not one, not one stinking lousy proposal, came from any of the business groups or any of the discussions during that hearing, and that's why people are cynical.

I'm going to give the government a little bit of an idea of what it should have done. With the environmental bill of rights, when they put the business groups and the labour groups and environmentalists together, they came out with a compromise where they worked it out without the bitter fighting that goes on. The process they used then—we could argue what happens after that and we could get into the dumps issue and how Bill 143 isn't really what was in the environmental bill of rights, but let's just talk about process.

If they had done that, and that's really all the business groups were asking the public, the average person out there, to get together with the groups and discuss it like they did with the environmental bill of rights, where they got together before it became a bill and agreed on it, you wouldn't have had all these problems. You wouldn't have the billboards up there, because there would have been

agreement. There would've been give and take. Both sides would've said, "Yes, this is our big priority," "This is ours," and there would have been give and take.

The reason this whole—I want to use the word "shemozzle"—was created was because of the way the government operated. In BC the socialist government isn't handling it that way. They didn't handle it that way.

The Minister of Labour is leaving. I really believe one of the big problems with this is that because the Labour minister was experienced, they said: "Well, we'll leave it to him. We've got all these other problems in the other areas, but he's been around here 20-odd years. We'll let him run with it." I think that's what destroyed the process. If we'd done like we did with the environmental bill of rights, to try and get both sides together for give and take, there wouldn't have been these problems. So I'm a little bit concerned about the process.

I'm also concerned about what happened during the debates going back, and we all remember the Burkett report, when that came out, and the leaked document saying, "How are we going to blunt the opposition?" We started off on the wrong foot with that, because the Premier and the advisers and all the people went around and said: "Don't worry. When the discussion paper comes out, it's going to be radically changed. Tone it down. Don't be so excited."

What happened of course is that when the discussion paper came out it was every bit as bad as they'd feared and they felt let down because they'd been told: "Don't worry. We're going to work with you. We're going to try and change things."

Of course the real discouraging part is that they got the commitments from the Premier himself. The groups you're so hostile to said, "Okay, fine, the discussion paper is out." Again they went to the government and to the Premier's office, and they said to the groups: "Don't worry. That's a discussion paper. Our unions are furious with us. We're really going to back down and you're going to love it." Then of course when it came out and there were no substantial changes, they felt let down.

Most of the groups I talked to, through Project Economic Growth, More Jobs Coalition and the All Business Coalition, said, "If they'd been upfront and honest in the beginning and told us, we wouldn't have had as many problems." They feel let down, even to the process now. They are saying to the groups: "Well, don't worry. We're going to have hearings in the summer, so there may be some more changes." That's why we're so cynical about the process.

1850

I say if you'd handled it like you did the environmental bill of rights, that's all the government should have been able to do. Business groups say all we want is a tripartite commission, "We will put it together," and many of the groups on the other side—the government said, "Well, all you're trying to do is slow down the process." With the environmental bill of rights you still ended up getting one. You still ended up getting agreement with all the acrimony that's gone out there.

This agreement now has soured relations for everything else. For the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, for any Workers' Compensation Board changes, for tax changes, they've soured the process. I'm a little bit discouraged about the whole process and I think if the government learns anything from this, hopefully it will learn next time not to handle it this way.

As I was going through last night, I think that's why we offered some concrete proposals, the secret ballot on the certification process. I've been in unions and I know the techniques that were used. Originally what happened is the business groups had all the power. You couldn't organize because the threats were there. The business that was going to be organized would put all the intimidation on the employees.

The bill was changed and the rules were changed so that if a business interferes, the penalty is automatic certification. What any \$250-an-hour labour lawyer will tell any business during a certification process is to stay out of it. It's better to take a chance with the workers than to get involved and have automatic certification.

On the one hand, the businesses haven't been able to intimidate, but when it comes to unions, they can say and do anything during the certification process. Quite often what they will do is say to somebody—and the member from Scarborough talked about some of the minority groups that maybe don't speak English—"Here, sign this, we're just going to get you more money." They don't know what they're signing.

There will be no petitions to get out of it; there'll be no way to back out of it. As we said earlier, even when you have a door-to-door vacuum cleaner salesman come to you, there are provisions that allow you to get out of it if you have a sober second thought. Not with this bill. Once they've signed the certification process, that's it.

Those are a couple of the things we attempted to do and to make proposals, because the government said it was listening. Of all the changes that were introduced and contemplated, I picked out one quote that I want to read. It's from Lory Fairfield, who works at Placer Dome. I want to read this comment because of all the ones I went through, and I tried to scale them down, I think this one said it better than anything else.

Mr Gilles Bisson (Cochrane South): Which Placer Dome?

Mr Carr: Placer Dome Inc. "Everywhere else in the world good management means achieving things like employee empowerment, not union empowerment; direct employee-employer communications, not restrictions on what managers can say; self-managed work teams, not adversarial negotiating committees; pursuit of excellence, not pattern bargaining, and more competitiveness and quality, not more strikes and picketing."

He closes by saying: "Not apparently in Ontario. In Ontario it seems there will be gross restrictions not just on management's right to manage well, but on its right to manage at all. Hasn't the Ontario government learned anything from the worldwide analysis of what successful businesses are doing?"

I think that sums it up better than a lot of the people that sent in some of the replies, because that's what some of the groups are saying, average citizens out there. I look at the poll that came in, and of course there's been a lot of debate about what the job losses will be. We've heard anywhere from 250,000 to 500,000 jobs will be lost, anywhere from \$8 billion to \$12 billion. To put that in perspective for people out there, a quarter of million jobs, 250,000, is what we've lost in this recession right now. So it would be like taking the recession and adding to it if those job loss figures are correct.

Of course, as has been pointed out, the government says, "We don't believe those statistics and we very conveniently don't provide our own," which would lead one to say, very simply, "Why not?" There are two alternatives: one, they don't want to do them because they're afraid of the results; two, they have done them—and with a piece of legislation that's been debated and talked about as much as this I would think they would have done some job studies—and they don't want to release them because they know what they are.

What the job losses will be—300,000, 200,000, 100,000—no one will know. All we know is that it will have a major impact. This group across the other side continues to say to the business groups that they're only out to get them. Well, I want to tell you, from my critic's position talking to industry and businesses, they say, "Gary, we don't want to come out against the government."

I spoke to a Japanese company of 1,000 employees. They said, "We don't like to slam the government and we'll tell you privately that when Japanese companies call us—and it's not only Japanese. West German companies call us, companies from France—we tell them, 'Don't come to Ontario with this legislation.'" They don't come out and say it, but they say: "Gary, behind closed doors we'll tell you that, but we're afraid of the repercussions from the government. We're afraid of what they will be saying."

The same with the West German bankers I met with. They stand up and they tell us, "Gary, with all the amount of investment that could be done in the world"—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order.

Mr Carr: We've got West German banks that are saying, "Obviously we're going to pump a lot of money into East Germany for obvious reasons"—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: I'd like to remind the House that the honourable member for Oakville South has the floor and no interjections are needed at this point in time. Order, please.

Mr Carr: When you speak to the German banks they say, "Obviously we're putting money into East Germany for obvious reasons, but we're telling people and our clients, 'Don't invest in the province of Ontario. You've got a 20% to 50% tax advantage. You've got'"—and they go through the list. They talk about all the things that are here, right from the workers' compensation and the unfunded liability.

They're saying, "Gary, we don't like to come out and slam the government, but we want you to know, and we

know that you're fighting this piece of legislation, that we're telling people, 'Don't come to the province of Ontario.'" Of course the other side would say you're not supposed to say that. Let it come through and the job losses.

The sad part is the businesses that will close down as a result of this. The employees are going to be the last ones to know. They should know up front clearly what these provisions will be. That would be fair, so that the employees out there, union and non-union, will be able to make a fair decision on what they would like to see and have their input.

Of course the government accuses us of scaring them. Every time one of the ministers gets up and speaks, I would submit to you, Mr Speaker, that does more to scare investments in the province of Ontario than anything the opposition parties can do.

I'm going to start by reading some of the replies that are there and I would like to get into some of the debate, but I want the minister to hear from some of the people of the province. Before that I'll very quickly tell you what our position is. We made it very clear. We believe these provisions will cause job losses. We said to a lot of the workers out there who will lose their jobs and to the businesses out there and to the general public, when we form the government in 1995, we will take out a lot of the provisions in there that are creating so many problems.

I contrast that with the Liberal Party. On Saturday night I watched the Liberal leader on there and she said that now is not the time. But we want very clearly the people who are thinking about leaving to know that if they can just hang on—we all know this government was elected as an anti-government. Most people who voted for them never thought they were going to be elected and thought they were registering a protest vote. If you could just hang on, provisions like this and all the other things that are driving businesses away will be addressed by government in 1995. We want to say very clearly to those workers, "If you can survive"—and hopefully there'll be some left.

It's ironic that a government that says if you bring in this provision, all the problems in the world will go away and we'll have job security. The fact of the matter is that under this socialist government we've had more job losses than any other government in the history of this province or any other government right across Canada. Some 260,000 jobs have been lost. This has been an Ontario-led recession. In Ontario we have 40% of the jobs. During this recession we've lost 80% of the jobs.

Then they say: "Talk to us. We've got this great plan. This is going to be our plan, Bill 40. This is going to solve all the problems, because what we're talking about is co-operation." I will say to the Labour minister, who's here, and some of the other people, the Bob Whites who are advocating this, they can say a lot of things about those people, but one of the things they have not said about this Labour minister is that he cooperates. He has built a history on adversarial, confrontational approaches, yet now he says we need cooperation.

What happens is that when the polls are read, most people, whether union or non-union, business, labour, all

realize there needs to be better cooperation. If we had some time I would like to have gone into some of the experiences I had with the Teamsters union, both dealing with it on the side of management and being on the other side, and talk about some of them. We won't have time to do that.

But the problem is that the cooperation is because the polls tell them that that's what the public wants out there. Then they say the way to do it is to listen to Bob Mackenzie and Bob White because they're the ones who cooperate. The public had better be very leery, because there has been no cooperation, even in the process that has been set up to deal with this. That's why the people have been a little bit cynical and sceptical.

1900

I'm going to read some of the comments. One of the ones I'm going to read is by a lady, Jackie Cudmore. She was a local councillor in the town of Oakville, and she says, and I'll just pull out some of the quotes, "Ontario businesses are continually being bombarded by government legislation that is good for everyone except for the business person." She goes on to talk about "the 150,000 employees who have lost their jobs in the greater Toronto area during this period. Bankruptcies have reached an all-time high. Welfare rolls have topped their budgets."

She goes on to say, "Employee and employer relations have finally developed to the point where employees are given responsibility within the company to encourage ownership of the services and product they produce." The fact of the matter is the companies that are folding up, the poorly managed companies, whether they be union or non-union, the ones that are going out of business, are the ones that don't realize employees are the best asset. The ones that do, and the good companies that realize that, are the ones that are surviving. That's what's happening in the modern management practices out there. But to say that in order to have good relations you need to be unionized, which is what this bill says, quite frankly is wrong.

She goes on to say: "The autonomy of business should not be challenged. This will encourage investors to move out of Ontario, choosing alternatives such as the western provinces and the United States. It's time for the Ontario government to heed the concerns of business. Unemployment figures are already above expectations. Do not assist their growth by threatening the jobs that will be lost when businesses can no longer exist because of this government's intervention." She goes on to close and say, "Do not further threaten the economic stability of the province of Ontario."

On the weekend as I went through and read some of these comments, it was some of the most depressing reading that one would want to do, with the anger that comes out in people over this legislation. When you go through the bills and the provisions here, what this bill has done is confirm the worst fears, that the NDP, which gets the source of its funding from the big unions and from the union bosses, has said very clearly: "We can't turn them down. They're the ones that pay the bills for us, so we're going to implement their strategy and their ideas."

If they were truly consulting with the people, they would have taken at least one proposal from the general public, from the discussions or from some of the business groups that were out there; they didn't take one. That's what leads us to believe that all they care about are the big union bosses that support the NDP in an election campaign.

They go on to say that this piece of legislation is in this jurisdiction and this one is in that. The fact of the matter is that what they've done is taken the best, they've cherry-picked the best from this jurisdiction and the best from that jurisdiction, and it's the cumulative effect that is killing Ontario. I submit to you it isn't only the cumulative effect of this bill, but it's the cumulative effect of all the other things: the high taxation, the Workers' Compensation Board, the employer health payroll tax, taxes 20% to 50% higher in Ontario.

This government comes out and is proud to say that we have the toughest employment equity, that we've got the toughest labour legislation, that we've got the toughest environmental legislation, the toughest health and worker safety. So they layer all these things on and then they wonder why nobody invests in Ontario and we're losing jobs at an alarming rate. That's why in the polls the general public say they are opposed to them, because the provisions will kill jobs. This is what this legislation is all about.

It's interesting to think that the provisions for easier certification are going to allow for more unions to be involved in Ontario. The fact of the matter is the polls say that of the people not in a union right now, when asked the open-ended question, "Would you like to be part of a union?" 73% of them say no. So easier provisions are not going to allow for this great union drive; we're virtually now at about 38%.

The fact of the matter is, in an open-ended question, we're right exactly where the average poll is in terms of people who want to be union and non-union, and it is about 38%. So of the people who are non-union, 73% said, "We don't want it," and the vast majority of Ontarians, 68%, believe this isn't the time to introduce it, and some of the other provisions that are in there. The people are certainly aware of this. The big concern of 66%, including NDP supporters and the average person on the shop floor, whether union or non-union, is that they're going to lose their jobs.

What we're saying to you is that this whole process could have been avoided if you'd sat down and had some give and take, instead of listening to the Minister of Labour who tried to drive it through and implement his strategy without consulting with the other side. I say to the members on the government side, this better be a lesson to the government to cooperate with people—I use the example of the environmental bill of rights—because you would have avoided all this.

This government says it cooperated. The Premier of the province was making promises to business groups: "Don't worry. We'll tone it down. Don't worry. You're going to like what you hear." All the advisers and officials who met with them said, "Don't worry. Blunt your opposition. We don't want you to run off. You're only hurting yourselves if you talk unkindly to the government." They said that

during the discussion paper: "Don't worry. You're going to love the bill." They felt let down and hurt, because what they were told and what happened were two different things.

What this government has lost is trust from the people of Ontario. I will say about the Premier that while we differ on a lot of things—he's a socialist and quite frankly I don't know of too many things we do agree on—he did have the trust of the people of the province. They said, "He's not a bad guy." But he lost that trust after this, because he was telling people one thing and then turning around and doing another, which leads to either of two conclusions: first, he didn't know what his Labour minister was doing with a bill this comprehensive—I see the Labour minister is smiling; you might have got it by him, I don't know—or second, he knew and he was telling business groups what they wanted to hear.

More than anything else, and the reason business groups got upset—this government thinks they're really upset—is that the vast majority of them, a great percentage of the population, basically wanted to say: "That's it. We're not going to cooperate with government on anything else. We've been let down. We can't trust them, so we're going to go on strike, because that's all they understand." They weren't going to sit on the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board or the economic council that was set up by the Premier, because they said: "How can we trust these people? How can we trust a Premier who says one thing to us and then turns around, not once, not twice, but three times?"

During the Burkett discussions, he said one thing to the people he was speaking to and then the leaked cabinet documents came out and said the very opposite, which leads us to believe he either didn't know what was going on or he knew what was going on and said it anyway. That's what's scary about this, because they can no longer trust the Premier of Ontario.

It happened once with Burkett. It happened twice with the discussion paper, where again he said: "Don't worry. That's out there. The unions are furious with it. Wait till you see what happens when the bill comes out." Of course the business groups said: "Okay, we'll blunt our opposition. We'll wait and hear." Then when it came out, there were no changes. Not one stinking, lousy proposal that came from any of the people during those discussions that the minister is so proud to talk about. They took some off and called them proposals from the other side.

That's why the people are so cynical and sceptical about this government, because the process was rotten from the beginning. People don't trust this government. It's going to sour relationships. That's why in Ontario today we're scared. We're scared for the future of our children. We have grown up in the greatest province and the greatest country in the world.

I guess it would have been okay if people had said: "Yep, this labour legislation's great. They announced it during the election campaign. Bill 40 is going to do it." If they had been elected on this, I could have said, "Well, the people spoke." They didn't say anything about it, because they knew, as the polls show—and we can argue about how much the percentage is—that the vast majority of the

people of Ontario don't support this labour legislation. They know it is nothing but a cynical payback. What this will do is put bureaucrats in charge of the workplace.

I have in my hand a proposal that went before the existing Ontario Labour Relations Board. A company in my riding, the Naylor Group—I guess the Premier is coming out during the announcement of the hospital funding—even though its proposal was \$400,000 cheaper to do the electrical work on the expansion of the Oakville-Trafalgar Memorial Hospital, didn't get it because the labour board—it gets very complicated with Ellis-Don and its bargaining units—decided it had to use the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. There's the ruling from the labour board.

1910

That group is saying: "Here they are already penalizing non-union companies like us that had a proposal \$400,000 cheaper. We can't build a hospital in our own community because we don't have the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers." What we're saying is that we want to strengthen it now for the Naylor Group which feels let down already with the proposals that exist there.

The business groups, the general public, the workers of these companies were saying, "Let's be fair." That's why we've said the certification process should be through secret ballot. I submit the other side doesn't want that. They don't want that because they know the intimidation that goes on in the certification process. The people who are organizing will say and do anything. As I mentioned, I know at first hand. I've been involved and I've worked with the unions and I've been involved on both sides. That's why they don't want the provision in there: They don't want the provisions to be in there that will restrict the organizing drive of unions.

As I said earlier, I sometimes disagree with what happens in elections. I disagreed with what happened in September 1990, with the exception of what happened in Oakville South.

Mr Stockwell: And Etobicoke West.

Mr Carr: Etobicoke West as well, the bright people who are there. The fact of the matter is, through secret ballot there's no intimidation from the business side, there's no intimidation from the union side, so the true wishes of the people prevail. Then, I say to the people of this province, if you do that, I will be satisfied and you should be satisfied with what the results are. If that leads to increased unionization through secret ballot on both sides, then so be it. When they go in through a secret ballot, the people will have their true wishes known.

That is not what this legislation will do, which is basically to get conned into signing a certificate. That's it. No back-out provisions, no more petitions to get out of it. If somebody says to you, "Here, sign this. We're just going to get you more more money. You sign on the dotted line," that's it for ever, the union's in there. Why do the unions not want to have the true wishes of the people through a secret ballot?

I submit to you that any person balanced on either side would say that would be fair. There can be no intimidation

on the business side, there can be no intimidation on the union side. Let the chips fall where they may. But I suspect the reason the members of this government is afraid of it is that they saw the polls. They saw that 73% of the people who are non-union want to remain that way, and they said, "We somehow have to get in there. We'll have to use all the techniques available," so they've slanted Bill 40 to do that.

I said I was going to talk about some of the comments from the people of my riding. I didn't realize how quickly a half-hour goes. I probably could have got close to 17 hours just reading these things out.

But I want to say to this minister and to this government of the day, you have destroyed the process. You no longer have the trust of the people. If you'd said up front: "This is what we're going to do. This is how we're going to do it," you would have had respect. At least people would have said, "We know where they're coming from," and they would have been able to say, "The government has at least been up front with us." But they haven't. They've attempted to say one thing and do another thing, and the process that should be used is what was done through the environmental bill of rights, where they did this and had bargaining on both sides.

Of course this side says the big reason it needs changes is that there never have been any changes over the 15-odd years. So that's fine. If that had been, there would have been give and take. After 15 years there are probably some provisions in there that should be taken out, not just ones that are added. That's why people are cynical, because this government said, "We listened, we consulted," yet not one stinking, lousy proposal came from any of those discussions. They handled it like a labour negotiation, threw everything on the table and said: "Here, we take 22 off. You should be happy with what came in." The fact of the matter is the principle didn't change. The fact of the matter is there wasn't one proposal from the other side. That's why people are cynical about this process.

As a result of these discussions this government is going to push ahead, I believe, and the public will have five weeks to voice its opposition. The government of the day can do what it wants, but I say to the people of this province, "You'd better come out." The people who are telling me it's going to kill investment and kill jobs, who are saying it to me privately, don't want to come out and jump all over this government. They don't want to have bad relations with any government. No company does, because somewhere down the road they're going to deal with them in whatever way. But they're saying to me, "Gary, we are not kidding with this."

We sat with the member for Waterloo North, Elizabeth Witmer, as well, and they said, "We want to tell you that these provisions will be the single biggest factor to driving jobs out of the province of Ontario," at a time when we have unemployment rates that are skyrocketing, when we've had more job losses than any other province in Canada.

I say to the people of this province, they'd better be very leery. You've got five weeks to make your views known. If this Labour minister is truly consulting during those five weeks, he will have some of the proposals from

the other side. I say start with the secret ballot provisions for certification. That would be a good start. At the end of the day, when we come back here for third reading, if this government takes any of the proposals from the other side, I'll be the first one up to stand and say it has done a good job.

But I will not accept, and I don't think the public will accept, their throwing 58 proposals on the table, taking 22 off and saying, "There, we listened." There has to be give and take on both sides. I feel sorry for the people of Ontario, because they don't deserve it and they didn't elect it. When we form the government in 1995, these provisions will come out.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Bisson: Everybody wanted to get up and I got up first.

Interjection: You got up 68 times on this bill.

Mr Bisson: It's my time here. In regard to the speech of the honourable member of the Conservative Party, I just thought it was really interesting, as he was going through his debate, that the Tory parties here in Ontario and in Ottawa must be delighted that there's a New Democratic government that was elected in Ontario.

When you stop to think about it, we're a great foil for their bad policies. We're a great foil for some of the things that are directly affecting what's happening in the economy of Ontario and the economy across the country when it comes to that. They're really good in order to try to take the attention off what the problem really is in regard to what's happened in the economy.

To be fair, I think anybody who is out there has to stand back and say: "When did the problems with the economy start? Did they start at the introduction of the Ontario labour relations Bill 40?" The answer is no. Those problems started way before, back in 1984, 1986, 1988, further on, in regard to a number of policies that were put in place by the Conservative government.

We'll mention a few: The free trade agreement was one, the deregulation of many of the industries we have here in Canada, the whole question of the dismantling of the Foreign Investment Review Agency, the GST and on and on. I just make that point because they must be really happy they're able to deflect it.

What I thought was really interesting was that the member stood in his place and said, "When people call me to ask me, 'Should I invest in the province of Ontario?' I say no." For a member of this Legislature and a member of this province to stand in this place and say that in my mind is something that's totally unacceptable and just totally unbelievable. I'm sure the member will correct the record once again, as he did the last time in regard to his comments about fighting every worker on the question of the OLRA.

I just want to put him on guard: You are here as a member of this Legislature and part of your responsibility, sir, is to help along in trying to create an atmosphere of investment in this province and not scare them away the way you indicated in the debate by saying, "When people call us"—I take it you mean your party—"we scare them away from Ontario."

Mr Carr: I said German bankers and Japanese companies said that. I didn't say that.

Mr Monte Kwinter (Wilson Heights): I had planned to just spend a minute on something, but I think it's important that a third party member respond to the comments that were just made. I listened in the House, as all the other members did, but obviously they weren't hearing. When the member gave his remarks about the comments that were being made about not investing in Ontario, they were not his remarks. He was very clear to say they were not his remarks. He said that when German bankers are questioned—

Mr Bisson: That was after.

Mr Kwinter: No, no. Check Hansard. I listened very carefully. They said when German bankers are asked by their clients, they say, "Don't invest in Ontario." The member did not say that. I just want to make sure, in all fairness, that this is known because I think enough things go on in this House without people attributing statements that weren't made. I suggest to you, sir, and to you, Mr Speaker, that if any objective members would check Hansard, they would find that is the case.

Having said that, I just want to speak briefly about one of the member's final remarks to the effect that when they form the government, they will withdraw this legislation. To my mind, I think the legislation is flawed. I think it's not legislation that is bad for this time; I think it's bad legislation for any time. But having said that, I think there are some very good parts to it and that those good parts should in fact be embodied in what is the labour law of this province. Notwithstanding that, there are some serious concerns. When I get an opportunity in about an hour or so, I hope to address those concerns to you, Mr Speaker.

Mr Stockwell: I also want to follow up on what the Liberal member for Wilson Heights, Mr Kwinter, said. It is very difficult, in the middle of these kinds of debates, when members opposite stand up and absolutely misrepresent the facts. This member here—

Interjection.

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Mr Stockwell: I will say categorically that I heard the member for Oakville South say that German bankers and Japanese business people were coming to him with these kind of comments. He himself was not telling people not to invest in Ontario. I think before you get up to make those kind of wide-ranging comments—which your party is rather famous for, I might add—you could check the record to ensure just how wrong you actually are.

Second, the next comment he made was that we were going to fight the workers. You know full well, Mr Speaker, if you were here that day, that it was a mistake when he was speaking. He made a mistake and he immediately withdrew. This is the second member opposite who has attributed these remarks as if he had said it in its full, meaningful context. Shameful. Absolutely shameful. You know what he said that day, you know what he said this day, and in typical socialist fashion they take part of the truth, twist it into some warped, corrupt logic. That is an

exact example of the science that this party has gotten down to.

Finally, the very important point that the member for Oakville South made was that the people who support the labour legislation now, according to the polls, appear to be in the political hinterland, because a few hangers-on, a few union bosses, et al, are the only ones who support this kind of labour legislation. It will be one of the biggest mistakes you've made, and thankfully it will undo you come 1995.

The Acting Speaker: Before I continue with the questions and comments, I just want to direct the honourable members to one particular procedure. I have been extremely lenient, in the two minutes that are given to the members to ask questions and comments, about them not directing their remarks immediately to the subject at hand and through the Speaker. So I want to say to the honourable members that there has been far too much debate going on between the various members in their two minutes and not enough on the substance of what the honourable member for Oakville South has presented. I want to ask the members to please remember that the two-minute responses are there for questions and comments about the substance of what they've just heard from the honourable member.

Now, questions and/or comments?

Mr Derek Fletcher (Guelph): I was listening intently to what the member for Oakville South was saying. If we look back on the history of labour reforms, I think we can get a clear picture of exactly where the third party is coming from. In the 1800s when child labour was being reformed, it was the Conservative Party that was saying: "No, this isn't right." Also the business community was saying, "You're going to drive investment out of Ontario, and you're going to make us uncompetitive with the rest of the country and also the other countries." Also, on the eve of the passage of that law it was the business community who got together with the Premier of the day and persuaded them to postpone legislation for two more years.

Then as we go along until 1989 when the government of the day, the Liberal Party, was going to pass occupational health and safety legislation, it was the manufacturers' association that was saying: "No. This is going to drive business out of Ontario. It's going to make us uncompetitive." It was Mr Pope, who was a Conservative at the time, who was also talking and saying: "No. If we start passing this legislation, we're going to drive business out of Ontario. We're going to make Ontario so uncompetitive that we're going to be in dire straits."

I'm hearing the same rhetoric again with this legislation. What really gets me is the word "progressive" in their party name. It's a dichotomy as far as being progressive, because they're wallowing, just as they have in the past, about what has been going on as far as bringing in progressive legislation—legislation that is trying to bring business and labour together. To hear the member for Oakville South saying that we're going to be driving businesses out of the province is just again something that has been going on with his party for so many years. Why don't you get into the real life and get up into the present time? It isn't

the labour legislation that is going to drive business out; it's fearmongering.

The Acting Speaker: I thank the honourable member. The honourable member for Oakville South has two minutes to respond.

Mr Carr: It's interesting that he says we're going back. It wasn't I who brought up the 1800s and the child labour laws. I must be winning the argument when they go back to the 1800s and start talking about the child labour laws.

To the member for Cochrane South, I just want to make it clear that the comments I was making were on behalf of the German bankers and the Japanese companies, and if he got the wrong impression, I want to be very clear. I said the German bankers who are talking to me and the Japanese companies are saying that. That's what the depressing part is. The depressing part is they're saying to me privately, "Gary, we know you're fighting this but the fact of the matter is the people in these other international communities are not investing."

That's why the Premier didn't come back with any deals from Japan. That's why all the ministers who are out there globe-trotting around don't come back with any deals. Why do you think they don't stand up in the Legislature and announce any of the deals? Because there's no investment coming. We've got the Treasurer who goes over to Japan, over to Europe; the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology goes over to Europe; not one deal comes back.

In the past a minister would come back, there would be some deal, he'd stand up and say, "This company is going to invest in the province of Ontario." We've had ministers criss-crossing, getting Aeroplan points built up, and not one of them comes back to this Legislature and says there are any investments and jobs. The people of the province know very clearly there is no investment because this government is scaring it away.

They don't believe in the polls, they don't believe in all the surveys: 250,000 jobs, \$8 billion. To put that in perspective, if they're right, that's another recession on top of this. I say, even if they're wrong, even if it is isn't 250,000, if it's only 50,000 or it's 100,000, it's too many for the province of Ontario and it's too much to be nothing but a payback to the big labour unions that support them, and that's why the people of this province are going to fight this legislation.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate? The member for Yorkview.

[Applause]

Mr Mammoliti: Thank you very much. It's a rare occasion indeed to be applauded by the opposition. I'm glad that you've done that. Perhaps they'd like to hear another story, but maybe another time.

The previous speaker—and I'm glad and it's kind of ironic—mentioned hockey. When he did, he reminded me of the hockey association strike recently. It is relevant. The hockey association strike recently, in my opinion, frustrated me as a politician because it is relevant to what we're talking about here today. I don't have to tell you

how much the hockey players make in terms of a wage, something that of course the opposition right now is complaining about in terms of labour and how much they're asking for. I can tell you the hockey players were asking for a lot of the same things the unionized picketers ask for on picket lines. I can tell you that no politician on that side of the table during the strike, anyway, had spoken opposed to the hockey players who wanted all of those goodies they were asking for.

I can tell you that the difference between the strike that occurred in the National Hockey League and a picketer is that they didn't hold up any signs; they weren't actually picketing. At one time I thought they might because there was a threat of the minor leaguers taking over their jobs, actually going in to the rinks and playing off the playoffs. What would that have done to those players who were on strike? I can tell you this. I see quite a bit of violence on the ice during a hockey game, and a lot of people will say that it's a part of the game. What if those minor leaguers decided to cross the picket lines and play in the playoffs? What would those players have done? I'd be willing to bet a few of them would have used fisticuffs perhaps to stop them from going into the rinks.

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Interjections.

Mr Mammoliti: I hear some heckling. It's a possibility, and I'll tell you why. It's a possibility because replacement workers cause violence on picket lines. There's no question about it. I haven't heard anybody stand up and say that it's not the case. I haven't heard anybody stand up in this debate and say that replacement workers, scab workers, do not create violence on the picket lines. I don't think there's anybody in this Legislature who has enough guts, except of course perhaps the member for Etobicoke West, to stand up and say it is the case.

During the debate I heard consistently that the government hasn't consulted. I can say to you that the quicker we get out of this place here, the quicker we're going to consult with the individuals who really matter, in my opinion, the people who will have a voice in terms of Bill 40. I can say this to you: That's what they're waiting for.

We're hearing continually from the opposition that the rule changes are muzzling them and that they're frustrated. A prime example of that was last week, when I actually thought they were going to use violence in this place. At one point in the hallway, one of them, the member for Bruce, put his finger into my chest continually and actually wanted to start a fight. Now, if they're witnessing this sort of frustration, if they claim that this is frustration, imagine—

Mr Cordiano: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I take exception to what the member has suggested may have happened. I think it would be appropriate for him not to refer to an incident that may or may not have taken place as a factual occurrence.

The Acting Speaker: I thank the honourable member. That's not a point of order, but I would say to the honourable member—

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. I would say to the honourable member for Yorkview that if he continues in that line of questioning, he's obviously going to be drawing what would be unfortunate responses from the members of the opposition. I think it would be better if he would maintain his sight on the bill which is presently to be debated.

Mrs Margaret Marland (Mississauga South): On a point of order, Mr Speaker: We have a tradition in this House where we do not refer to members on a personal basis who are absent and not able to either correct the record or rise on a point of privilege. I think for that reason that this member deserves to make—

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member should be seated. I've indicated to the honourable member that he should continue looking at the bill that is before us, which is Bill 40. I don't think there need to be any more statements made on this. That is not a point of order.

Mr Stockwell: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I ask the member for Yorkview if he would withdraw the statement he made.

The Acting Speaker: No. Order, please. Please be seated. You're asking for an action to happen which should not happen.

Mr Stockwell: You've not even heard my point of order, with all due respect, Mr Speaker.

The Acting Speaker: Are you repeating what has been said by the other two members?

Mr Stockwell: No, I'm not.

The Acting Speaker: Okay, I'm sorry. The honourable member has the floor.

Mr Stockwell: Thank you, Mr Speaker. My point of order is that I think the privileges of the member for Bruce have been abused in that the member for Yorkview has imputed the motive as to wanting to start a fight. I would ask the member to withdraw that, because surely he does not know the member for Bruce did in fact want to start a fight with him.

The Acting Speaker: I have indicated to the House that the honourable member should direct his comments to Bill 40. I do not believe at this point in time that the honourable member for Bruce has been impugned and I would ask the member to begin his comments again and deal with Bill 40.

Mr Mammoliti: My intent surely was not to rattle cages here; my intent was to relate what happened to me, and what I saw was violence to Bill 40, and what picketers actually see every day on a picket line and how Bill 40 will help prevent violence on a picket line. That's what I want to talk about.

Again, if the opposition feels frustrated and they can't air their frustration and think the rule changes had something to do with that, I'd like them to just envision being on a picket line and saying to your colleagues, your union brothers and sisters, that you're there because that is the only avenue, the only way you can talk about your frustrations, the only legal way of demonstrating the employers' lack of understanding, perhaps, or lack of giving in terms

of negotiating. I can tell you that picketers feel that every day of the week.

How does a picketer benefit from Bill 40? Bill 40, in my opinion, will stop a lot of that violence. In Ontario alone we have a track record of violence on picket lines. I can tell you that it's not a very good one. For instance, we had the Alcan Building Products' strike in 1983. Somebody was killed on that line in 1983. A picketer was run over by a truck driven by a replacement worker, somebody the employer hired to—

Mr Tony Martin (Sault Ste Marie): A replacement worker?

Mr Mammoliti: A replacement worker, yes, otherwise known as a scab worker to those on a picket line. With this piece of legislation, of course, this type of situation won't happen unless the employer breaks the law and hires a replacement worker. That's why I think a lot of the violence, this particular violence, will stop. That's just one example.

I must tell you, even though it's a federal strike, I have to relate to this: The postal strikes we've been accustomed to in this province and all over Canada have been disastrous in terms of violence on picket lines when they are striking. In June 1987 it was a terrible, terrible strike: fist-cuffs, fights, buses full of replacement workers. Some of them, I understand, were from the United States, people who are touring—

Mr Martin: I can't believe it.

Mr Mammoliti: Yes, it's true, Tony—people who are actually in the business of breaking picket lines, breaking up strikes. This Bill 40 will stop that from happening. Let me ask you something: How many governments have actually—federal governments as well—stopped United States workers, people who belong and live in the United States, citizens of the United States, coming over here to break picket lines? How many governments? It's probably zero. I haven't been able to find any, anyway, and the previous governments certainly didn't do that.

Of course, the Conservatives, when they were in, probably encouraged it to happen and I don't blink twice when I say that, because from what I'm hearing in this debate I think they're in favour of strikebreaking, and I think they're in favour of violence, to a degree as well, on picket lines. I'm ashamed of that and I can also say—

Mrs Marland: On a point of privilege, Mr Speaker: May I plead to you in your position in the chair to try to direct the member for Yorkview to not impute motives to other members. To suggest that other members in this House are in favour of violence on picket lines is as wrong as for him to impugn the member for Bruce in suggesting that he wanted to fight physically. It's so wrong.

Interjections.

The Acting Speaker: That is no point, but I would say to the honourable member for Yorkview that he is coming perilously close to inciting and inflaming people in some of the comments he is making. I ask the honourable member to pay respect to this House and direct his comments to Bill 40.

Mr Mammoliti: Mr Speaker, I respect what you've said, but if they can dish it out, why can't they take it? This is something that happens every day in this place and most certainly in committee work as well. The person who stood up on the point of order is a prime example of what can happen when somebody wants to entice somebody. She is a prime example of it.

Mrs Marland: To entice somebody?

Mr Mammoliti: Unlike the Conservatives, the unions out there they so strongly criticize do not agree with replacement workers and that's because unions know it creates violence.

I'm going to quote Shirley Carr. In 1987, Shirley, back then in the Star, said:

"Police, labour and management all know that violence on the picket line occurs when strikebreakers are used.

"At this point, you can be almost assured, the picket line will get violent. The worker becomes angry because somebody is taking his or her job, and riot police come trotting out from behind bushes with shields, gas guns, gas masks, three-foot billies and armour."

When this happens, the inevitable happens: violence. People are going to protect their jobs and they're going to use whatever means possible to protect those jobs.

I would also like to—

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Mr Stockwell: On a point of order, Mr Speaker—

Mr Mammoliti: Mr Speaker, with all these points of order I'm not going to be able to—

The Acting Speaker: Order, please. The honourable member for Etobicoke West.

Mr Stockwell: Mr Speaker, I was listening very closely to the member making his statement, and the point of order is: I think the member accused this party of supporting and in fact inducing violence on the picket lines. I think that is a violation of my privilege. It's not true. It's not based on fact and there's nothing to substantiate that statement. It's very callous and it's also very dangerous. I would ask that you rule on it, because I don't think it's something that should be said in this House.

The Acting Speaker: I will say to the honourable member for Etobicoke West that I have indicated to the member for Yorkview that his comments have been inciteful and to a certain extent inflammatory. I did not hear his comments as indicating what you have indicated in the House. Therefore, I don't believe that there is a point of order, and therefore I'd ask the honourable member again: Please focus your comments on Bill 40.

Mr Mammoliti: We in the labour movement believe strikes should be settled at the bargaining table and not with truncheons and trucks. Shirley Carr said that during the postal strike in 1987 and I agree wholeheartedly with it. I don't believe we should settle anything with violence except a boxing match perhaps, something some people might enjoy.

I'd also like to give you an example of the CNE here in Toronto from a few years ago, where an employee was run over by a police officer during a picket line. You might

ask: "How do you know this?" If you talk to the union leaders out there they will tell you this. On the picket line it becomes so violent and some employers get so violent and so drastic that they're having to buy hidden cameras and put them behind bushes or behind whatever they can to catch somebody doing something. In the CNE strike—and I remember this distinctly—a few years ago we had the maintenance workers at the CNE striking and a police car ran a red light and hit one of the picketers. Fortunately that picketer was not hurt, but that's not the point.

The point is that there's violence and it's not only from employers. It's not only the employees themselves when they see their jobs threatened, but sometimes there's a third party here. They don't mean to be violent. They mean to contain and make sure there's law and order, but it becomes violent in doing that. They are police officers.

I say to you that Bill 40 will not only help employers and not only help the workers but it will help police officers as well. There are a lot of police officers out there. I can tell you that if you come into Yorkview and speak to some of my officers there in the riding, a lot of them are for this bill. That's because they don't have to worry about the confrontations on the picket line.

Let's think about that for a minute. How much time will that free up in the police department if this bill goes through? I can say to you it'll probably free up a lot of time, because there are a lot of strikes in Ontario, no question about it.

So my point is that unions of course have got to buy cameras, an expense they never thought they'd have but nowadays they've got to buy them. It's something that is a given. If you're striking you buy a camera, and if you've got a camera out there you put it somewhere where nobody can see it so that you can perhaps catch somebody doing something he or she shouldn't be doing in terms of violence on the picket lines.

I think the picketers and unionists in general have been given a bum rap over the years. I think people who are holding the fort per se, holding that sign and demonstrating the only way they know how—and legally—have been given a bum rap. Some people in Ontario—of course, the opposition right now—are blaming picketers for everything that happens on a picket line and are being so negative towards unions and their rights. It's their right to demonstrate. It's their right to picket. Let's give them that.

None of them, however, mention that there are lock-outs, something that the opposition, I believe, claims to be the right of the employer. There are never any negative comments towards lockouts. There are never any negative comments towards an employer who locks his employees out. It's always the employee's fault, the person who is locked out.

I can give you an example. Employees of Nationair here in Toronto were locked out in 1991. They were locked out, and people came in and did their jobs for them. There was nothing they could do. They were out in front of the airport, trying to get in. They were locked out. Nobody talked about Nationair and how cruel it was for doing what it did; they talked about the picketers. They talked about the people who were locked out. I think that's unfair.

I think that's unfair, and I get very emotional, because it's time that attitude changes in Ontario. The only way that attitude is going to change in Ontario is if we start changing some legislation, not only in this area but in other areas as well. I get very emotional when we talk about this. This is the only way that attitude is going to start to change.

Hon Mr Pouliot: It's because you're sincere.

Mr Mammoliti: I hear it's because I'm sincere. I try to be sincere.

[Laughter]

Mr Mammoliti: I hear the moth over there heckling and laughing.

Mr Stockwell: I'm not heckling, George.

Mr Mammoliti: He's just like a moth. One day he's either going to get burnt by the lightbulb or somebody's going to squash him—one of the two.

I'd like to close by talking a little bit about who has dealt with this type of labour legislation. I can say to you that three provinces and Ontario—we've talked a lot about Quebec and British Columbia, but even Saskatchewan, which is somewhat unfair—I shouldn't say somewhat, I think it is very unfair—in terms of labour relations and its laws, has something in the Trade Union Act that touches on replacement workers. The Trade Union Act states, "It is unfair practice to maintain a system of industrial espionage or to employ or direct any person to spy upon a member or proceedings of a labour organization or the offices thereof or the exercise by any employee of any right provided by the act." As much as Saskatchewan is unfair to workers, I tell you that at least it has the guts to recognize that there's a problem. Ontario is now doing that.

In the United States 86% of the states have legislation addressing the strikebreakers issue. With Reaganism they have still touched on this problem, and here we are in Ontario saying: "Oh no, what have you done to us? What has this government done to us?" With Reaganism, 86% of the states have talked about this issue and have reflected it in their legislation.

It's time we change, and it's time the opposition wakes up, for crying out loud, and understands the changing times. For 17 years our act hasn't been changed. It's time it changed.

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The other issue, and the last one, I promise, is this: big business. People have talked about it in this debate. I'm going to talk about it, because I frankly am a little frustrated as a backbencher to know that big business has a lot to do with the signs that are out there talking about communism and talking about Bob Rae in a negative way.

I can tell you that their agenda—and I guess people will see it over the next three years—of course is to oppose anything we do and to jeopardize another term of office for this government—yes, another term of office for this government—and I think it's unfortunate, because on the one hand we hear that business wants to talk to us, wants to be a partner, and on the other hand business is buying signs, is discrediting us on a regular basis.

I'm not talking about small business here; I'm talking about big business. I've been speaking to the small businesses in my community, and I can tell you that they have been misled, that when you ask somebody in a small business about this particular piece of legislation, he will say, "I've been told that it's bad."

They will say, "You're going to drive business away from Ontario," and when you ask them why, they can't respond. They relate to the Employment Standards Act. They relate to other acts that really don't pertain to this. And why? Because we have people going door to door from big business saying: "This is what's going to happen. Do you want to believe me or don't you?" This is what's happening, and I think it's unfair.

If you just bear with me, I want to read you something from the Star. This was in the Toronto Star in November 1991:

"Big business is screaming because it lived through a decade, defined by Reaganism and Thatcherism.... This is the first time in Ontario history that we have ever had a non-capitalistic government, so they'"—referring to business—"are trying to establish the ground rules."

It's pretty simple. They're trying to establish the ground rules, and Bob Rae and the New Democratic government are not budging. We are saying: "Enough is enough. You have had your red phone in the Premier's office for decades." Your government—somebody who's heckling—has had a red phone in that office. We don't any more. They want to establish ground rules. This government is saying, "Things have got to change," and Bill 40 is a prime example of what should happen to change attitudes in Ontario.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mr Kwinter: I listened with great interest to the member for Yorkview and his comments, and I was particularly taken by his last remarks. I remember when I was the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, I used to stand in my place on the other side of the House and present myself as the champion of business, and the howls that came out of the NDP side—

Mr Alvin Curling (Scarborough North): I remember.

Mr Kwinter: You remember that. "My God, we have a pariah in our midst. How could this man possibly be standing in his place advocating that we should be encouraging business to locate in Ontario?"

We have this conundrum where we now have a Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology who I have said is no longer relevant in Ontario—not because of him. I kind of like him as a person. I'm just saying that as an office he is no longer relevant, because all that has to happen when he walks into an industry to talk to them, to encourage them to locate in Ontario, all they have to do is pull out Hansard, the transcripts of members like the member for Yorkview, the Jill Marzettis of the world and everybody else, and they'll say, "Why in the world would I possibly invest in this jurisdiction when not only are the government members opposed to business but they're proud of it? They stand up and they say: 'The time has come. Get rid of the red phone, get rid of the voice of business in this province.'"

I say to you, Mr Speaker, with respect, there has not been a job created by anyone other than business, with the exception of government, and we heard today how they are so anxious to create jobs that they're spending \$10,000 for an ad to create one job just for the advertising. I suggest that unless this government comes to terms with the fact that it isn't "we and them" but that it's "us," we're going to be in big trouble.

The Acting Speaker: Questions and/or comments?

Mrs Marland: The member for Yorkview talked about an accident in the workplace and the example he gave involved replacement workers. The intonation and the phrases he used suggested that the accident, which I think involved some kind of motorized vehicle running over someone, was because they were replacement workers.

I travelled this province on two bills that were very important to the workers in this province, Bill 162 and Bill 208, and I can understand how tragic any injury, let alone any death, in the workplace is. I don't need the member for Yorkview to come into this House and lecture me about the tragedy of injury in the workplace. I don't need him to come in here and lecture me about suggesting that there are more accidents and more tragedies when they are replacement workers. I think the inference he draws from that is a most unfortunate one.

When he talks about big business as if it was a huge, dirty word, he does his own union friends a disservice. I simply ask him, where would any of the jobs be in this province if it were not for big business, medium-sized business and small business? If he thinks that by his kind of attack on big business he's going to provide jobs for his union friends, then he's more out to lunch than I had anticipated he was.

When we look at the issue of jobs and employment in this province and the fact that it is a diminishing resource, I would have credited the member for Yorkview with somewhat more intelligence to understand exactly what is causing the unemployment in this province: it's his socialist government.

Mr Gordon Mills (Durham East): I'd just like to make a few comments about the speech by my friend and colleague the member for Yorkview as it pertains to lock-outs. I was very readily reminded that on Friday this past weekend the Newcastle Hydro Electric Commission broke off negotiations with the local that was attempting to work towards obtaining a very fair contract. Without warning and without any deference to their situation they locked out every worker of Newcastle Hydro.

What they've done is put the workers and their lifestyle in jeopardy. These folks have mortgages to pay; they won't get paid while they're locked out, and their health benefits, I understand, have been suspended while they're locked out, for no reason at all. The workers at Newcastle Hydro Electric Commission wanted to work. They showed up for work. They had no indication at all that they were going to go on strike and yet the commission locked them out. This is what the member for Yorkview is talking about. If we get this legislation through, this nonsense is stopped.

While I'm on my feet, I would like to commend the member for his passionate speech. It's a fact that some of us do have passion in the labour fight, and I commend the member for that passion. Passion across the road is very much lacking in this. It's absolutely despicable, despicable and all the other words I can think about. The member is speaking from his heart, and I always commend people for speaking from their heart.

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The Acting Speaker: Further questions and/or comments?

Mr Stockwell: Just briefly, although I think you can have differences of opinion with members on their speeches, and I certainly do have many differences of opinion with the member for Yorkview, I would ask that he reflect on at least one comment he made in that speech.

I don't think there's any person in this House who would condone violence of any kind. I don't think there's any person in this House who would condone violence on the picket line. I think it's very unfair for you to intimate that the Conservative Party in Ontario in fact supports violence on the picket line, in some instances causing death or serious harm to anyone in this province. I take great exception to that. I know personally I do not. I do not know a person in my caucus who would support that. I ask you to reflect on that comment and withdraw it.

The Acting Speaker: The honourable member for Yorkview has two minutes to respond.

Mr Mammoliti: Let me just respond to the member for Wilson Heights first. I certainly want to say to the member that my message to big business is not "I don't want to work with you" or "We don't want to work with you." My message to big business is: "Let us manage, let us govern, let us do things the way we were elected to do and leave it be. We want to work with you, no question about it, but stop the billboards and stop the negative comments and stop talking to individual members to bring in their little argument towards everything, to stop everything we're doing." That's what I'm saying to big business, not that I don't work with them, just: "Let us govern. It's time that we govern. Let us govern."

In terms of—

Mrs Marland: Do you want to be like New Brunswick and not have an opposition?

Mr Mammoliti: I'm sorry, there's heckling, Mr Speaker, and I can't respond to the member for Mississauga South because she is heckling. I'm not going to respond to her because she heckled. I don't care; I'm not responding to it.

On the issue of lockouts, I can tell my colleague the member for Durham East that my concern—and I'm sure you can see this for yourself if you read the papers—is the attitude out there. My concern is that nobody really gives a hoot about lockouts. They say that it's the employer's right to lock out. They say that it's because of their right that they don't have to report this. They don't care about the three- and four-children families at home that aren't getting any food. All they care about is the replacement workers,

perhaps, and that's what I'm talking about: attitude. This bill will certainly reflect attitude.

The Acting Speaker: Further debate? The honourable member for Lawrence.

Mr Stockwell: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: In a point of order I asked that the comments be withdrawn. I understand your ruling. I'm very upset with the comments. I still raise this point of order. I ask that you ask the member to withdraw those comments. They are, in my opinion—

The Acting Speaker: I would ask the honourable member to be seated. You have raised this point of order. You've admitted it's the same point of order. I've ruled on that point of order. It is not a point of order. My recollection of the comments that were made by the honourable member would not indicate that he said precisely what you thought he said. I would say that the honourable member did make inflammatory comments and I instructed him to continue with his discussion on Bill 40.

The honourable member for Lawrence has the floor.

Mr Michael A. Brown (Algoma-Manitoulin): Mr Speaker, on a point of order: Could we have the clock reset for my colleague?

The Acting Speaker: No, I'm afraid we haven't reset any of the clocks. The honourable member for Lawrence has the floor.

Mr Cordiano: Thank you, Mr Speaker; that's fine. I will deal with what I have to say in the 28 minutes or so I have left. I obviously want and am delighted to have this opportunity to speak on this bill. Unfortunately a great many of my colleagues will not have that same opportunity—

Hon Floyd Laughren (Treasurer and Minister of Economics): They're not even here.

Mr Cordiano: Most of yours aren't either, I say to the Treasurer; it's not a full House, but indeed I see that some of the seats have been filled. I don't know if this is an indication of the interest in my particular speech, but I'm delighted that I have a better-than-average audience here this evening.

I would say to the Treasurer that, judging from the number of members in attendance this evening, this is obviously of some interest, and indeed there is enough interest that this debate should carry forward. Unfortunately the government does not see fit to allow the rest of my colleagues to have their say. As I said, the vast number of them want to speak on this bill and indicated a great desire to speak to this legislation and address some of the concerns that have been expressed to them by their various constituencies.

That, unfortunately, is a result of the time allocation motion put forward by the government under the new rules that have been brought in. I will get to this in a moment. The style of governance of this administration, I think, is turning for the worse. In fact, it's something we have been dealing with around here and struggling for since I've been a member, discussions surrounding the whole question of executive power and how that is utilized in very serious—and often legislation that is of greater importance to all

the citizens of this province and all the members of this Legislature.

We, as an opposition party, of course, raise our concerns with respect to the rule changes and the limitations that have been placed on the amount of time each member now has to speak on matters of importance to members of this Legislature. I believe it's the style of this which now leads to greater executive power, allowing the executive branch of the government, virtually by decree, by executive fiat, to determine which legislation will go through in a short period of time. Isn't it convenient that the first order of really important business happens to be Bill 40, the Ontario Labour Relations and Employment Statute Law Amendment Act?

I think the government would have to think twice with respect to the way it's operating. We've had various speeches. Various of my colleagues have made very eloquent speeches in this House about just what that means with respect to the process of democracy and how this chamber operates. We believe we've effectively been muzzled. We will not have our full say on this legislation and in the future on more important legislation as it occurs in this House. We believe this should not be what takes place in this chamber; that indeed opposition has to have its say; that this is the only way important legislation can be truly looked at in all of its aspects and how profoundly that legislation will change the nature and the fundamental workings of the economy of this province.

It is absolutely essential to a democracy that effective opposition exist. We believe this has somehow fundamentally changed in this province. The opposition will in fact not be as effective as it has been in the past. There were numerous examples of how that took place over the years in this very chamber, indeed by various members of the ruling party at this time who, at various points in the history of this province not so long ago, recently opposed major pieces of legislation and did so very effectively. They had a great deal of time to speak on legislation. They were not muzzled by the government and by the imposition of rules which would not allow that effective speech to take place.

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So getting on to Bill 40 in the time I have left—I see that the Treasurer is very interested in what I might have to say. He's here this evening and taking notes, of course, on the advice I might give him here this evening.

Hon Mr Laughren: I'm one of your biggest fans. I may be your biggest fan in the world.

Mr Cordiano: That's true. Notwithstanding that, we do have differences of opinion, and at the present time we have vastly great differences of opinion, particularly with the last budget he introduced and of course in his support for this particular bill as it stands now.

I want to say from the outset that labour legislation and indeed the efforts to protect workers are admirable. We're not suggesting for a moment on this side of the House that reform would not be acceptable and we are not suggesting for a moment, and my leader has indicated this, that we would not look at reasonable reform. In fact, if this legislation

were to go to committee for public hearings—and it is—we hope the Minister of Labour and his colleagues in the cabinet will look at changes that can be made to this legislation to make it a bill which will allow the economy of this province to continue to grow, as well as produce the basic objective which the government has stated from the outset is its intention here, and that is to improve workplace cooperation.

We don't believe that will in fact be the end result of this legislation. If it were, I'd be the first one to stand up and support this legislation. I want the Treasurer and his colleagues to know that personally, historically I have not opposed the concept of unions operating as they do. They have done good things. My father, who was an immigrant to this country, belonged to a union. In fact, had there been a strengthening of the labour legislation that existed at the time, perhaps he would not have been in the very tragic circumstances he found himself in, in a workplace accident which led to his death. I believe labour unions have improved the lot of workers in this province over the history of the life of this great jurisdiction, but I believe we've come to a point when we have to look at the impact of this particular legislation.

It proposes a number of things, and I just want to touch on the key elements. This legislation will make it easier for unions to establish affiliates in a variety of sectors. It will assist unions in allowing labour groups to organize and set up picket lines at the entrances and exits of, for example, stores and shopping malls. It will outlaw the use of replacement workers, as has been mentioned earlier, which it's been suggested will result in less violence on the picket lines. It will make it easier for fledgling unions to get their first contract, and it will boost the powers of the Ontario Labour Relations Board. I will deal with these elements as we go along in my discussion.

But our concern of course has to do with the general situation of the economy and what impact this legislation will have on the future economy of this province. It has to be a priority and it should be a priority for this government, because what we've heard from a variety of sectors and from a variety of people is that this legislation will have a direct impact on the future prospects for investment and job creation in the province.

I can't believe the government is going to sit there and say, "No, that's not the case." The fact that we're having this debate suggests to all concerned that there is concern out there that goes beyond just this chamber, that goes beyond the partisan politics we engage in in this chamber, that it's not like saying, "We're going to have workplace cooperation because we're going to improve that side of the equation that has not been in balance, that has been disadvantaged." We don't agree with that, either. We don't believe for a moment that that equation will be put in its proper balance. We think the opposite will happen. We think the balance will be upset.

Hon Bud Wildman (Minister of Natural Resources and Minister Responsible for Native Affairs): You mean it's in balance now?

Mr Cordiano: No, I believe there are changes that can be made, but we believe the weight, the advantages, will all be placed on the side of the unions, on the side of union bosses, who see this as to their advantage.

Before I go further with discussion about what's in the bill, I want to refer back to comments that were made earlier with respect to the way in which this bill has been criticized, the way in which third-party organizations have had a say in this debate. It's been suggested that the advertising that's being done is a campaign of terror that's perpetrated on this administration and its intention to bring forward this legislation.

The opposition has been accused of being alarmist, that we will drive away investment from around the world, that we will negatively affect the future prospects of this province. I say to you that is not the role of the opposition. Opposition dutifully conducts its affairs as an opposition party when it has the freedom to speak out, when it has the freedom to say exactly what's on its mind.

That's what we hear from the public, the views expressed by those people outside this chamber and indeed the opposition parties in this chamber. The views are expressed because they're legitimate concerns. People feel this is a real threat, that in fact there are elements of this legislation which will lead to the negative impacts that have been discussed in this chamber and beyond.

Various editorials are now coming forward. I read in the *Toronto Star* the other day, in fact during the recent strike that was engaged in at the *Toronto Star*, a point of view, stated simply, that the *Toronto Star* and other organizations and businesses like it would simply be put out of business because they could not have continued to operate if this legislation had been in place during the strike. There is absolutely no way the *Toronto Star* could have continued to operate in the way it did during the last three or four weeks. It would have suffered irreparable damage, and this is the *Toronto Star*. Perhaps it could have survived, but there are firms out there—and I say to the Treasurer, who is sitting here—mid-sized firms, smaller firms, which would simply be put out of business.

Hon Mr Wildman: Then they should avoid work stoppages.

Mr Cordiano: But that's like putting a gun to their head, I say to the member for Algoma, the Minister of Natural Resources: "They should avoid work stoppages." Of course, in a perfect world that would happen, but we don't live in a perfect world, and he knows and I know that there are conflicts out there, inevitably, that have to be dealt with. The conflict we're attempting to address with this legislation can only increase.

This, I dare say, is a political agenda. The government understands that its support has been derived traditionally from the labour movement, particularly the upper echelons of that labour movement. Having said that, I would say there are many people in my riding who belong to trade unions who have supported parties other than the NDP and who have supported me as well, but that's really not the issue here.

The fact that this bill will allow unions to organize in workplaces which have not traditionally been unionized is not necessarily a bad thing, but it will certainly lead to increased membership, it will certainly lead to the swelling of the ranks of unionized labour in this province. Without passing judgement on that, I would simply say this does satisfy one of the concerns the labour movement has expressed over the last decade or so. Their numbers have been dwindling. They would like to have an opportunity to increase their numbers.

I go back to the political agenda of this government. The government has caved in on various pieces of legislation which have been introduced in this House, which run contrary and had directly the opposite effect of what they intended when they ran in the last provincial election.

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Sunday shopping legislation, which will now be determined in this House by a free vote, was one of those things. A common pause day: I say to various members who are in the back benches opposite that their party promised a common pause day to the people of this province. They backed away from that proposition because they felt they did not have enough support with the wider public. There was a politically motivated initiative on the part of the government.

Indeed, auto insurance legislation, which this government had promised in the last election, was also something they backed away from because it would have had—and they saw the light of day—disastrous effects on the way business is conducted in this province with respect to insurance. So they did what the vast majority of people had wanted them to do, which was not to implement their policy with respect to auto legislation and on Sunday shopping.

The things this government does, I believe, it does because it has a very definite political agenda. The definite political agenda with respect to labour legislation has been to get the labour union movement back on side, to make sure the leadership in the labour movement is satisfied. Indeed, this legislation is now the opportunity for this government, the executive branch particularly, to demonstrate that it's going to do what it says it wants to do and will do.

It's saying to all the backbenchers, "We have a battle on our hands; we have a conflict." I think this government understands conflict. "We have a conflict which will be fought over the next number of months, which will see our opposition increase, because we want to show that we are going to do something for our friends who have supported us to become the government of this province."

Understanding that, I go back to the original discussion surrounding this bill. I say to the various ministers who are here, and the backbenchers, that you have to look at this bill and what it proposes and the serious consequences this legislation will have for this province in respect to the economy and labour relations in the future. We are in a watershed period. This is ground-breaking legislation that will have implications far-reaching into the future. It will determine the way this province operates for the next foreseeable time period.

Some people have suggested that this legislation will be repealed if indeed another government is elected. That

is not the point. The point is that this legislation, once it is in place, sets a whole series of directions for labour relations and sets a whole series of directions with respect to investment in this province and with respect to job creation opportunities. These are things which are not easily undone once they are put in place.

That's why as an opposition party we have been adamant in instructing and asking the government to look at the impact of this legislation. My leader in her remarks to this chamber—

Hon Mr Laughren: Which one?

Mr Cordiano: There's only one leader on this side of the House. I know the Treasurer would on certain days be considered the leader of his party, with or without his Premier sitting in the chamber, but that's okay. We have one.

Mr Ramsay: He's just a trouble-maker. Don't be distracted.

Hon Mr Laughren: No, no. I like Joe.

Mr Cordiano: And I like the Treasurer too. I have to say that publicly. But that's getting personal.

Our leader has asked, requested, in fact made numerous pleas to the Minister of Labour, the Premier, the Treasurer and the entire government to conduct impact studies, to conduct them in a non-partisan, non-biased, third-party approach. Do them in-house if you have to, I say to the Minister of Labour. Have them conducted so that you can then show the public, the larger business community and the investment community from abroad that this legislation will not have the negative consequences that we're discussing here this evening, that this legislation will not in fact lead to less investment, less job creation and a worsening of the labour relations climate in this province.

If he could prove to us that that was in fact the case; if he could indicate that he has done numerous studies and if he were to undertake a serious approach to looking at impact studies, then we on this side would be more amenable to the kinds of changes being proposed. But we have great difficulty with what's being proposed by virtue of the fact that the concerns expressed out there have been grave and dire.

The predictions are very dire, and it does not behoove us to ignore those concerns out there expressed by whom-ever, whether it's big business, small business or medium-sized business. When we talk about business, it's anathema, as my colleague the member for Wilson Heights said, who stood up earlier and mentioned that he had been champion of business in this province. We need more champions, because being a champion of business means we're going to improve the economic climate of this province, it means we're going to have greater job creation.

I say to the government, you are trying to improve labour relations and that is an admirable thing, but I don't believe you're going about it, first of all, in the right way. The process you've introduced here is entirely incorrect. The consultation that has been conducted, which the Minister of Labour has so lauded and pointed to as being the most extensive that has ever been conducted, simply is not on.

There are too many people whose lives and futures are affected by this legislation. It reaches far, and the concerns

that have been expressed are increasing daily. It's simply not enough to say that you conducted hearings, I believe it was in January and February; referring back to what he said earlier and numerous remarks, that there were a number of stops he made and they were quite extensive.

I think he visited 11 stops around the province. I say to the minister that that's simply not enough. You have not gathered the impressions of enough people from around the province on this piece of legislation. I understand we're going to have public hearings on this. We understand people will be given the opportunity to express their concerns, but those will amount to some five weeks and I don't believe it is enough and I would like to see those extended.

The concerns go well beyond examples of conflict politics that have been set in the past. There have been bitter divisions on partisan issues in this House, and there have been divisions with respect to issues that go well beyond the partisan nature of this House. But this is legislation which is far-reaching in its scope, this is legislation that will have long-lasting impacts.

I say to people who are interested in the debate this evening—and I repeat—this legislation will not be easily reversed. The impact of it will not be undone. The impact of this legislation will be long-lasting. That's why we're here and that's why we're speaking on it as much as we can to make people aware of the impact of this legislation even further. I know there was debate around the polls that have been conducted; 53% of respondents were aware of this legislation and it was suggested by the Minister of Labour that that is a small number of people in the whole province who were aware of this legislation. That is precisely the point, that further and more extensive consultation must take place.

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Hon Mr Laughren: It's been a year and a half.

Mr Cordiano: It's not a year and a half, I say to the Treasurer. The minister going around in very select areas hasn't been broadly done. There are hundreds of thousands of small businesses affected by this. It goes well beyond what we're talking about under normal circumstances in which a committee of the Legislature would conduct public hearings.

This legislation, as I've pointed out repeatedly in my discussion, is broader than you think in its impact. It has implications for every single person in this province because of the nature and the focus of the kinds of things we're talking about: the relationships between business, labour and government.

As I said from the outset, if I believed and if we as a party believed that this legislation would improve workplace cooperation, would improve the climate of labour relations in this province, we would support it because that would lead to greater productivity. We believe in improving the economic climate of this province, and if that were the objective of this legislation we would be the first to support it. We don't believe for a moment that that's going to happen. We have tried to demonstrate the concerns that have been expressed by people in the province. We have

tried to indicate to the government in as rational and as reasonable a fashion as we possibly could that there are extremely serious consequences, that there are legitimate concerns, and we need the time to express our concerns. The public out there is very interested and becoming more interested as each day goes by in this legislation. As a result of that you need to do more work.

Get those impact studies done, I say to the minister and the Treasurer. Do not shy away from them. Do not engage in the politics of convenience because you've dug in your heels now, because you're going to say to people out there and to the backbenchers in your caucus: "This is our issue. This is the issue where we draw the line. This is where we make our last stand." I know the Treasurer would understand this. You want to rally the troops around legislation, around something fundamental like this, and you haven't been able to do that; you're dropping in support at the current time. That may be a temporary thing, but don't be so desperate. Don't use this to try to rally the troops and avoid looking at reasonable, rational discussion, at changes that can be made to this legislation. Do not narrow your focus, I say to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology who's in the House at the present time; do not allow yourself to narrow your focus, because this is where you take your last stand, because this is where you shape the agenda for your government and your administration over the next two and a half years, leading into the next election, because this is where you satisfy those people who have traditionally supported you.

The province is much broader than that. People will only support you if you think of all of them, not just certain segments of the province, certain people who have supported you traditionally—

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you. Your time has expired. Are there any questions or comments?

Mr Perruzza: Thank you very much, Mr Speaker, for this opportunity to respond briefly to some of the comments that were made by the member. I listened with much attention to some of the things he had to say. What strikes me is that when I look at Bill 40, what's at the heart and at the centre of Bill 40 is that ability for people who are traditionally marginalized in our society, in our workplaces, to be able to carve a little better standard of life for both themselves and their families.

The member for Lawrence represents a very large working-class—if I may use the word—community, people who have been traditionally marginalized and people who have been left behind by many of the gains that have been made by organized labour, primarily because they've been unorganized. When I look at some of the bigger interests, that contingency of both labour and workers is quite well looked after. One of the things this particular bill speaks to is the needs of the little guy, the little men and women and their families. I can't help but think that some of the comments made by the member for Lawrence would completely undermine any of the advances, any of the gains made by working people for themselves and for their families.

This strikes me as quite odd, because if people knew who they were voting for and what they were voting for at election time, I think you'd see a substantially different makeup in this place—still. Even though in 1990 people spoke resoundingly in support of the NDP, there would be future changes.

Mr James J. Bradley (St Catharines): Mr Speaker, I'm concerned, because I heard the member cut off in mid-debate and I wanted to get his comments on the new rules the Premier has brought in which prevent members of the opposition from being able to debate all kinds of legislation with important ramifications for the province. I was listening to him, and it seemed that in midstream, just when he was making a compelling argument, he was cut off by the Premier's new rules.

I would be very interested in knowing the member's views on this. I think at the very beginning of his speech he made some allusion to it, but not in the kind of detail I would liked to have seen. I want to know what he thinks, for instance, of the fact that the Premier wants the House, and is going to force the House, to sit fewer days.

The Deputy Speaker: Speak—

Mr Bradley: I am speaking to it. Don't tell me I'm not speaking to it. I'm speaking to it. That's what he said in the beginning of his speech. Don't tell me I'm not speaking to it.

Interjections.

The Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr Bradley: My concern is what the member said at the beginning of his speech about the rules in the Legislature and the fact that Bob Rae will allow him to speak only 30 minutes now, wants fewer days for the House to sit and wants to give ministers the right to determine how long the House will be able to debate any piece of legislation, and in addition to this wants to take away from the elected Speaker, the person who is neutral in this House, the opportunity to make the judgement as to whether a debate has gone on long enough. I'm very interested to see whether the member thinks perhaps the result of this debate would have been different if Bob Rae hadn't removed most of the opposition's powers in this regard.

The Deputy Speaker: I fail to recognize what any of your statement has to do with Bill 40.

Further questions or comments?

Mrs Marland: There has been discussion on Bill 40 this evening that refers to the plight of the unorganized workers, and I think it's very interesting when we recognize that unions have tried to organize workers in this province for many, many decades and they still have only been able to get their numbers up to something like 37%. Doesn't that speak very loud and very strongly about the fact that the people who work in this province simply don't choose to be unionized?

When we hear about the plight and the pleading and the pathetic story of the "little guy," I'd like to tell you about a little guy in my riding who this member's comments reminded me of, who actually is a woman. She's a woman union member who had the intestinal fortitude to

stand up at a union meeting and challenge her treasurer. She accused the treasurer of pilfering the books. The treasurer of that union turned around and sued her for slander. She actually went to court. The union paid the legal fees of the treasurer, but guess who paid the legal fees of the "little guy," to use the words of the member for Downsview. The little woman member of this union had to pay \$2,800 of her own to defend herself against a suit from her own union.

It's all a big game, because the truth is that the little guy isn't always protected. In this case, she won in court. They didn't want to open the books—

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you.

Mrs Marland: —so they withdrew their charge.

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Mr Sutherland: The member for Lawrence in his comments talked about the issue of productivity. I want to bring up an issue of productivity that's occurring right now in my riding. On Friday, I had the opportunity to go out and visit a picket line at Cobi Foods, which is in my riding just outside of the town of Ingersoll, where Teamsters Local 141 is on strike; they've been on strike for about a month.

To give you some of the circumstances related to the strike, first, they've had a union for 15 years. They've never had a strike before. In the last set of contract negotiations, some of the members took pay cuts. This time they were very close to a settlement. There was going to be a wage freeze, and the union was willing to agree to a wage freeze. Just when it looked like they were close to getting agreement, what happened? The company said it wanted the same people who took a cut last time, down to \$9 an hour, to take another \$2.50-an-hour cut. So they decided they had to draw a line and they had to go out on strike for those members. Some of them have been there 18 or 19 years, men and women who have contributed productively to that company. They're not being productive now?

And what do they have to face? On Friday, eight trucks bringing products in there going across the picket line, and not only eight trucks but a bus, and not a normal school bus. The members on the picket line assured me that this looked more like a bus for transporting prisoners than it looked like a bus for transporting workers across a picket line. Those were replacement workers going in there. These are people who dedicated themselves to working for this company. They are average people. They want to work, they want to be productive, but in this case their jobs are threatened because of replacement workers, and they assure me they want this legislation to pass.

The Deputy Speaker: Thank you, your time has expired. Further questions or comments? The member for Algoma.

Mr Brown: Algoma-Manitoulin, Mr Speaker—

The Deputy Speaker: Pardon me. I made a mistake. The member for Lawrence, you have two minutes to reply.

Mr Cordiano: To my colleague the member for St Catharines, indeed I was just getting warmed up and I could have gone on further on this legislation. We could sit here all night and discuss this. I just got warmed up, I only

touched on the various key elements of the legislation, and that is exactly the point. The point is that we simply do not have the opportunity, whether we are opposition members or backbenchers in the government, who are also muzzled, by the way. If you haven't seen that yet, just wait until you introduce even more controversial legislation; you're going to have your time restricted to virtually nothing.

That's important, because this legislation is critical legislation which all of you should have an opportunity to express your concerns about. If you're not up expressing your views, there will be a time when people in your riding say to you: "How come you didn't speak on this legislation? It had such an impact on us." That's the crucial point you must remember.

We had an administration of 94 members, and quite frankly it was difficult to get to speak in this chamber. But don't be muzzled. This new set of rules which is coming in will allow you less opportunity than ever before to speak on critical issues.

To the member for Downsview, who said I am not concerned about the little guy in my riding, I say that nothing could be further from the truth. The fact is that you're not concerned about job creation when you talk about introducing this legislation, which will have a negative impact on economic growth and investment. You are turning your backs on those unemployed workers, and this legislation will create nothing in new work for them.

Mr Stockwell: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: Not too long ago in this House, half an hour or so, I rose on a point of order because of comments made by the member for Yorkview. The Speaker at the time suggested that he did not hear those comments the way that I heard them. I bring this up to you because I have an Instant Hansard on the comments that were made. My point of order is that my privileges as a member have been breached, as well as those of my party. I would like to read into the record the comments that were made and I would ask for a ruling from you. The member for Yorkview suggested in his comments:

"...citizens of the United States to come over here and break picket lines? How many governments? I can tell you that it's probably zero. I haven't been able to find any anyway, and I can tell you that the previous governments certainly didn't do that. I can tell you that of course the Conservatives, when they were in, probably encouraged it to happen. I don't blink twice when I say that, because from what I'm hearing in this debate, I could say that I think they're in favour of strike-breaking and I think they're in favour of violence to a degree as well on picket lines, and I'm ashamed of that."

My privileges as a member have been impugned by that comment by the member for Yorkview. He is suggesting that this party and myself are in favour of violence on picket lines, where people have lost their lives. I would ask you, Mr Speaker, to ask the member for Yorkview to withdraw that statement from this House at this time.

The Deputy Speaker: You are asking the Chair to make a decision that was already made by a former Speaker, and it would be totally inappropriate for me to

render a judgement or even to ask for an excuse from the member. As far as I'm concerned, I was not here and there is no way I can render a judgement. It's as simple as that. Are there any other members who wish to participate in the debate?

Mr Stockwell: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: The Speaker in fact suggested that he did not hear the comments that were made. That's why I have come forward at this time to read those comments into the record so they can be very clear. The comment that was made was that he suggested this party was in favour of violence on the—

The Deputy Speaker: Order. I think the Chair has been very clear and I will not linger any more on this issue. Are there any other members who wish to participate in this debate? The member for London North.

Mrs Dianne Cunningham (London North): It's with a great deal of interest that I participate in this debate, and I do that as a member representing London North and my constituents. Most of the remarks I will be putting on the record will be in relation to the input I've received from the citizens I represent in London North.

I'd like to begin by talking about my own feelings with regard to Ontario and having been a citizen of this country and this province all my life, of the opportunities I've had as a first-generation Canadian. My own father came to this country and began his own business. I grew up in Toronto where there were times when my family members didn't have jobs, but in the end they were able to raise their kids. We all went to school. My father was a small business person in the latter years of his life. He was also a member of labour unions, more than one, so it's not as a Conservative that I speak but certainly as a person who has had the benefit of relating to all political parties during my lifetime, with a family that was very involved.

I did learn at a very early age that all of us relied on investments in this province, on people to put their money forth so we could create jobs and make business work. In those days, it seemed that we only had money within our own city, our own province and our own country. It was later in my childhood that I realized it took international competitiveness to make Canada work. I realized, and I think all of us know, that we do rely on small business and large business to make this country operate.

None of those things can happen without workers, whether they be unionized workers or people who have chosen not to be members of a labour union. More important than anything else, we know we need people to work in order to make our society function.

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Then we have to look at the third component, one I've become very close to over the years in municipal politics and now in this very enviable position of responsibility in representing the taxpayers in London; that is, we have to understand the role of government. I believe government's single most important responsibility—the Treasurer is looking with interest, and I respect that—is to create an environment for business to invest in our community, whether it be in Ontario or elsewhere. At the same time, that's not to the exclusion of having a workplace that is

fair to workers. So I say today to the government of this great province that my singular criticism of the government today is that in my view it has not looked at the impact of this labour legislation on either the business community or the workers in the province of Ontario.

Coming from my own business background, there is no way I would move forward with any policies that affected my own company or affected the people who worked in that company without looking at the impact of any policies I was putting forth. I would have done that in clear communication with my board of directors and with my employees. I think quite basically that's what this new labour legislation is all about, so the government does in fact have an opportunity right now to listen.

I'm a member of one of the committees of this Legislative Assembly which is taking a look at how many weeks this labour legislation will go out for public input. One of my great criticisms of the former Liberal government was that it didn't matter if you went out for public input; nothing changed. If that happens with this labour law, I really feel that this government hasn't a hope of ever being re-elected, ever, because it was the one, along with our party, that criticized that process. I'm speaking process here and I'll say it again: Our responsibility as a government is to create an environment so that businesses will invest in this province and this country, will stay here and hopefully invest elsewhere as well so that people have jobs and our economy is productive.

That is my singular criticism: no impact studies. My great hope is that in the next few weeks and months we will go out for public consultation and we will get some good advice from the public we represent and in fact will change this law, and we'll change it because of what we're hearing from the public.

I want to say to one of my colleagues from London who stood up today and said something about new investment in London, Ontario—talk about truths and untruths and scare tactics and what not. I hope I will never have the reputation of standing up here and exaggerating. I hope I can give a factual presentation.

I took the time after his two-minute response to phone the city of London and ask, with regard to investment in London—of course we're talking about an aircraft corporation. The aircraft company that decided to locate there certainly didn't want to locate in London, Ontario, because of these labour laws. In fact, that was one of the detriments in the conversation between the city and the people who were involved in attracting that industry to London. They were very concerned about this government. I can tell you what they said during the negotiations for this position.

They said, "One thing for certain, governments come and go, and in this instance, if we have any more government interference in work in Ontario"—by the way, they're not there yet and they still have a lot of work to do with this government. I'm sure the Treasurer will be hearing from them, so let's not start counting on this industry, because if it can't work out the conditions it needs, it won't be in London, Ontario, or anywhere else. So don't prematurely stand up and say, "We got them," because we don't have them, and I hope we will. "Governments come

and go" was their response. They said to me, "If we can't get what we want, there'll be another government gone," and it's quite true.

In London we are saying we're open for business and we are advertising and talking about the good things in our city, but I can tell you right now that the feeling in London, Ontario, and the many people who have written—I just brought the beginning of the alphabet because everything is filed alphabetically—are almost unanimously against this labour law, these new changes to the old labour law, basically because they think the timing is not good. They also believe they will not create one new job, and that is the most important part of this legislation to the citizens of London: no new jobs with these new laws; too quick, not an important consultative process, which I've told them they will be getting, so I hope that will happen.

I can talk about some of the things I've heard in the House. The government members talked about "scare tactics from the opposition." Certainly in our city there have been no scare tactics I know of. "Workplace tragedy; this law is going to make things better in the workplace." I'm quoting because I sat and listened for the last two hours. "The right of strikers, the right of people on the picket line"—I'm not arguing about any of these things.

They also, with due respect to some of the government speakers, talked about management's right to lock out. So be it. Everybody understands that.

They talked about opportunities for women, that this new labour law will have more opportunities for women. I can think of better ways to do that.

"Let us govern," they're pleading. It's our job, when the government's on the wrong track, to tell you about it, and that's what I'm telling you right now. You're on the wrong track. You are not creating the kind of environment in Ontario that makes people want to invest here.

I read that the right kind of environment in Ontario right now would be to withdraw this labour law because it's not doing anything for the province. I am in the process of looking at a chapter of a new book and I understand that some of my colleagues have been asked to do the same thing. When I talk about colleagues, I'm talking about people with whom I work in the city of London.

A survey mailed in July 1991 to 2,000 Ontario companies—and this is not published yet; I'm just proofreading something here and giving my opinion—"asked if the company had any plans to invest in Ontario in the next five years and what the critical investment factors were." This is from chapter 17 in a new book, the chapter called, "The Exit of Production Activities from Canada to the United States." It's one aspect of a book on economics and relates to work at the University of Western Ontario.

Almost 40% of respondents "have no plans to invest in Ontario in the next five years." That's pretty scary. I'm glad the Treasurer and the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology are listening. We should be concerned that 37.4% of the respondents have no plan. It's not because of this government alone; it's because of a lot of things.

I'm giving the first 20 reasons in order of their concern: (1) Ontario's wage protection policy; (2) government of Ontario deficit—Mr Treasurer, you should be listening

to that; that's the second reason these companies give for not wanting to invest and stay in Ontario; critical investment factors, no plans to invest in Ontario; (3) levels of Canadian and Ontario productivity; (4) Ontario's employment equity legislation; (5) corporate income tax—these are the companies we rely on to do business; (6) capacity utilization; (7) the employer payroll health tax; (8) interest rates—cost of capital; (9) the value of the Canadian dollar—it's not just this government; (10) new occupational health and safety legislation; (11) workers' compensation; (12) municipal taxes; (13) Ontario taxback—surtax on income over \$200,000; (14) transportation costs; (15) quality of management training; (16) opportunity for regional economies; (17) quality of the workforce; (18) level of inflation; (19) cost of municipal services; (20) cost of social support services. The list goes on.

What they're really trying to tell us is that in Ontario we're overtaxed and overgoverned, and most of us recognize that.

On Friday, in preparation for this legislation, I met with a group of interested citizens in London, people who had called my office. Actually, if they were concerned about anything to do with investment in Ontario, creation of jobs, workplace problems, whether it was Bill 40 or any other pending legislation, we took their names. Over a period of the last four weeks I've met with them in groups of 20 or 25.

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I made some notes on Friday morning with a group. In fact, we went around the table and listened to their concerns. In the end, although people, workers and managers, had individual concerns, their greatest concern from a business point of view—and these are people who have companies in London—was the complexity of doing business in Ontario. I will underline it: the complexity of doing business in Ontario.

They talked about the resources it takes to do business in Ontario. They talked about having to hire consulting companies, resource managers and human resource managers and about levels of bureaucracies or levels in the public sector. By the way, there were public sector people there. Private sector people were talking about more management staff, and for every single manager they hired there was probably another worker they couldn't hire on the front lines. They talked about the resources it takes to do business in Ontario. They talked about the extent to which business has to sit down and talk about whether it even wants to comply with legislation or would consider breaking the laws, like avoiding taxes and what not.

It was pretty frightening to listen to them talk about how frustrated they were. They talked about the three reasons it's tough to do business. First is the recession, and all of us know how tough that is. That is the problem not only of the ongoing government; most provincial governments and the government of Canada are having to deal with that. They were talking about the realization of the global economy and how much competition is necessary in order to compete. They were talking about the increased costs of doing business in Ontario.

They're not just talking about this labour law; they're talking about the combination of all the laws we have. They're talking about the recession. They're talking about pulling it all together and how horrendous it is, what a tremendous responsibility it is to take a look at all of the laws, the taxes, workers' compensation, pay equity, employment equity, all the local municipal bylaws, the work of just getting jobs up and going within our own communities and within Ontario. Then they talked about the success of doing business in southeast Asia, in some parts of the United States, Central America and Mexico. It's just easier to take your business and do work elsewhere. Whether people want to listen or not, those are the kinds of things I've been listening to in London, and these are at first hand.

I listened that same morning to a gentleman talk about his own business. He was talking about the decline of Form Rite Ltd, which was a London, Ontario, business. Form Rite supplies major automotive manufacturers, mainly in North America. He told his story.

Being in the automotive industry since 1965, he said, he has been competing in a global free trade environment and did tremendously well. Since 1965. We talk about this as being something new, free trade. Four years ago he employed directly 1,000 individuals in and around London, not including the indirect employment he provided to the subtrades. Three years ago he was unionized by the CAW. In 1992 he currently has 200 employees left in Ontario. These are true stories. All the research and development engineering people have been shipped to Michigan. That's where they do their work. The balance of the manufacturing is done in Tennessee. This is what's happening to Ontario business.

Interjection: Thanks to your free trade deal.

Mrs Cunningham: No, he's not talking about free trade. He did business in the United States. We're not talking about free trade here at all. As a matter of fact, in the work we've done, it says here, in "The Deindustrialization of Canada":

"Whereas the focus of recent public discussion has been corporate restructuring related to the FTA and the recession, of importance also are decisions of the past decade and also plans for the coming years. Most interesting, perhaps, is the inconsistency between the headlines and the stories behind the headlines. Many headlines blame the FTA for the large number of layoffs and plant closures. Yet very few layoffs are related explicitly to the FTA in media or corporate reports." Very few. This is an analysis done for a new book of all the publications that had been available to the researchers who were putting this book together. "Very few layoffs are related explicitly to the FTA in media or corporate reports." So talk about scare tactics. I personally get sick of it. "Leading causes of deindustrialization relate to the recession and general problems like interest rates, the high Canadian dollar and declining markets." Those are the reasons, not the free trade agreement. But it's easy. Those are three pre-primer type of words: free trade agreement. If you don't understand anything else, those are the words you use.

I'd like to move on and back to the decline of Form Rite. He described to the group the contributors to his leaving Ontario. First of all, unions. I hate to say that because I don't want to be speaking in general terms either, but this is an individual person who came to tell his story.

Existing labour legislation: He contends it is so expensive paying lawyers and accountants to fight current legislation that it isn't worth it. This isn't the new stuff; this is existing stuff. Add on things like employment equity—

Hon Mr Wildman: But he is fighting it.

Mrs Cunningham: No, he's gone. He feels he may have to give up his home in Lambeth and move to the United States. He still has existing real estate in Ontario. This is a very important businessman in London. It's a typical story that comes into our office. Actually, it goes into my colleague's office as well, and I'm sure he hears it. I didn't expect him to stand up and tell you about it, but I've got the letters. He had one of his buildings sold to a German investment group. Shortly before the deal was closed, the NDP was elected and the morning after the election, the German company called and said the deal was off; they would not invest in an area run by a socialist government. Well, we'll find that out. I thought these aeroplane people were the best of all when they said, "The best thing about this is that governments come and go, and this one will be gone by the time we get our plant built." Well, I sure hope it's true.

I have letters from my constituents, most of which have been copied to my colleagues in London South, London Centre and Middlesex, and I'm going alphabetically.

From Mr Adams, Estevan Road, London, Ontario, addressed to me. I'm just reading a paragraph from each letter: "The vast majority of the proposed changes to the labour act are unfair, unreasonable and unrealistic. They will only result in increased labour strife, increased costs and reduced employment here in Ontario."

Mr Speaker, do you know what I object to? I am reading letters right now that have been sent by my constituents, and people are laughing. I don't think it's funny when people are losing their business.

Hon Frances Lankin (Minister of Health): They're not laughing at you.

Mrs Cunningham: I know they're not, but it's so rude. The Minister of Health says they're not laughing at me. Maybe they're laughing at what these people are reading. I don't know, but I can't believe it. Anyway that was Adams.

From Thomson, Fisher and Bossy, chartered accountants: "Dear Minister, I am writing to express Thomson, Fisher and Bossy's concerns about your proposed changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act." This is from Dufferin Avenue, London, Ontario, and they're complaining about the consultation process. This was dated January 28, and I'm thinking that perhaps it was the first consultation process, which of course was a sham. This next one had better be one where people listen to the constituents of Ontario who have elected them. Surely democracy can work somewhere.

"I am not convinced that there is a demonstrated need for these changes. At a time when our unemployment rate is so high, when business confidence is so low, and when

the challenge of competitiveness is so real, these changes do nothing to put our economy back on the road to economic growth."

I go back to the speeches I heard before where you talked about scare tactics. I don't think these are scare tactics. These are people who have taken the time to write letters themselves, many of them small business people, many of them workers, and nobody has scared them into writing these letters. They're writing because they're nervous for Ontario and for their children and the future of this province.

Hon Evelyn Gigantes (Minister of Housing): You are scaremongering.

Mrs Cunningham: While the Minister of Housing continues to sign her letters, she screams the word "scare-monger." I think it's a joke the way people spend their time in this Legislative Assembly. Scaremonger: If you keep saying it long enough, I guess you believe it. If that's what you want to believe, go ahead. I'm reading letters. It's nothing to do with scaremongering. That's what your speakers said when they spoke today, and I'm sick of listening to it. I'm reading letters from people who have written to me and to other members. In fact, that one was sent to the minister.

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This one's to Marion Boyd, Dianne Cunningham and David Winninger from Rusty's Lock and Key—I guess that's funny, is it, Rusty's Lock and Key? We can have a laugh; there we go, we've got a laugh. "As a small business with employees, it would be to everyone's advantage if the government supported us as well as the employee. After all, we are part of the working class too." Small business people work. Some of them even own companies. Isn't that interesting? And there won't be as many of them.

I won't read it all into the record because I'm assuming Mr Winninger will read the same thing, but they end this letter: "Do we want more labour laws or do we want jobs?"

Crawford Packaging Materials Ltd: "Good morning, Ms Boyd" it says, so I guess we all got this one, because I got a copy of it. "Recent publications and news media attention to your Ontario Labour Relations Act reforms have compelled me to contact you." He goes on to say: "Over my years in business in southwestern Ontario and in Canada, our main advantage has always been our workforce.... We in Canada are now being forced to compete on a level playing field with our US competitors. We already negotiate from a disadvantaged position when comparing expenses like taxes, fuel and overhead costs. Don't implement a program that will tie one arm behind our backs."

I guess you just read what you want to hear, but I have not read all these letters, so I'm just taking them out right now.

To Dianne Cunningham from T. E. Dool, general manager, London and District Construction Association: "We have just received an economic analysis of the discussion paper Proposed Reform of the Ontario Labour Relations Act." The last paragraph says: "It is absolutely essential that Mr Mackenzie's proposals be withdrawn immediately in the interests of maintaining jobs and investment in

Ontario. To proceed with this damaging legislation is completely indefensible."

Scaremongering? I don't know. I don't have time to read all my mail. Maybe I'll read this one from Pizza Pizza, because the person has hand-written it. I haven't even read it yet; I'm embarrassed to say I haven't read it.

Here's one from Jeff Mason, First London Centre. "Dear Ms Cunningham, I am an owner of a small business in your riding. It is a Pizza Pizza franchise. I have been in business in this area for the past eight months. I'm very proud of my business.... I am concerned with the new Labour Relations Act proposals for many reasons. First of all, my employees and I do not understand what this is all about and we are afraid that our rights are being taken away from us." I'll be phoning him and he'd better get half an hour before the committee, because here's a kid who's got something to say and somebody had better listen to him.

K mart is an employer in London of many people, probably thousands.

Interjections.

Mrs Cunningham: Mr Speaker, I don't think we should be sitting in the summer and I don't think we should be sitting at night. It's hard enough to do business in this House during normal working hours. I think the behaviour we're witnessing, which is probably nothing to when I'm not in the House—I just think it's deplorable. Everybody's talking to everybody else. I can't believe it.

The Acting Speaker (Mr Noble Villeneuve): Order, please. We have a lot of conversations. We have a lot of interjections which are of course out of order. Please allow the honourable member for London North to make her presentation, and then you can rebut.

Hon Mr Pouliot: Your own colleagues are insatiable when it comes to interjections. They've been like jackals.

Mrs Cunningham: I'm talking about when I'm speaking and about what I do when others speak at this time. I hope people are listening, all right?

Hon Ms Gigantes: You never interject.

Mrs Cunningham: I do interject, but I don't interject every 30 seconds like the Minister for Housing does, muttering away as she's signing her letters. It's true. I know the name of the game is to get us riled, but I just don't think democracy is working in this House at all. I thought this government would try to fix it. They should start with their own members.

K mart, office of the district manager, 530 Oxford Street West. I don't think this is a letter that has been sent on behalf of all of K mart. Allen E. Letch, district manager, Western Ontario: "As our representative at Queen's Park, I urge you to put the interests of Ontario first and fight to stop these proposals from becoming law." They're talking about the proposed changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. I'm just doing my job.

Macleon Hunter: "Dear member of Parliament: The proposed changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act are of great concern to Maclean Hunter because they will substantially reduce new investment in the province." The government of the day of course cannot argue with that, because it has not done any kind of study that would allow

us to take any message back to these constituents who write us.

Maclean Hunter—this is Brampton, Ontario. I suppose everybody got that one; maybe that wasn't a good one for me to read today.

I have another one from London, from Oxford Books and Stationery. This is to the Premier, and copied to myself: "Please, please consider delaying for further study and input or cancelling outright the changes your minister has proposed to the Ontario Labour Relations Act."

I could obviously go on. The Council of Ontario Construction Associations; All Trade Computer Forms; proposed changes from A. W. Pearson, Sherene Terrace—I could go on.

In closing, in the few seconds I've got, this has been a very frustrating process for all of us. I have great hopes that this government will be listening during the public deliberations, in the five weeks of public hearings and in the two weeks of clause-by-clause, to make the necessary changes.

I'll go back to the beginning. On Friday last week, the business community said to me, "It's not just this labour law; it's a combination of all the taxes and laws and the complications of doing business in Ontario." I think the government members should remember this afternoon and this evening that in the equation of three—labour, the business community and government—it is the government's sole responsibility to create a climate where people will invest in this province. I challenge them to do just that.

Hon Ms Lankin: I have just a couple of very brief comments in response to the remarks made by the member. At one point in time, in quoting from some of the letters she has in front of her, the member posed a question on behalf of a letter writer: What are we interested in? Are we interested in jobs or are we interested in labour laws?

I think it's very important that we underline for everyone listening and watching tonight that in fact this government is very interested in both. We believe the changes to the labour relation laws being proposed will bring about a different kind of atmosphere in the workforce that can lead to more cooperation, less violence on picket lines and less animosity in the workplace between organized labour and employers and that we can facilitate a better climate for business relations that will, in the long term, bring about enhancement of job opportunities and job creation opportunities in this province.

While I understand that the member opposite may in fact have a different opinion of that, I think she will have to recognize that those thoughts, those ideas, those opinions are genuinely held on this side of the House as well and that we can recognize that there is a difference.

I want also to comment very briefly on what I think was an unfortunate exaggeration on the part of the member with respect to the comments on the other side of the House, particularly her comments directed at the Minister of Housing, who has been listening attentively to the responses and has responded at certain points in time and—

Mr Gregory S. Sorbara (York Centre): Yeah, right, while she's signing letters.

Hon Ms Lankin: I guess I'm provoking some response now. As we are sitting here, all members of the House have been involved in signing letters and in doing other sorts of things, as the member herself does on many occasions. I think that was a very unfair characterization. I think the atmosphere has deteriorated dramatically and that the member is right in identifying some of the late-night sittings and long sessions as contributing to that. I hope we can try and change the tenor of debate, but I suspect that until we move on off second reading and these committee hearings on this it will be very difficult for us to achieve that.

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Mr Ramsay: It's kind of sad that at this late hour in the evening and in July we have members bickering like this back and forth about this piece of legislation. I felt great empathy for the frustration of my colleague the member for London North, who was really trying to put on the record the comments from constituents in her riding in the great city of London.

That's the trouble. It's not just the opinions of the different members of the Legislature representing the different ideologies we represent here. What the members are trying to do is to show to the government the concern the people out there feel in regard to this legislation. This is not just a campaign of one side versus another side, as the government members would like to portray, but people across this province have grave concerns about this legislation.

The people in our party, in the official opposition, would be quite happy to sit down with all the partners in the workplace in Ontario because we know there should be some reforms and some changes to labour relations in Ontario, but it's the all-inclusive nature of this particular package that the business community and others in Ontario feel is being rammed down their throat that has really got people's hackles up and got people upset. That's what the problem is. It is a matter of timing, because now, when we are more concerned about jobs than anything else, I'm sorry that people are writing to us and saying: "Right now, not only am I not in a union; I don't even have a job. What good is this legislation going to do me right now?" It's not a matter that we're against unionism and organizing, or even making more progressive reforms. What it's about is to make sure we get a strong economy built and make sure we have a good workplace with good partnerships between all sides of management and business. This is not the time to bring in these reforms.

Mrs Marland: I want to commend the member for London North for her comments during her presentation tonight. Do you know what I found particularly interesting? Throughout her 30 minutes the government side of the House was continually noisy and making snide comments in her direction in reaction to what she was saying, yet when the Minister of Health stood to speak, suddenly the House was totally silent. If the government members can show that kind of respect to their own minister, why can they not show the same kind of respect to my colleague when she is speaking?

I think what we've had tonight is an absolute endorsement for not having evening meetings. During these evening

sittings nobody in this House is listening except the people who want to call out these awful interjections across the floor of the House when they happen to disagree with whoever is speaking at the time, even though interjections are not in order.

This government is being really unreasonable with this piece of legislation. As the member for London North has said, and I totally agree, what's the point in having legislation if it protects everybody everywhere and there are no jobs? That's the whole point, that's the whole issue. It's like pay equity: For some of the groups in my riding, they'd all love to have pay equity, but they'd also like to have jobs. If it's not affordable, it doesn't make any sense in government today. I think that's simply what the member for London North was trying to say, representing her constituents, reading letters that not only she but other members in the London area have received. Thank goodness somebody is speaking for London.

The Acting Speaker: We have time for one final participant.

Mr Larry O'Connor (Durham-York): I want to respond to a few different things the member for London North has raised. She raised a number of things in letters she got from constituents, from business owners. She talked about the interest rates, free trade and workers. I guess one thing she talked about was free trade and how that affected lots of businesses, interest rates and the GST, because she's been quoting from some constituents who have sent her letters.

When she talks about some of the workers and the changes that have occurred to labour relations in this province, we need to look back and take a bit of a history lesson, because I don't think some of the people in this House have had the experience of other members to draw on. I want to state for some of the members here some of the things I saw when working in a foundry as a student.

I saw some men there who I thought were old men, wearing back braces. They weren't old men; they were men around 40 years old. As I approach the age of 40, I don't think of them as old men, but the majority of them had back braces and they were coughing up working in this foundry where they were pouring hot iron as far away as you could reach. Changes have happened in the workplace as a result of some of the health and safety problems that were there. A lot of injuries happened. When would you say would be a good time to start looking at some of those problems? Should we just wait? That foundry I worked in as a student was there from before the 1930s.

I think it's something we have to reflect on. When it comes to changes in labour practices, there's not always a good time, but there are changes that do need to take place to reflect the reality of the day in which we are living.

The Acting Speaker: I want to thank the honourable member for Durham-York. This completes questions and/or comments. The honourable member for London North has two minutes in response.

Mrs Cunningham: I think the comments from the member for Durham-York are a perfect example of what I see around this province of NDP members supporting the

changes to the existing labour law. That had nothing to do with it: labour law in the form of workplace health and safety. That's what I get when I'm on the stage, and it's so discouraging because the public thinks that's what this is all about, and it isn't. That's another law and we voted in favour of it. If there's anything in this law to do with workplace safety and improvement—I know. I had a father who died because of his workplace injuries and I know all about it. But don't start talking about workplace injuries and improvements to the workplace when we're talking about Bill 40. There are two or three major concerns about this bill and that's not one of them.

I think it can best be said in this letter. I just looked at this one and I thought it was perfect; I can direct it to the Minister of Health. I don't believe there will be more jobs or there will be job creation. If I thought so, I wouldn't be taking this strong stand. Why do I not believe it? Because of the letters from the people who work out in the real world, not politicians sitting in this place trying to get re-elected and saying whatever they feel like saying, but workers who took the time to write to us. Those weren't my words earlier; they were the words of the people who wrote letters to me.

"Dear Minister: I have some serious concerns about the current plan by your government to make significant changes to the Ontario Labour Relations Act. It is already apparent by the high levels of unemployment and the number of jobs that have been lost during the current recession that the first priority in Ontario should be economic revival."

This letter goes: "The problem I have with the legislative initiative is the determination that organized labour is the preferred means of dealing with employer-employee relationships."

This is from the president of London Life, Gordon Cunningham, who employs people in the city of London, one of our largest employers.

Interjections.

Mrs Cunningham: Not related at all. I met him for the first time last Thursday evening. I can tell you right now that those are the kinds of people who are concerned, and they employ people who work in our environment.

Mr Bradley: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: I would like to seek the unanimous consent of the members of the House to allow the member for London North to speak for a longer period of time. It's quite obvious that 30 minutes was not sufficient for her to complete her remarks. Even though the Conservative Party voted for these rules, I know she needs more time. If we have unanimous consent, I'd be pleased to see her speak longer.

The Acting Speaker: The member for St Catharines is asking for unanimous consent. Do we have unanimous consent?

Interjections: No.

The Acting Speaker: We don't have unanimous consent.

Further debate on second reading of Bill 40, the honourable member for Wilson Heights.

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Mr Kwinter: I'm delighted to participate in this debate. My only concern is that there is so much to say in so little time. Before I begin what I want to set out as maybe a slightly different perspective on this bill, I want to state my bias. This may sound a little hokey, but my bias is for Ontario. When the Treasurer appeared before the standing committee on finance and economic affairs, I said to him that I firmly believe Ontario is so strong and has such incredible resources, with its people, with its technology, with its natural resources, that there isn't a government available that can screw it up. I believe that strongly, but—and I qualify it—what it can do is restrict our ability to reach our maximum potential.

I was quite heartened to hear the member for London North's comment about the German investors who were saying they were going to invest in the plane plant in London, saying, "Governments come and governments go." That of course is true, and that is why I say this province is strong enough to withstand almost anything. But that doesn't mean we shouldn't really do what we can to maximize our potential.

I have a favourite quotation I'd like to share with members. It's from *A Streetcar Named Desire*, written by Tennessee Williams. It's Blanche Dubois, her final line, and she says, "I have always been dependent on the kindness of strangers." That, unfortunately and fortunately, describes our situation in Ontario.

We are one of the largest and most dependent trading jurisdictions in the world. We are also absolutely dependent on investment to stimulate and to generate the kind of economic activity that we as Ontarians really aspire to. If the Treasurer were in his seat, as he has been most of the evening, I would ask him to confirm that, when he goes to New York or to London or to Germany or to Japan looking for financial institutions to take up the debt of Ontario, he really is dependent on the kindness of strangers. They look at him and, regardless of what party he is, regardless of what his personal personality is, they will make a decision based on what they perceive to be the climate for economic growth and for economic activity.

Members will remember, and I'm anxious to remind them, that right after this government came to power there were two very negative articles in the international press about the government. One of the articles was in the *Wall Street Journal*, Friday, September 14, 1990, and it talked about "Ontario's socialist hiccup." It goes on to berate the policies of this government and to say that they perceive some very difficult times ahead. At the same time, almost within a week, on December 17—sorry, it's a little bit longer than that—*Barron's*, which is the official organ of Dow Jones, said, "Ontario Hydro in Canada, a new socialist threat, raises its ugly head."

The point I'm making is that it doesn't matter whether you agree with these articles or not. As a matter of fact, I think some of these articles had gone a little too extreme. That doesn't really matter. The point that does matter is that over 100 million people subscribe to these kinds of publications worldwide. When they look to them, they see these negative comments, and they don't ask: "Is this true?

Is this false? What is the incidence?" They know there is a problem.

As we have been going through the debate, the members opposite have been raising the spectre of scaremongering, that the opposition is being irresponsible, saying things that are blatantly partisan, and that if we were only responsible we would not be making these negative comments.

I want to read into the record a couple of documents. I'm not going to read them in their entirety because unfortunately I don't have enough time. Again, I am not in any way saying that I support what is being said.

Hon Mr Wildman: Well, if you don't, you should refute them. Do you think they're wrong?

Mr Kwinter: I'm not disagreeing with them either. That isn't the point I'm trying to make. The point I'm trying to make is that these reports were done by, I assume—and I don't take any sort of responsibility—unbiased people. You may say they're biased. They may be; I don't know. That isn't the point. The point is that they are professionals. They have clients not only in Canada but around the world, and this is the document they're sending out. So whether you agree with it or not is not the point. The point is that there are potential investors, there are potential businessmen out there who are getting these documents.

This particular document is prepared by the law firm of Heenan Blaikie. Again I want to express my unbiased in that I've never heard of them. I apologize to the members of the law firm who are out there who may feel somewhat chagrined that I haven't, but I haven't. I wasn't even aware they were a law firm. I went to a great deal of trouble to find out who these people are and what kind of organization they are. Let me just quote into the record. The title is *Review of the Key Amendments to the Labour Relations Act found in the Labour Relations Act and Employment Statute Law Amendment Act, 1992*.

"The discussion paper was released in November 1991. In the discussion the government invited written submissions from all interested parties, setting a deadline of February 14, 1992. In response, business raised its concern over the fundamental nature of the preferred options for reform identified in the discussion paper. Although some of the preferred options proposed in the discussion paper have been omitted from the bill, it is clear that the vast majority of business objections have not been adequately addressed by the government."

Again, I'm just the messenger. I'm just telling you what they've said. I don't want to belabour the point and read all of the proposals, but there are a couple of other quotes that I think are important.

When they talk about the provisions for improved access to first contract arbitration, they say: "Under the act as it presently exists, first contract arbitration is available to parties engaged in first contract negotiation only when bargaining has been unsuccessful because of lack of effort, unjustified intransigence or, among other things, a refusal by the employer to recognize the bargaining authority of the trade union. The bill removes any such threshold."

This is their comment: "Maintaining a threshold for first contract arbitration is necessary to encourage serious bargaining. By removing this threshold, the bill would eliminate the incentive to take anything but intransigent positions when negotiating a first collective agreement. This amendment will actually hinder first agreement bargaining and poison, not foster, the parties' long-term relationship."

They go on to talk about the use of replacement workers: "The bill prohibits the use of new hires, employees from other locations, and contractors. Managers and non-bargaining unit employees employed at the location who have no objection to performing the struck work may work. The bill also makes it an offence for an employer to use the services of an employee on strike who wishes to cross the picket line. Therefore, even if employees want to cross their union's picket line, their employer cannot let them. This is a significant and singular intrusion into employee freedoms."

Then they go on to talk about another sanction, and that has to do with the common example of Quebec that is used by the proponents of these amendments. They're talking about it under the use of replacement workers. They say:

"In Quebec, similar legislation has not contributed to economic progress or industrial stability. Businesses in Quebec have found alternative sources of production and have either left the province or come to rely less on their manufacturing capacity within the province. Employers entering a bargaining year in Quebec are driven by the legislation to concentrate on strike survival strategies (eg stockpiling, engaging outside contractors, increasing production outside the province etc). Once the strike arrives, many businesses are prepared for a long siege. As the statistics indicate, the Quebec legislation has contributed to longer, not shorter, disputes."

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Here's another provision: "The bill also proposes narrow but extremely devastating amendments to the Employment Standards Act. These amendments are directed at businesses involved in the supply of building cleaning services, contracted-in food services and building security services. When a contract for services in these specific businesses changes hands, the bill requires"—and the document goes on to list all of the requirements.

But in summation on this section, it says:

"These proposed amendments to the Employment Standards Act are a direct attack on companies operating in the security services, building maintenance and contracted-in food service industries. It may not be an overstatement to suggest that these amendments may be sufficiently devastating as to destroy those businesses in Ontario as they currently exist."

The document goes on and then it concludes. I'd like to enter this into the record, just so you'll know the overall approach this particular law firm took.

"The bill truly represents a fundamental shift in the balance of power between trade unions and employers in the province of Ontario. Although various jurisdictions may have portions of some of the amendments proposed in the bill, no one jurisdiction has ever experienced the cumulative effect of this type of labour law reform.

"The bill has now received first reading in the Legislature and soon will receive second reading. It will then be sent to a legislative committee. At the committee stage, the contents of the bill will again be subject to scrutiny and consultation from the business community will likely be sought. Whether the government will indeed be interested in meaningful consultation with the business community during this stage remains to be seen. Once the bill completes the legislative committee stage it will be reintroduced in final form to the Legislature for third reading. After third reading the bill will be proclaimed and will become law. It is anticipated that proclamation will occur in the final months of 1992."

That is from a law firm which is sending out a report to its clientele. I can assure you that, whether I know them or not, a foreign client getting that document will take it as being an objective professional analysis of that bill. It's going to have a profound effect.

Let me quote very briefly from another document, and this is from a firm I know well, Baker and McKenzie. For those of you who don't know the firm, it is not related in any way to the Minister of Labour. Baker and McKenzie is one of the largest law firms in the world. They are everywhere, absolutely everywhere. In every major jurisdiction in the world Baker and McKenzie usually has an office. They have published a publication called Employment Law Update. Again, I don't think they have a bias. They're professionals. They are reporting on a piece of legislation.

The heading says, "NDP Introduce Bill To Amend The Labour Relations Act." I'm just going to read a very short part of it, the preamble. It says: "This afternoon the government introduced its much-anticipated bill to reform the Ontario Labour Relations Act. In our November 7, 1991, update we outlined the government's proposed amendments." This is interesting. "After a four-month 'consultation process'"—not my quotations, their quotations—"the bill retains most of the proposals contained in the original discussion paper," which puts the lie to the argument the minister makes that, "We made 32 amendments, we really listened, we did all of these things." Here is a firm of pre-eminent legal advisers that says most of the provisions are still there. But what I find interesting is that they then say:

"The amendments have four main themes: (1) to make it easier for trade unions to organize; (2) to increase the number of mandatory collective agreement provisions and therefore eliminate the need for unions to negotiate for them; (3) to increase union power in negotiations; (4) to reduce individual employee rights in favour of trade union rights."

This is a document—again, I'm not saying that I support it or don't support it. I'm saying that this is a firm of pre-eminent lawyers sending this out to its clientele around the world, not just to its Toronto clientele.

Hon Mr Wildman: What is your view?

Mr Kwinter: You'll hear about my view.

Mr Remo Mancini (Essex South): He doesn't have time to give his view. He's only got 30 minutes.

Mr Kwinter: That's right. This will be the last quotation I make and then I'd like to tell you about some of my

concerns. This particular publication is called the Ontario Electrical Contractor. They may be considered by the members of the government side to be fear-mongering, but they are an association of electrical contractors and there is an article called War of the Worlds: Labour Relations Act Changes and the Economy. The article is written by David Surplis, who is the president of the Council of Ontario Construction Associations. Here's what he says:

"With conditions in the ICI"—ICI is institutional, commercial and industrial sector—"remaining dim, with record unemployment statistics and very few plans out for bid, it is no wonder that contractors are edgy. Even so, many continue to have faith that Ontario will rebound to our former strengths after the recession abates. After all, we still have abundant natural resources, excellent location for markets, a stable and educated workforce, medicare and many other blessings"—all of which I agree with and all of which I say are very strong reasons why people should be doing business in Ontario.

"But in checking the economic and legislative indicators, one gets a nagging feeling that Ontario may not recover sufficiently from the recession and construction will not return to the boom levels of the 1980s. That feeling is based on the fear that, just at the time when Ontario desperately needs investor confidence, the NDP government at Queen's Park is not doing enough to stimulate construction and the subject of changes to the Labour Relations Act hangs over us like a cloud."

I'm going to jump ahead in the article. He talks about the budget:

"But when the budget came down, the list of capital projects for the province, school boards and municipalities showed a drop of \$122 million from 1991 figures. When asked about that fact, Industry Minister Ed Philip pointed to the non-profit housing starts mentioned in the budget, but it turns out that many of those starts will have to be delayed until later years—and that doesn't help the ICI side very much in any event."

In conclusion, this is what he says:

"In addition to the less than stimulating news from the budget, the spectre of the changes to the Labour Relations Act must be factored into any consideration of economic recovery. As COCA has pointed out for over a year, the changes—whatever they are—will scare away potential investors. At time of writing, the legislation had not been presented in the House but it is promised by government leaders before the current session ends on June 25.

"The government was clearly upset by the construction industry's billboard campaign earlier in the spring and the topic was mentioned in the House almost every day. But getting their attention and getting them to change their minds are entirely separate topics. The only response to our studies and analysis has been a campaign of disinformation by NDP luminaries like Gerry Caplan and Stephen Lewis's wife, Michele Landsberg. These gurus do not respond to the findings of our studies but resort to the cheapest trick of the losing debater, arguments against the person making the points. Ms Landsberg, in fact, states that opponents of the OLRA changes want 'to keep women and

immigrants as a frightened, disorganized, low-paid, insecure workforce.'

"Her 'reasoning' is nonsense of course and it can't hide the fact that the drop in construction spending inflicted by the budget combined with the Labour Relations Act will deliver a serious blow to the construction industry.

"If anyone has a right to be outraged, it is the construction industry. Stay tuned for the next chapter in the war of the (different) worlds."

There's only one last quote, and it's a very brief one in the 3 December 1990 Hansard, but it symbolizes the attitude of this government and its leader. The Premier, in a response to a question I had asked him, said, "I can also tell the member for Wilson Heights that we do not intend to be intimidated by anyone, no matter how powerful or well-connected they may be." Unfortunately, the problem we have is that the government takes the attitude: "If you're not with us, you're against us. If you're against us, we're going to bring the iron hand down on you and we're going to say no way."

2150

Take a look at the situation we're in right now. It's now 10 minutes to 10. We are into time allocation. You have to ask the question, why are we in this situation. Were there people storming the doors at Queen's Park saying, "Where, oh where is this labour legislation?" If it was so important, why was it not mentioned in the Agenda for People? Why was it not mentioned in the throne speech? But suddenly there is this great rush that it must be had.

Let me point out that all of these things have a serious cumulative affect on our ability to attract investment and to create jobs. I want to address a couple of issues that are very dear to my heart, because I sit in the House and listen to the government position, and it really grates when I consider the actual facts. Every time there is some negative comment, the Premier, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, the Treasurer or anyone else who has any economic responsibility stands up and mentions: "If things are so bad in Ontario, how come the Ford Motor Co has invested this huge amount of money in bringing the van plant to Oakville?"

I was at the opening of the Glaxo plant with the Prime Minister of Canada and the ministers of industry and trade, both provincial and federal. The Prime Minister looked at both of them and said, "Here are the two gentlemen who personally brought Ford to Oakville, and they all deserve a great round of applause," when in fact the situation is just the opposite.

In 1990, the Ford Motor Co approached me as the Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology and said: "We have an opportunity to attract a van plant with an investment of significant numbers. We need some help from the government. What are you prepared to do?" I asked them what they needed. They told me and I said, "I give you my commitment that I can convince my cabinet colleagues that this is something we should do." The reason I'm telling this story is that it's significant to the situation that we're in now.

We were then competing with another Ford plant in St Louis, Missouri. Just so you know how the automobile

industry works, different divisions come to the board and make the pitch, and everybody wants that facility in their jurisdiction because it guarantees jobs. So we were competing with St Louis, Missouri, and Oakville, Ontario. After a lot of negotiation where David Rehor, a vice-president in charge of finance, spent a great deal of time at Queen's Park with—I'm not taking any great credit. I was the one who was able to sort of access the situation. They were the people in the ministry, the Peter Tanakas of the world, who had spent their time getting this project on track.

But the point is, we got it. It was a two-part deal. The first part was the paint plant. The paint plant is now up and operating, but it was begun long before this government became the government.

The other commitment, a follow-on commitment, was to bring the van plant. The van plant was ready to be announced in August 1990. The decision had been taken, it was ready to go and—I'm not going to be naïve—politically we would have loved to have that announcement made. I tried to get the Ford Motor Co to make the announcement. They said: "We don't want to get involved in an election hassle. We are not going to make the announcement now."

The significant point I want to make is that it took almost two years for Ford Motor Co to make that announcement. The question is, why? If they were ready to go in August 1990, why did they have to wait until 1992 to make it? I've asked Ken Harrigan, the president, and he said, "Those guys should only know how close we came to losing it." I'll tell you another thing he said, and my colleague the critic on the Conservative side will confirm this because we were there together: "I don't know, given this environment, given this legislation, whether we'd be able to do it again." That is a serious situation.

Doctors talk about the silent killer. The silent killer is blood pressure, and the reason they call it the silent killer is because there are lots of people walking around with high blood pressure who aren't aware of it and they suddenly die. It's unfortunate, but that's what happens. This legislation is in the same category. It is a silent killer because what happens is that when a company is trying to pick a new location for its facility, in most cases it is competing for dollars, but it is also competing for those particular jobs that have this multiplier effect that gives the community a real boost. So what happens is that everybody is out trying to make the best case and invariably that means trying to show that the other alternative is the worst case. When you have that kind of situation, whether it be taxes, whether it be environmental controls, whether it be labour legislation—and I'm not in any way advocating that we should eliminate those things, not at all. All I'm saying is that you must be aware of the competitive situation, because if we don't get it then we're going to have a problem.

Here we are: We've got three minutes to go and I haven't even started. But I do want to talk about a particular issue

that keeps being brought up by the member for Cochrane South: free trade.

I'm sure all members will know that when the free trade deal was being negotiated, I was the minister at the time and was very involved notwithstanding that we were opposed to it. We weren't opposed to free trade per se; we were opposed to the deal. Let me just tell you one thing. I've told some of you this before but it's important and it's important for our listeners and viewers: Before free trade came in 80% of the trade in goods and services was duty-free. Of the 20% that was still in place, the average tariff was somewhere between 7% and 10%. That 20% is being phased out over anywhere from zero to 10 years.

So to expect that because of free trade suddenly our economy has deteriorated is patently absurd. The reason our economy has deteriorated is because of global trade. We have to become competitive. We have to be able to justify why we are getting the kind of investment and the kind of jobs that all of us aspire to.

What is my position? I suggest to the Minister of Natural Resources, the member for Algoma, that my position is: Let us have a level playing field. Let us make sure we get the best protection for the workers, but also let us make sure the concerns of industry are addressed.

I can say to you that any objective observer looking at this document has no alternative but to observe that the playing field has been tilted. There has been nothing for industry, everything for organized labour.

Contrary to what is being perceived, being against this bill is not being against the worker, because I can tell you that in many respects this is an anti-worker bill. It is a pro-union bill in many ways, but a lot of the rights of the workers have been taken away from them. If you don't have the jobs to provide for those workers, then they certainly aren't any better off than they were before this legislation was introduced.

Mr Speaker, my only regret is that I have notes here I haven't had a chance even to address. It is sad that in Ontario a member of the Legislature sent by his constituents does not get an opportunity to speak as long as he wants to, to express the concerns, to express the frustrations of members of the public.

Mr Sorbara: On a point of order, Mr Speaker: In the midst of this very important debate on Bill 40, I'm just wondering why in the rotation there wasn't a member of the New Democratic Party who spoke on the bill. Is there a reason why?

The Acting Speaker: To the member for York Centre, that was not a point of order.

It now being 10 of the clock, we will have questions and/or comments when next this bill hits the floor. This House stands adjourned until tomorrow at 1:30 of the clock.

The House adjourned at 2200.

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO
ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE DE L'ONTARIO**

Lieutenant Governor/Lieutenant-gouverneur: Lt Col The Hon/L'hon Henry N. R. Jackman CM, KStJ, BA, LLB, LLD

Speaker/Président: Hon/L'hon David Warner

Clerk/Greffier: Claude L. DesRosiers

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Committees/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des comités: Smirle Forsyth

Clerk Assistant and Clerk of Journals/Greffier adjoint et Greffier des journaux: Alex D. McFedries

Sergeant at Arms/Sergent d'armes: Thomas Stelling

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Algoma	Wildman, Hon/L'hon Bud	ND	Minister of Natural Resources, minister responsible for native affairs/ministre des Richesses naturelles, ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Algoma-Manitoulin	Brown, Michael A.	L	Chair, standing committee on general government/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Beaches-Woodbine	Lankin, Hon/L'hon Frances	ND	Minister of Health, minister responsible for substance abuse strategy/ministre de la Santé, ministre déléguée à la Stratégie pour la prévention de la toxicomanie
Brampton North/-Nord	McClelland, Carman	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on general government/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires gouvernementales
Brampton South/-Sud	Callahan, Robert V.	L	
Brant-Haldimand	Eddy, Ron	L	
Brantford	Ward, Brad	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for trade and technology/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie et délégué au Commerce et à la Technologie
Bruce	Elston, Murray J.	L	opposition House leader/ chef parlementaire de l'opposition
Burlington South/-Sud	Jackson, Cameron	PC	Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Président du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Cambridge	Farnan, Mike	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Carleton	Sterling, Norman W.	PC	
Carleton East/-Est	Morin, Gilles E.	L	Deputy Speaker and Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Vice-Président et Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Chatham-Kent	Hope, Randy R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Community and Social Services/adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires
Cochrane North/-Nord	Wood, Len	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Natural Resources/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Richesses naturelles
Cochrane South/-Sud	Bisson, Gilles	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Northern Development and Mines, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for francophone affairs/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Cornwall	Cleary, John C.	L	
Don Mills	Ward, Margery	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Government Services/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Dovercourt	Silipo, Hon/L'hon Tony	ND	Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet, Minister of Education/président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, ministre de l'Éducation
Downsview	Perruzza, Anthony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister for Skills Development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Dufferin-Peel	Tilson, David	PC	
Durham Centre/-Centre	White, Drummond	ND	Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Président du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Durham East/-Est	Mills, Gord	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Municipal Affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires municipales
Durham West/-Ouest	Wiseman, Jim	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Correctional Services/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Services correctionnels
Durham-York	O'Connor, Lawrence	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Eglinton	Poole, Dianne	L	
Elgin	North, Hon/L'hon Peter	ND	Minister of Tourism and Recreation/ ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs
Essex-Kent	Hayes, Pat	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (agriculture)/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (agriculture)

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
Essex South/-Sud	Mancini, Remo	L	Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Grier, Hon/L'hon Ruth A.	ND	Minister of the Environment, minister responsible for the greater Toronto area/ministre de l'Environnement, ministre responsable du Bureau de la région du grand Toronto
Etobicoke-Humber	Henderson, D. James	L	
Etobicoke-Rexdale	Philip, Hon/L'hon Ed	ND	Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology/ ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie
Etobicoke West/-Ouest	Stockwell, Chris	PC	
Fort William	McLeod, Lyn	L	Leader of the Opposition/chef de l'opposition
Fort York	Marchese, Rosario	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/adjoint parlementaire du premier ministre, adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales
Frontenac-Addington	Wilson, Hon/L'hon Fred	ND	Minister of Government Services/ ministre des Services gouvernementaux
Grey	Murdoch, Bill	PC	
Guelph	Fletcher, Derek	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
Halton Centre/-Centre	Sullivan, Barbara	L	
Halton North/-Nord	Duignan, Noel	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Legislative Assembly/ Président du Comité permanent de l'Assemblée législative
Hamilton Centre/-Centre	Christopherson, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/adjoint parlementaire du Trésorier de l'Ontario et du ministre de l'Économie
Hamilton East/-Est	Mackenzie, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Minister of Labour/ministre du Travail
Hamilton Mountain	Charlton, Hon/L'hon Brian	ND	Minister of Financial Institutions, acting Minister of Energy/ ministre des Institutions financières, ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Hamilton West/-Ouest	Allen, Hon/L'hon Richard	ND	Minister of Colleges and Universities, Minister of Skills Development/ministre des Collèges et Universités, ministre de la Formation professionnelle
Hastings-Peterborough	Buchanan, Hon/L'hon Elmer	ND	Minister of Agriculture and Food/ ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation
High Park-Swansea	Ziembra, Hon/L'hon Elaine	ND	Minister of Citizenship, minister responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ministre des Affaires civiques, ministre déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Huron	Klopp, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Agriculture and Food (food)/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Alimentation (alimentation)
Kenora	Miclash, Frank	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Kingston and The Islands/ Kingston et Les Îles	Wilson, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Culture and Communications/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Kitchener	Ferguson, Will	ND	
Kitchener-Wilmot	Cooper, Mike	ND	deputy government whip; Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/whip adjoint du gouvernement, Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Lake Nipigon/Lac-Nipigon	Pouliot, Hon/L'hon Gilles	ND	Minister of Transportation, minister responsible for francophone affairs/ministre des Transports, ministre délégué aux Affaires francophones
Lambton	MacKinnon, Ellen	ND	Vice-Chair, standing committee on regulations and private bills/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des règlements et des projets de loi privés
Lanark-Renfrew	Jordan, W. Leo	PC	
Lawrence	Cordiano, Joseph	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on public accounts/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des comptes publics
Leeds-Grenville	Runciman, Robert W.	PC	Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Lincoln	Hansen, Ron	ND	Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
London Centre/-Centre	Boyd, Hon/L'hon Marion	ND	Minister of Community and Social Services, minister responsible for women's issues/ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine
London North/-Nord	Cunningham, Dianne	PC	Progressive Conservative chief whip/ whip en chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
London South/-Sud	Winninger, David	ND	parliamentary assistant to Attorney General, parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for native affairs/adjoint parlementaire du Procureur général, adjoint parlementaire du ministre délégué aux Affaires autochtones
Markham	Cousens, W. Donald	PC	
Middlesex	Mathysen, Irene	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of the Environment/adjointe parlementaire de la ministre de l'Environnement
Mississauga East/-Est	Sola, John	L	
Mississauga North/-Nord	Offer, Steven	L	
Mississauga South/-Sud	Marland, Margaret	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on estimates/ Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent des budgets des dépenses
Mississauga West/-Ouest	Mahoney, Steven W.	L	chief opposition whip/whip en chef de l'opposition
Muskoka-Georgian Bay	Waters, Daniel	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Tourism and Recreation; Vice-Chair, standing committee on resources development/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre du Tourisme et des Loisirs, Vice-Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Nepean	Daigeler, Hans	L	Vice-Chair, standing committee on social development/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
Niagara Falls	Harrington, Margaret H.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Housing/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre du Logement
Niagara South/-Sud	Coppen, Hon/L'hon Shirley	ND	Minister without Portfolio, chief government whip/ ministre sans portefeuille, whip en chef du gouvernement
Nickel Belt	Laughren, Hon/L'hon Floyd	ND	Deputy Premier, Treasurer of Ontario and Minister of Economics/ vice-premier ministre, Trésorier de l'Ontario et ministre de l'Économie
Nipissing	Harris, Michael	PC	leader of the Progressive Conservative Party/ chef du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Norfolk	Jamison, Norm	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Industry, Trade and Technology, responsible for small business/adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Industrie, du Commerce et de la Technologie, délégué aux Affaires des petites entreprises
Northumberland	Fawcett, Joan M.	L	
Oakville South/-Sud	Carr, Gary	PC	
Oakwood	Rizzo, Tony	ND	
Oriole	Caplan, Elinor	L	
Oshawa	Pilkey, Hon/L'hon Allan	ND	Solicitor General, Minister of Correctional Services/ Solliciteur général, ministre des Services correctionnels
Ottawa Centre/-Centre	Gigantes, Hon/L'hon Evelyn	ND	Minister of Housing/ministre du Logement
Ottawa East/-Est	Grandmaitre, Bernard C.	L	
Ottawa-Rideau	O'Neill, Yvonne	L	
Ottawa South/-Sud	McGuinty, Dalton J.P.	L	
Ottawa West/-Ouest	Chiarelli, Robert	L	
Oxford	Sutherland, Kimble	ND	parliamentary assistant to Chairman of Management Board of Cabinet; Vice-Chair, standing committee on finance and economic affairs/ adjoint parlementaire du président du Conseil de gestion du gouvernement, Vice-Président du Comité permanent des finances et des affaires économiques
Parkdale	Ruprecht, Tony	L	
Parry Sound	Eves, Ernie	PC	Progressive Conservative House leader/ chef parlementaire du Parti progressiste-conservateur
Perth	Haslam, Hon/L'hon Karen	ND	Minister of Culture and Communications/ ministre de la Culture et des Communications
Peterborough	Carter, Jenny	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjointe parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
Port Arthur	Wark-Martyn, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Revenue/ministre du Revenu
Prescott and Russell/ Prescott et Russell	Poirier, Jean	L	
Prince Edward-Lennox-South Hastings/ Prince-Edward- Lennox-Hastings-Sud	Johnson, Paul R.	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Revenue/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre du Revenu
Quinte	O'Neil, Hugh P.	L	
Rainy River	Hampton, Hon/L'hon Howard	ND	Attorney General/Procureur général
Renfrew North/-Nord	Conway, Sean G.	L	Deputy Leader of the Opposition/chef adjoint de l'opposition
Riverdale	Churley, Hon/L'hon Marilyn	ND	Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations/ ministre de la Consommation et du Commerce
S-D-G & East Grenville/ S.-D.-G. & Grenville-Est	Villeneuve, Noble	PC	Second Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Deuxième Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative

Constituency	Name of member	Party	Other responsibilities
St Andrew-St Patrick	Akande, Zanana	ND	parliamentary assistant to the Premier
St Catharines	Bradley, James J.	L	
St. Catharines-Brock	Haeck, Christel	ND	government whip; Vice-Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman/ whip du gouvernement, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman
St. George-St. David	Scott, Ian G.	L	
Sarnia	Huget, Bob	ND	parliamentary assistant to acting Minister of Energy/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Énergie par intérim
Sault Ste Marie/ Sault-Sainte-Marie	Martin, Tony	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Education/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre de l'Éducation
Scarborough-Agincourt	Phillips, Gerry	L	
Scarborough Centre/-Centre	Owens, Stephen	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Financial Institutions/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Institutions financières
Scarborough East/-Est	Frankford, Robert	ND	
Scarborough-Ellesmere	Warner, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Speaker/Président
Scarborough North/-Nord	Curling, Alvin	L	opposition deputy whip/whip adjoint de l'opposition
Scarborough West/-Ouest	Swarbrick, Anne	ND	
Simcoe Centre/-Centre	Wessenger, Paul	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Health/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre de la Santé
Simcoe East/-Est	McLean, Allan K.	PC	Vice-Chair, standing committee on government agencies/ Vice-Président du Comité permanent des organismes gouvernementaux
Simcoe West/-Ouest	Wilson, Jim	PC	
Sudbury	Murdock, Sharon	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labour/ adjointe parlementaire du ministre du Travail
Sudbury East/-Est	Martel, Hon/L'hon Shelley	ND	Minister of Northern Development and Mines/ ministre du Développement du Nord et des Mines
Timiskaming	Ramsay, David	L	
Victoria-Haliburton	Drainville, Dennis	ND	First Deputy Chair of the Committee of the Whole House/ Premier Vice-Président du Comité plénier de l'Assemblée législative
Waterloo North/-Nord	Witmer, Elizabeth	PC	
Welland-Thorold	Kormos, Peter	ND	Chair, standing committee on resources development/ Président du Comité permanent du développement des ressources
Wellington	Arnott, Ted	PC	
Wentworth East/-Est	Morrow, Mark	ND	Chair, standing committee on the Ombudsman; Vice-Chair, standing committee on administration of justice/ Président du Comité permanent de l'ombudsman, Vice-Président du Comité permanent de l'administration de la justice
Wentworth North/-Nord	Abel, Donald	ND	government whip/whip du gouvernement
Willowdale	Harnick, Charles	PC	
Wilson Heights	Kwinter, Monte	L	
Windsor-Riverside	Cooke, Hon/L'hon David	ND	Minister of Municipal Affairs, government House leader/ ministre des Affaires municipales, chef parlementaire du gouvernement
Windsor-Sandwich	Dadamo, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Transportation/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Transports
Windsor-Walkerville	Lessard, Wayne	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Colleges and Universities/ adjoint parlementaire du ministre des Collèges et Universités
York Centre/-Centre	Sorbara, Gregory S.	L	
York East/-Est	Malkowski, Gary	ND	parliamentary assistant to Minister of Citizenship, responsible for human rights, disability issues, seniors' issues and race relations/ adjoint parlementaire de la ministre des Affaires civiques, déléguée aux Droits de la personne, aux Affaires des personnes handicapées, aux Affaires des personnes âgées et aux Relations interraciales
York Mills	Turnbull, David	PC	
York North/-Nord	Beer, Charles	L	Chair, standing committee on social development/ Président du Comité permanent des affaires sociales
York South/-Sud	Rae, Hon/L'hon Bob	ND	Premier, President of the Executive Council, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs/premier ministre, président du Conseil des ministres, ministre des Affaires gouvernementales
Yorkview	Mammoliti, George	ND	parliamentary assistant to minister responsible for substance abuse strategy/adjoint parlementaire de la ministre déléguée à la Stratégie pour la prévention de la toxicomanie

**COMMITTEES OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
COMITÉS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE LÉGISLATIVE**

STANDING COMMITTEES/COMITÉS PERMANENTS

Administration of justice/Administration de la justice

Chair/Président: Mike Cooper
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mark Morrow
Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Jenny Carter, Robert Chiarelli,
Mike Cooper, Alvin Curling, Charles Harnick, Steven W. Mahoney,
Gary Malkowski, Mark Morrow, Robert W. Runciman,
Paul Wessinger, David Winninger
Clerk/Greffière: Lisa Freedman

Estimates/Budgets des dépenses

Chair/Président: Cameron Jackson
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Margaret Marland
Members/Membres: Gilles Bisson, Gary Carr, Ron Eddy, Will Ferguson,
Robert Frankford, Wayne Lessard, Lawrence O'Connor, Anthony
Perruzza, David Ramsay
Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

**Finance and economic affairs/
Finances et affaires économiques**

Chair/Président: Ron Hansen
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Kimble Sutherland
Members/Membres: Elinor Caplan, Gary Carr, David Christopherson,
Norm Jamison, Monte Kwinter, Gerry Phillips, Norman W. Sterling,
Brad Ward, Margery Ward, Jim Wiseman
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General government/Affaires gouvernementales

Chair/Président: Michael A. Brown
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Carman McClelland
Members/Membres: Ted Arnott, Will Ferguson, Derek Fletcher,
Margaret H. Harrington, Randy R. Hope, George Mammoliti, Rosario
Marchese, Bill Murdoch, Dianne Poole, John Sola
Clerk/Greffière: Deborah Deller

Government agencies/Organismes gouvernementaux

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Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Allan K. McLean
Members/Membres: James J. Bradley, Jenny Carter, John C. Cleary,
Will Ferguson, Robert Frankford, Bernard C. Grandmaître, Rosario
Marchese, Chris Stockwell, Daniel Waters, Jim Wiseman
Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Legislative Assembly/Assemblée législative

Chair/Président: Noel Duignan
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Mike Farnan
Members/Membres: Mike Cooper, Paul R. Johnson, Margaret Marland,
Irene Mathysen, Carman McClelland, Gord Mills, Gilles E. Morin,
Stephen Owens, Barbara Sullivan, Noble Villeneuve
Clerk/Greffier: Douglas Arnott

Ombudsman/Ombudsman

Chair/Président: Mark Morrow
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Christel Haeck
Members/Membres: Zanana Akande, Dennis Drainville, Noel Duignan,
D. James Henderson, Paul R. Johnson, Frank Miclash, Bill Murdoch,
Anthony Perruzza, David Ramsay, Elizabeth Witmer
Clerk/Greffier: Franco Carrozza

Public accounts/Comptes publics

Chair/Président: Remo Mancini
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Joseph Cordiano
Members/Membres: Robert V. Callahan, W. Donald Cousens, Noel
Duignan, Robert Frankford, Christel Haeck, Pat Hayes, Paul R. Johnson,
Lawrence O'Connor, David Tilson
Clerk/Greffière: Tannis Manikel

**Regulations and private bills/
Règlements et projets de loi privés**

Chair/Président: Drummond White
Vice-Chair/Vice-Présidente: Ellen MacKinnon
Members/Membres: George Dadamo, Ron Eddy, Mike Farnan,
Ron Hansen, W. Leo Jordan, Gord Mills, Tony Ruprecht, John Sola,
Kimble Sutherland, Jim Wilson
Clerk/Greffier: Todd Decker

Resources development/Développement des ressources

Chair/Président: Peter Kormos
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Daniel Waters
Members/Membres: Sean G. Conway, George Dadamo, Bob Huget,
W. Leo Jordan, Paul Klopp, Dalton J.P. McGuinty, Sharon Murdoch,
Steven Offer, David Turnbull, Len Wood
Clerk/Greffier: Harold Brown

Social development/Affaires sociales

Chair/Président: Charles Beer
Vice-Chair/Vice-Président: Hans Daigeler
Members/Membres: Dennis Drainville, Joan M. Fawcett, Tony Martin,
Irene Mathysen, Yvonne O'Neill, Stephen Owens, Drummond White,
Gary Wilson, Jim Wilson, Elizabeth Witmer
Clerk/Greffière: Lynn Mellor

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